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TIMBUKTU, FROM THE TERRACE OF THE TRAVELER'S HOUSE.

TRAVELS AND DISCOVERIES

IN

NORTH AND CENTRAL AFRICA.

BEING A

JOURNAL OF AN EXPEDITION

UNDERTAKEN

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF H. B. M.'S GOVERNMENT,

IN THE YEARS

1849—1855.

BY

HENRY BARTH, PH.D., D.C.L.,
FELLOW OF THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL AND ASIATIC SOCIETIES,
&C., &C.

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ERRATA.

Vol. i., page 208, line 3, *read* "Ramadhán" *instead of* "Rhámadán."
" 361, line 14, *read* "tenth century" *instead of* "twelfth century."
" 582, line 26, *add after the words* "few huts" *the words* "This was the site of the celebrated town of Dámasak."

Vol. ii., page 621, line 5,
" 630, lines 16, 25, and 30,
" 634, line 2 from bottom,
" 637. line 6 "
} *read* نهر *instead of* نجر.

TRAVELS AND DISCOVERIES

IN

AFRICA.

CHAPTER LIII.

DEPARTURE FOR TIMBU'KTU.—THE HILLY NORTHWESTERN PROVINCES OF BO'RNU.

THE death of Mr. Overweg, happening at a period when the prospects of the mission just began to brighten, induced me to relinquish my original plan of once more trying my fortune in Kánem and on the N.E. shores of Tsád, as an undertaking too dangerous for me in my isolated position, and the results of which could not reasonably be expected to be great, even with the protection of a small force, in a disturbed country, in comparison with the dangers that accompanied it. Besides, such was the character of the horde of the Welád Slimán and their mode of warfare, that, after having received the sanction of the British government for my proceedings, and being authorized by them to carry out the objects of the mission as at first projected, I could scarcely venture to associate myself again with such a lawless set of people. I therefore determined to direct my whole attention toward the west, in order to explore the countries situated on the middle course of the great western river, the I'sa, or the so-called Niger, and at the same time to establish friendly relations with the powerful ruler of the empire of Sókotó, and to obtain full permission for myself or other Europeans to visit the southeastern provinces of his empire, especially A'damáwa, which I had been prevented from fully exploring by the real or pretended fear of the governor of that province to grant such a permission without the sanction of his liege lord.

The treaty which I had at length succeeded in getting signed by the Sheikh of Bórnu and his vizier on the last of August, together with a map of all the parts of Central Africa which I had as yet visited, and containing at the same time all the information

which I had been able to collect concerning the neighboring provinces,* I had forwarded home in the middle of October, addressing at the same time the request to H. M.'s consul at Tripoli to send me, by a special courier to Zínder, a certain sum of money. The road which I had before me was long, leading through the territories of a great many different chiefs, and partly even of powerful princes; and as soon as I should have left Zínder behind me, I could not expect to find fresh supplies, the sum of money which I had received on my return from Bagírmi being almost all spent in paying the debts which we had incurred when left without means. A sum of 400 dollars, besides a box containing choice English ironware, had been some time before consigned to a Tebú of the name of A'hmed Háj 'Alí Bíllama; but instead of proceeding at once with the caravan with which he had left Fezzán, as he ought to have done, he staid behind in his native town Bilma to celebrate a marriage. The caravan, with about twenty horses and a hundred camels, arrived, on the 10th of November, without bringing me any thing except the proof of such reckless conduct; and as I could not afford to lose any more time in waiting for this parcel, I left orders that it should be forwarded to Zínder as soon as it should arrive, but never received it.

Nearly three fourths of the money in cash which we had received being required to pay off our debts, we had been obliged to give away a great portion even of the articles of merchandise, or presents, in order to reward friends who for so long a period had displayed their hospitality toward us, and rendered us services almost without the slightest recompense; so that, on the whole, it was only under the most pressing circumstances I could think of undertaking a journey to the west with the means then at my disposal. But, very luckily, a handsome sum of money was on the road to Zínder; I also expected to receive at that place a few new instruments, as the greater part of my thermometers were broken, and I had no instrument left for making hypsometrical observations.

An inroad on a large scale of a tribe of the Tawárek, or Kindín, as they are called in Bórnu, under their chief, Músa, into the province of Múniyó, through which lay my road to Zínder, delay-

* This is the map which was published by Mr. Petermann in the account of the progress of the Expedition to Central Africa, adding from Mr. Richardson's and Mr. Overweg's journals, which I had sent home, an outline of those districts visited by themselves alone.

ed my departure for a considerable time. This inroad of the hordes of the desert claimed a greater interest than usual, especially when considered in connection with the facts which I have set forth on a former occasion,* the Tawárek or Berbers having originally formed an integral part of the settled population of Bórnu. These Díggera of Músa, who appear to have occupied these tracts at a former period, had evidently formed the firm intention of settling again in the fine valleys of the province of Múniyó, which are so favorable to the breeding of camels that even when the country was in the hands of the Bórnu people they used to send their herds there.

At length, after a long series of delays, the road to the west became open, and I took leave of the sheikh on the 19th of November, in a private audience, none but the vizier being present. I then found reason to flatter myself that, from the manner in which I had explained to them the motives which had induced me to undertake a journey to the chiefs of the Fúlbe or Fellatá, there were no grounds of suspicion remaining between us, although they made it a point that I should avoid going by Kanó; and even when I rejected their entreaty to remain with them after my successful return from Timbúktu, they found nothing to object, as I assured them that I might be more useful to them as a faithful friend in my own country than by remaining with them in Bórnu. At that time I thought that her majesty's government would be induced to send a consul to Bórnu, and, in consequence, I raised their expectations on that point. But matters in Bórnu greatly changed during my absence in the west, and, in consequence of the temporary interregnum of the usuper 'Abd e' Rahmán, and the overthrow and murder of the vizier, the state of affairs there assumed a less settled aspect. I concluded my leave-taking by requesting my kind hosts, once more, to send a copy of the history of Edrís Alawóma, the most celebrated Bórnu king, to the British government, as I was sure that, in their desire to elucidate the history and geography of these regions, this would be an acceptable present.

The vizier, in particular, took great interest in my enterprise, admiring the confidence which I expressed, that the Sheikh el Bakáy, in Timbúktu, of whom I had formed an opinion merely from hearsay, would receive me kindly and give me his full protection; and I did not fail to represent to them that, if the English

* See vol. ii., p. 28.

should succeed in opening these great high roads of the interior for peaceful intercourse, it would be highly advantageous even for themselves, as they would thus be enabled to obtain those articles which they were in want of from the regions of Western Africa, such as kola nuts and gold, with much less expense and greater security; and they were thus induced to endeavor to derive a profit even from this my enterprise. The sheikh, who had formed the intention of undertaking a journey to Mekka, wanted me to procure for him some gold in Timbúktu; but, uncertain as were my prospects, and difficult as would be my situation, I could not guarantee such a result, which my character as a messenger of the British government would scarcely allow. The sheikh sent me two very fine camels as a present, which stood the fatigue of the journey marvelously, one of them only succumbing on my return journey, three days from Kúkawa, when, seeing that it was unable to proceed, I gave it as a present to a native m'allem. Having finished my letters, I fixed my departure for the 25th of November, without waiting any longer for the caravan of the Arabs, which was soon to leave for Zínder, and which, though it held out the prospect of a little more security, would have exposed me to a great deal of inconvenience and delay.

Thursday, November 25th, 1852. It was half past ten in the morning when I left the town of Kúkawa, which for upward of twenty months I had regarded as my head-quarters, and as a place upon which, in any emergency, I might safely fall back upon; for although I even then expected that I should be obliged to return to this place once more, and even of my own free will made my plans accordingly, yet I was convinced that, in the course of my proceedings, I should not be able to derive any farther aid from the friendship and protection of the Sheikh of Bórnu, and I likewise fully understood that circumstances might oblige me to make my return by the western coast. For I never formed such a scheme voluntarily, as I regarded it of much greater importance for the government, in whose service I had the honor to be employed, to survey the coast of the great river from Timbúktu downward, than to attempt, if I should have succeeded in reaching that place, to come out on the other side of the continent, while I was fully aware that, even under the most favorable circumstances, in going, I should be unable to keep along the river, on account of its being entirely in the hands of the lawless tribes of Tawárek, whom I should not be able to pass before I had obtained the protection of

a powerful chief in those quarters. Meanwhile, well aware from my own experience how far man generally remains in arrear of his projects, in my letter to government I represented my principal object as only to reach the Niger at the town of Sáy, while all beyond that was extremely uncertain.

My little troop consisted of the following individuals. First, Mohammed el Gatróni, the same faithful young lad who had accompanied me as a servant all the way from Fezzán to Kúkawa, and whom, on my starting for A'damáwa, I had sent home, very reluctantly, with my dispatches and with the late Mr. Richardson's effects, on condition that, after having staid some time with his wife and children, he should return. He had lately come back with the same caravan which had brought me the fresh supplies. Faithful to my promise, I had mounted him on horseback, and made him my chief servant, with a salary of four Spanish dollars per month, and a present of fifty dollars besides in the event of my enterprise being successfully terminated. My second servant, and the one upon whom, next to Mohammed, I relied most, was 'Abd-Alláhi, or, rather, as the name is pronounced in this country, 'Abd-Alléhi, a young Shúwa from Kótokó, whom I had taken into my service on my journey to Bagírmi, and who, never having been in a similar situation, and not having dealt before with Europeans, at first had caused me a great deal of trouble, especially as he was laid up with the small-pox for forty days during my stay in that country. He was a young man of very pleasing manners and straightforward character, and, as a good and pious Moslim, formed a useful link between myself and the Mohammedans; but he was sometimes extremely whimsical, and, after having written out his contract for my whole journey to the west and back, I had the greatest trouble in making him adhere to his own stipulations. I had unbounded control over my men, because I agreed with them that they should not receive any part of their salary on the road, but the whole on my successful return to Haúsa. 'Abd-Alláhi was likewise mounted on horseback, but had only a salary of two dollars, and a present of twenty dollars. Then came Mohammed ben A'hmed, the fellow of whom I have already spoken on my journey to Kánem, and who, though a person of very indifferent abilities, and at the same time very self-conceited on account of his Islám, was yet valued by me for his honesty, while he, on his part, having been left by his countrymen and co-religionists in a very destitute situation, became attached to myself.

I had two more freemen in my service, one a brother of Mohammed el Gatróni, who was only to accompany me as far as Zinder; the other an Arab from the borders of Egypt, and called Slimán el Ferjáni, a fine, strong man, who had once formed part of the band of the Welád Slimán in Kánem, and who might have been of great service to me from his knowledge of the use of fire-arms and his bodily strength; but he was not to be trusted, and deserted me in a rather shameful manner a little beyond Kátsena.

Besides these freemen, I had in my service two liberated slaves, Dýrregu, a Haúsa boy, and A'bbega, a Marghí lad, who had been

A'bbega. Dýrregu.

set free by the late Mr. Overweg, the same young lads whom, on my return to Europe, I brought to this country, where they promised to lay in a store of knowledge, and who, on the whole, have been extremely useful to me, although A'bbega not unfrequently

found some other object more interesting than my camels, which were intrusted to his care, and which, in consequence, he lost repeatedly.

In addition to these servants, I had attached to my person another man as a sort of broker, and who was to serve as a mediator between me and the natives; this was the Méjebrí 'Alí el A'geren, a native of Jálo, the small commercial place near Aújila, which has recently been visited and described by the Abbé Hamilton. He had traveled for many years in Negroland, and had traversed in various directions the region inclosed between Sókotó, Kanó, Baúchi, Záriya, and Gónja. But for the present, on my outset from Bórnu, I had not made any fixed arrangements with this man; but in the event of his accompanying me beyond Sókotó, he was to have two horses and a monthly salary of nine dollars, besides being permitted to trade on his own account. Such an arrangement, although rather expensive to me, considering the means at my disposal, was of very great importance if the man did his duty, he being able, in his almost independent situation, to render me extraordinary assistance in overcoming many difficulties; but, as an Arab, I only put full confidence in him as long as circumstances were propitious, while his wavering character as soon as dangers began to surround me did not put me in any way out of countenance.

These people, besides an Arab, a so-called sheríf, from Fás, who was going as far as Zínder, and who had likewise attached himself to my small party, composed the band with which I cheerfully set out on my journey toward the west on the 25th of November, being accompanied out of the town by the Háj Edris, whom I have had frequent occasion to mention. In order to get every thing in readiness, and to be sure of having neglected no precaution to secure full success to my enterprise, I followed my old principle, and pitched my tent for the first day only a couple of miles distant from the gate, near the second hamlet of Kalíluwá, in the scanty shade of a baúre, when I felt unbounded delight in finding myself once more in the open country, after a residence of a couple of months in the town, where I had but little bodily exercise. Indulging in the most pleasing anticipations as to the success of the enterprise upon which I was then embarking, I stretched myself out at full length on my noble lion-skin, which formed my general couch during the day, and which was delightfully cool.

Friday, November 26th. This was one of the coldest, or perhaps

the very coldest night which I experienced in the whole of my journeys since entering the fertile plains of Negroland, the thermometer in the morning, a little before sunrise, showing only 9° Fahr. above the freezing point. The interior of Africa, so far removed from the influence of the sea (which is warmer in winter than the *terra firma*), forms, with regard to the cold season, an insulated cool space in the tropical regions in opposition to the warm climate of the West Indies, and the coasts and islands of the Pacific and Indian Oceans. We were all greatly affected by the cold; but it did us a great deal of good, invigorating our frames after the enervating influence of the climate of Kúkawa. We did not set out, however, before the sun had begun to impart to the atmosphere a more genial character, when we proceeded on our journey westward. The country which I traversed, passing by the frequented well of Beshér, although already known to me from previous travels, now presented a very different aspect from what it had done on my first journey from Kanó to Kúkawa, those bleak and dreary hollows of black argillaceous soil being now changed into the richest corn-fields, and waving with a luxuriant crop of masákuwá, while the fields of small millet (*Pennisetum*) stood in stubble.

We encamped near the well Súwa-búwa, or, as it was called by others, Kabubíya, on the gentle slope of the rising ground toward the north, from whence the busy scene round the well, of cattle, asses, goats, and sheep being watered in regular succession, presented an interesting and animated spectacle, more especially coming after and contrasted with the dull life of the capital. The well measured fifteen fathoms in depth, and the inhabitants were so on the alert for gain that they thought it right to sell us the precious element for watering our camels. My whole party were in the best spirits, cheerful and full of expectation of the novelties, both in human life and nature, that were to be disclosed in the unknown regions in the far west. In order to protect ourselves from the cold, which had so much affected us the preceding night, we set fire to the whole of a large decayed tree, which, with great exertion, we dragged from some distance close to our tent, and thus enjoyed a very moderate degree of temperature in our open encampment.

Saturday, November 27th. I now entered Koyám, with its straggling villages, its well-cultivated fields, and its extensive forests of middle-sized mimosas, which afford food to the numerous herds

of camels constituting the wealth of this African tribe, who in former times, before the Bórnu dynasty was driven away from its ancient capital Njímiye by the rival family of the Bulála,* led a nomadic life on the pasture-grounds of Kánem. Having thus traversed the district called Wódomá, we encamped about noon, at a short distance from a well in the midst of the forest, belonging to a district called Gágadá. The well was twenty-five fathoms deep, and was frequented during the night by numerous herds of cattle from different parts of the neighborhood.

While making the round in the night in order to see whether my people were on the look-out, as a great part of the security of a traveler in these regions depends on the vigilance exercised by night, I succeeded in carrying away secretly the arms from all my people, even from the warlike Ferjáni Arab, which caused great amusement and hubbub when they awoke in the morning, and enabled me to teach them a useful lesson of being more careful for the future.

November 28th. Having taken an early breakfast—an arrangement which, in this cold weather, when the appetite even of the European traveler in these regions is greatly sharpened, we found very acceptable—we pursued our journey, passing through the district of Garánda, with deep sandy soil, and rich in corn, cattle, and camels. A great proportion of the population consisted of Shúwa, or native Arabs, who had immigrated from the east. As we proceeded on our march, the trees gradually assumed a richer character, plainly indicating that we were approaching a more favored district. There was the ngilísi, or haméd, a tree very common over the whole eastern part of Negroland, with its small leaves bursting forth from its branches; the karáge, or gáwo, now appearing as a small tree of scanty growth, farther on spreading out with a large and luxuriant crown not ceding to the 'ardéb or tamarind-tree; and the kórna, which, extending over the whole of these immense regions, is remarkable for bearing almost every where the same name.† The underwood was formed by the kálgo and gónda bush, which latter, however, did not seem to bear here that delicious fruit which has so frequently served to refresh my failing energies during my marches through other districts; and, cold as had been the night, the sun even now was very powerful during the midday hours, there being a difference of 40°.

* See vol. ii., p. 31.

† See vol. ii., p. 489, note.

We encamped after a march of about thirteen miles, having by mistake exchanged our westerly direction for a southwesterly one, near the well called Kagza,* and were very hospitably and kindly treated by a patriotic old man, a citizen of the old capital or birni of Ghasr-éggomo, who, when that splendid town was taken by the Fúlbe or Felláta in the year 1809, had fled to Wáday, and had lived there several years among the Welád Ráshid, waiting for better times. This good man described to me, with a deep feeling of sorrow, the taking of that large and wealthy town, under the command of the Fúlbe chiefs Malá-Rída, Mukhtár, and Hanníma, when the king, with his whole host of courtiers and his numerous army, fled through the eastern gate while the enemy was entering the western one, and the populous place was delivered up to all the horrors accompanying the sacking of a town. What with the pleasant character of the country and the friendly disposition of our host, I should have enjoyed my open encampment extremely if I had not been suffering all this time very severely from sore legs, ever since my return from Bagírmi, when I had to cross so many rivers, and was so frequently wet through.†

Monday, November 29th. Pursuing still a southwesterly direction, our march led us through a district called Rédaní, in regard to which the state of the cultivation of the ground (the géro, the wealth of this country, lying in large heaps or "bagga" on the fields) and the uninterrupted succession of straggling hamlets left the impression of ease and comfort. But we had great difficulty in finding the right track among the number of small footpaths diverging in every direction; and in avoiding the northern route, which we knew would lead us to a part of the river where we should not be able to cross it, we had, by mistake, chosen a too southerly path, which, if pursued, would have led us to Gújeba. While traversing this fertile district, we were astonished at the repeated descents which we had to make, and which convinced us that these sandy swells constitute a perfect separation between the komádugu and the Tsád on this side. The district of Rédaní was followed by another called Kangálla, and, after a short tract of forest, a third one, of the name of Meggi, consisting mostly of argillaceous soil, and not nearly so interesting as Rédaní. We en-

* The depth of the well measured twenty-two fathoms.

† This is a complaint to which almost every European in these climes is exposed, and from which Clapperton suffered very severely. I found the best remedy to be mai-kadeña butter, which is very cooling; but in the eastern part of Bórnu it is rarely to be met with.

camped at length near a group of three wells, where, once a week, a small market is held. In the adjacent hollow a pond is formed in the rainy season. The wells were twenty fathoms in depth.

Tuesday, November 30th. The district through which we passed to-day, in a northwesterly direction, seemed to be rich in pasture-grounds and cattle. It was at the time inhabited by a number of Tebú of the tribe of the Dáza, or rather Búlgudá, who in former times, having been driven from A'gadem, Bélkashí Farri, and Saw by the Tawárek, had found refuge in this district, where they preserve their nomadic habits to some extent, and by no means contribute to the security of the country. Having been warned that along the road no water was to be had, we encamped a little outside the track, near the farming village of Gógoró, where the women were busy threshing or pounding their corn, which was lying in large heaps, while the men were idling about. They were cheerful Kanúri people, who reside here only during the time of the harvest, and when that is over return to their village, Dímmarruwá. The ground hereabout was full of ants, and we had to take all possible care in order to protect our luggage against the attacks of this voracious insect.

Wednesday, December 1st. We now approached the komádugu of Bórnu, presenting, with its network of channels and thick forests, a difficult passage after the rainy season. Fine groups of trees began to appear, and droves of Guinea-fowl enlivened the landscape. In order to give the camels a good feed on the rich vegetation produced in this favorable locality, we made even a shorter march than usual, encamping near a dead branch of the river, which is called Kulúgu Gússum, S.E. from the celebrated lake of Múggobí, which in former times, during the glorious period of the Bórnu empire, constituted one of the chief celebrities and attractions of the country, but which at present, being overwhelmed by the surrounding swamps, serves only to interrupt the communication between the western and eastern provinces. Allured by the pleasing character of the place, I stretched myself out in the shade of a group of majestic tamarind-trees, while the man whom I had taken with me as a guide from the village where we had passed the night, gave me some valuable information with regard to the divisions of the Koyám, the present inhabitants of this region east of the komádugu, which had been conquered from the native tribe of the Só. He told me that the Kíye, or, as the name is generally pronounced in Bórnu, the Kay (the tribe which

I have mentioned in my historical account of Bórnu),* originally formed the principal stock of the Koyám, together with whom the Máguni and the Fárferé constitute the principal divisions, the chief of the latter clan bearing the title of Fúgo. The Temágheri, of whom I have also had occasion to speak, and the Ngalága, fractions of both of whom are settled here, he described as Kánembú. But, besides these tribes, a great proportion of Tebú have mixed with the ancient inhabitants of this district, probably since the time of the king Edrís Alawóma, who forced the Tebú settled in the northern districts of Kánem to emigrate into Bórnu. In connection with the latter wide-spread nation, my informant described the Túra (whose chief is called Dírkemá, being a native of Dírki), the Débirí or Díbbíri (also spoken of by me on a former occasion), the U'ngumá, and the Káguwá. The Jetko or Jotko, who live along the komádugu, west from the town of Yó, he described to me as identical with the Kèléti, the very tribe which is repeatedly mentioned by the historian of Edrís Alawóma. Thus we find in this district a very interesting group of fractions of former tribes who have here taken refuge from the destructive power of a larger empire.

I took a long walk in the afternoon along the sheet of water, which was indented in the most picturesque manner, and was bordered all around with the richest vegetation, the trees belonging principally to the species called karáge and baggarúwa. Farther on dúm palms became numerous; and it was the more interesting to me, as I had visited this district, only a few miles farther north, during the dry season. Guinea-fowl were so numerous that one could hardly move a step without disturbing a group of these lazy birds, which constitute one of the greatest delicacies of the traveler in these regions. A sportsman would find in these swampy forests not less interesting objects for his pursuits than the botanist; for elephants, several species of antelopes, even including the *oryx* or tétel, nay, as it would seem, even the large *addax*, the wild hog, besides an unlimited supply of water-fowl, Guinea-fowl, and partridges, would prove worthy of his attention, while occasional encounters with monkeys would cause him some diversion and amusement.

At present the water was decreasing rapidly;† but this part

* See vol. ii., p. 29.

† Compare what I have said with regard to the periods of the rising and decreasing of this river in vol. ii., p. 576.

had been entirely dry at the beginning of September, when the late Mr. Overweg had visited it, and the conclusion then drawn by him, that the river inundates its banks in November, was entirely confirmed by my own experience. There was a great deal of cultivation along this luxuriant border, and even a little cotton was grown; but a very large amount of the latter article might be obtained here with a greater degree of industry. Besides a village at a short distance to the S.E., inhabited by Koyám, and which bears the same name as this branch of the river, there is a hamlet, consisting of about thirty cottages, inhabited by Fúlbe, or Felláta, of the tribe of the Híllega, the same tribe whom we have met in A'damáwa. They seemed to possess a considerable number of cattle, and appeared to lead a contented and retired life in this fertile but at present almost desolate region. But, unfortunately, they have been induced, by their close contact with the Kanúri, to give up the nice manner of preparing their milk, which so distinguishes the Fúlbe in other provinces; and even the cheerful way in which the women offered us their ware could not induce me to purchase of them their unclean species of sour milk, which is prepared by means of the urine of cattle.

Beautiful and rich as was the scenery of this locality, it had the disadvantage of harboring immense swarms of musquitoes, and our night's rest, in consequence, was greatly disturbed.

Thursday, December 2d. Winding round the swamp (for the nature of a swamp or kulúgu was more apparent at present than that of a branch of the river), we reached, after a march of about three miles, the site of the ancient capital of the Bórnu empire, Ghasr-éggomo, which, as I have stated on a former occasion,* was built by the King 'Alí Ghajidéni, toward the end of the fifteenth century, after the dynasty had been driven from its ancient seats in Kánem, and, after a desperate struggle between unsettled elements, began to concentrate itself under the powerful rule of this mighty king. The site was visited by the members of the former expedition, and it has been called by them by the half-Arabic name of Birni-Kadím, the "old capital," even the Bórnu people in general designating the place only by the name birni or burni. The town had nearly a regular oval shape, but, notwithstanding the great exaggerations of former Arab informants, who have asserted that this town surpassed Cairo (or Masr el Káhira) in size, and was a day's march across, was little more than six English

* Vol. ii., p. 589.

miles in circumference, being encompassed by a strong wall with six or seven* gates, which, in its present dilapidated state, forms a small ridge, and seems clearly to indicate that, when the town was conquered by the Fúlbe or Felláta, the attack was made from two different sides, viz., the southwest and northwest, where the lower

part of the wall had been dug away. The interior of the town exhibits very little that is remarkable. The principal buildings consist of baked bricks; and in the present capital not the smallest approach is made to this more solid mode of architecture.† The dimensions of the palace appear to have been very large, although nothing but the ground-plan of large empty areas can be made out at present, while the very small dimensions of the mosque, which had five aisles, seem to afford sufficient proof that none but the people intimately connected with the court used to attend the service, just as is the case at the present time; and it

* The intelligent Arab Ben 'Alí, in the interesting account which he gave to Lucas (Proceedings of the African Association, vol. i., p. 148), distinctly states the number of the gates as seven; but it is remarkable that, in all the accounts of the taking of the place by the Fúlbe, mention is only made of two gates, and it is still evident, at the present time, that the western and the eastern gates were the only large ones.

† It must be this circumstance (which to the natives themselves, in the degenerate age of the later kings, appeared as a miracle) which caused the report that in Ghámbarú and Ghasr-éggomo there were buildings of the time of the Christians.

serves, moreover, clearly to establish the fact that even in former times, when the empire was most flourishing, there was no such thing as a médresé, or college, attached to the mosque. The fact is, that although Bórnu at all times has had some learned men, study has always been a private affair among a few individuals, encouraged by some distinguished men who had visited Egypt and Arabia. Taking into consideration the great extent of the empire during the period of its grandeur, and the fertility and wealth of some of its provinces, which caused gold dust at that time to be brought to market here in considerable quantity, it can not be doubted that this capital contained a great deal of barbaric magnificence, and even a certain degree of civilization, much more so than is at present found in this country; and it is certainly a speculation not devoid of interest to imagine, in this town of Negroland, a splendid court, with a considerable number of learned and intelligent men gathering round their sovereign, and a priest writing down the glorious achievements of his master, and thus securing them from oblivion. Pity that he was not aware that his work might fall into the hands of people from quite another part of the world, and of so different a stage of civilization, language, and learning! else he would certainly not have failed to have given to posterity a more distinct clew to the chronology of the history of his native country.

It is remarkable that the area of the town, although thickly overgrown with rank grass, is quite bare of trees, while the wall is closely hemmed in by a dense forest; and when I entered the ruins, I found them to be the haunt of a couple of tall ostriches, the only present possessors of this once animated ground; but on the southwest corner, at some distance from the wall, there was a small hamlet.

The way in which the komádugu, assisted probably by artificial means, spreads over this whole region, is very remarkable. The passage of the country at the present season of the year, covered as it is with the thickest forest, was extremely difficult, and we had to make a very large circuit in order to reach the village of Zéngirí, where the river could be most easily crossed. I myself went, on this occasion, as far southwest as Zaraima, a village lying on a steep bank near a very strong bend or elbow of the river, which, a little above, seems to be formed by the two principal branches, the one coming from the country of Bedde, and the other more from the south; but, notwithstanding the great cir-

cuit we made, we had to ford several very extensive backwaters, stretching out, in the deeper parts of the valley, amid a thick belt of the rankest vegetation, before we reached the real channel, which wound along in a meandering course inclosed between sandy banks of about twenty-five feet in elevation, and, with its rich vegetation, presenting a very interesting spectacle. The forest in this part is full of tétel, or *Antelope oryx*, and of the large antelope called "kargum." The few inhabitants of the district, although they do not cultivate a great deal of corn, can not suffer much from famine, so rich is the supply of the forest as well as of the water. Our evening's repast, after we had encamped near Zéngirí, was seasoned by some excellent fish from the river. However, I must observe here that the Kanúri in general are not such good hunters as the Háusa people, of whom a considerable proportion live by hunting, forming numerous parties or hunting clubs, who on certain days go out into the forest.

Friday, December 3d. Having made a good march the previous day, we were obliged, before attempting the passage of the river with our numerous beasts and heavy luggage, to allow them a day's repose; and I spent it most agreeably on the banks of the river, which was only a few yards from our encampment. Having seen this valley in the dry season, and read so many theories with regard to its connection with the Niger on one side and the Tsád on the other, it was of the highest interest to me to see it at the present time of the year, when it was full of water, and at its very highest point; and I could only wish that Captain William Allen had been able to survey this noble stream in its present state, in order to convince himself of the erroneous nature of his theory of this river running from the Tsád into the so-called Chadda, or rather Bénuwé. Though the current was not very strong, and probably did not exceed three miles an hour, it swept along as a considerable river of about one hundred and twenty yards breadth toward the Tsád, changing its course from a direction E. 12° S. to N. 35° E. While the bank on this side formed a steep sandy slope, the opposite one was flat, and richly adorned with reeds of different species, and luxuriant trees. All was quiet and repose, there being no traffic whatever on the river, with the exception of a couple of homely travelers, a man and woman, who in the simple native style were crossing the river, riding on a pair of yoked calabashes, and immerged in the water up to their middle, while they had stowed away their little clothing inside

THE KOMADUGU AT ZENGIEI.

those very vessels which supported them above the water; but, notwithstanding their energetic labor, they were carried down by the force of the current to a considerable distance. Besides these two human beings, the river at present was only enlivened by one solitary spoonbill (or, as it is here called, béja or kedébbu-búnibe), who, like a king of the water, was proudly swimming up and down, looking around for prey.

The following day we crossed the river ourselves. I had some difficulty in concluding the bargain, the inhabitants, who belong to the Tebú-Zénghi,* making at first rather exorbitant demands,† till I satisfied them with a dollar; and we ourselves, camels, horses, and luggage, crossed without an accident, each camel being drawn by a man mounted on a pair of calabashes, while another man mounted the animal close to its tail. The scenery, although destitute of grand features, was highly interesting, and has been represented as correctly as possible in the plate opposite. The river proved to be fifteen feet deep in the channel, and about 120 yards broad; but there was a still smaller creek behind, about five feet deep.

At length we were again in motion; but our difficulties now commenced, the path being extremely winding, deeply hollowed out, and full of water, and leading through the thickest part of the forest; and I had to lament the loss of several bottles of the most valuable medicine, a couple of boxes being thrown from the back of the camel. The forest extended only to the border which is reached by the highest state of the inundation, when we emerged upon open country, and, leaving the town of Nghurútuwa (where Mr. Richardson died) at a short distance on our right, we encamped a few hundred yards to the south of the town of Alaúne, which I had also passed on my former journey.

Here we entered that part of the province of Manga which is governed by Kashélla Belál; and the difference in the character of this tract from the province of Koyám, which we had just left behind, was remarkable, the country being undulated in downs of red sand, famous for the cultivation of ground-nuts and beans, both of which constitute a large proportion of the food of the inhabitants, so that millet and beans are generally sown on the same

* I do not know exactly whether the ford has been called after this tribe; but the name Zénghiri also occurs in other localities.

† These people wanted in general nothing but cloves. I, however, succeeded in buying a sheep from them for eight gábagá, at the rate of eight dr'a each.

field, the latter ripening later, and constituting the richest pasture for cattle and camels. Of grain, negro millet (*Pennisetum typhoïdeum*) is the species almost exclusively cultivated in the country of Manga, sorghum not being adapted for this dry ground.

The same difference was to be observed in the architecture of the native dwellings, the corn-stacks, which impart so decided a character of peace and repose to the villages of Háusa, but which are sought for in vain in the whole of Bórnu Proper, here again making their appearance. The Manga call them "sébe" or "gúsi." The cottages themselves, although they were not remarkable for their cleanliness, presented rather a cheerful aspect, the thatch being thickly interwoven with and enlivened by the creepers of various cucurbitaceæ, but especially the favorite kobéwa or *Melopepo*. The same difference which was exhibited in the nature of the country and the dwellings of the natives, appeared also in the character of the latter, the Kanúri horseman or the Koyám camel-breeder being here supplanted by the Manga footman, with his leathern apron, his bow and arrow, and his battle-axe, while the more slender Manga girl, scarcely peeping forth from under her black veil, with which she bashfully hid her face, had succeeded to the Bórnu female, with her square figure, her broad features, and her open and ill-covered breast. I have observed elsewhere that, although the Manga evidently form a very considerable element in the formation of the Bórnu nation, their name as such does not occur in the early annals of the empire, and we therefore can only presume that they owe their origin to a mixture of tribes.

Having passed the important place of Kadagárruwá and some other villages, we encamped on the 5th near the extensive village Mámmarí, where the governor of the province at that time resided.*

Monday, December 6th. A small water-course joining the komádugu Waúbe from the north, separates the province of Kashélla Belál from another part of Manga, placed under a special officer,

* To this province, although I do not know by what particular name it is called by the natives, belong the following places, besides Mámmarí or Mómmolí: Katíkenwá (a large place), Gubálgorúm (touched at by me on my former route) at a short distance to the S.E., Tafiyóri E., Keríbúdduwa, Mainé, Nay, Mammed Kanúri, M'adi Kúlloram, Kará ngámduwá to the N., Kériwá, Dúggulí, Gúdderam, Ngabóliya, Kajimma, Alaúne, Nghurútuwa, Bam. The place Shégori, although situated within the boundaries of this province, forms a separate domain of Malá Ibrám.

who has his residence in Borzári. Close on the western side of this water-course, which is only about thirty yards across, the Manga, at the time (in the year 1845) when, in consequence of the inroad of Wáday, the whole empire of Bórnu seemed to be falling to ruin, fortified a large place in order to vindicate their national independence against the rulers of the kingdom; but, having been beaten by 'Abd e' Rahmán, the sheikh's brother, the town was easily taken by another kókana or officer, of the name of Háj Sudáni. It is called Máikonomarí-kurá, the Large Máikonomarí, in order to distinguish it from a smaller place of the same name, and contains at present only a small number of dwellings, but was nevertheless distinguished from its more thriving neighbor by a larger supply of articles of comfort, such as a fine herd of cattle, well-filled granaries, and plenty of poultry, while the neighboring province, which we had just left behind, appeared to be exhausted by recent exactions and contributions, the greater part of the population having even sought safety in a precipitate flight. The country, however, which we traversed on our march to Borzári was not remarkable in any way for the beauty of its scenery, although the former part of our march led through a well-cultivated and populous district; and the heat reflected, during the middle of the day, from the bleak soil, clad only with a scanty vegetation, was oppressive in the extreme, although it was the month of December. Thus I passed the walled town of Grémarí* without feeling myself induced, by the herd of cattle just assembled near the wall, to make a halt, the ground here becoming excessively barren and hot. On reaching the town of Borzári, I preferred encamping outside, although there was not the least shade; my heavy luggage and my numerous party rendering quarters inside the town rather inconvenient. The governor, to whom I sent a small present, treated me very hospitably, sending me a heifer, a large provision of rice, several dishes of prepared food, and two large bowls of milk. This excellent man, whose name is Kashélla Manzo, besides the government of his province, had to regu-

* I will here mention, as an instance how careful travelers, even those tolerably well acquainted with the languages of the country through which they travel, must be with regard to the names of places, that when first passing this town I asked a man its name, and, not having distinctly heard what he said, I asked another person who stood by, and he said "mannawáji." Supposing at the time that this was the name of the place, I wrote it down, but soon convinced myself that it meant nothing but "he does not want to speak," or "refuses to answer," and I then learned on farther inquiry that the real name of the town was Grémarí.

late the whole intercourse along this road, being instructed at the time especially to prevent the exportation of horses from the Bórnu territory into the Háusa states.

The town, which is surrounded with a low crenulated wall and a ditch in good repair, is of considerable size and well built, and may contain from 7000 to 8000 inhabitants; but there is no great industry to be seen, nor is there a good market. The wells measure ten fathoms in depth.

Our direct road from this point would have led straight to Zurríkulo; but an officer of the name of A'dama, who was to accompany me to Zínder, having joined me, I was induced to take a more southerly road, by way of Donári, which constituted his estate; and I was very glad afterward that I did so, as this road made me acquainted with the peculiar character of the territory of Bedde, which I should not otherwise have touched at.

Tuesday, December 7th. The first part of our march led through a more dreary tract of country, which was neither very picturesque, nor exhibited any great signs of industry among the natives; but after a stretch of a little more than eleven miles, large, wide-spreading tamarind-trees announced a more fertile district, and a few hundred yards farther on we reached the border of one of the great swampy creeks connected with the southwestern branch of the komádugu, and intersecting the territory of Bedde, which we had now entered. We kept close along its border, which was adorned by fine, luxuriant trees, till we encamped at a short distance from Dáddeger, a place inhabited by Bedde, and at that time forming part of the estate of Malá Ibrám. The village is situated on a small mound close to the swamp or jungle, for the water is so thickly covered with forest that no portion of the aqueous element is to be seen. It forms rather what the Kanúri call an ngáljam (that is to say, a swampy shallow creek or backwater, having little or no inclination) than a kulúgu; and there can be no doubt of its connection with the great komádugu of Bórnu. The natives call it at this spot Gojágwa,* and, farther on, Máje. They are pagans, and wear nothing but a narrow leather apron or funó round their loins,† with the exception of a few Ka-

* I almost suspect that this is the water of which Mr. Hutchinson, when in Ashanti, heard a report from the natives under the name "koumouda Gaiguina." (Bowdich's Mission to Ashantee, p. 213.)

† What Koelle relates (Kanúri Proverbs, p. 82, text; p. 211, transl.) on the authority of his informant, that the Bedde, or Bode, as he writes, wear wide shirts,

núri, who are living among them, and who cultivate a small quantity of cotton, for which the banks of the swamp are very well suited, and would no doubt be extensively used for this purpose if the country were inhabited by civilized people.

The Bedde, according to their language, are closely related to the Manga, but, as far as I had an opportunity of judging, are much inferior to them in bodily development, being not at all distinguished for their stature; but it is very probable that the inhabitants of these places in the border district, who come into continual contact with their masters, the Bórnu people, are more degenerate than those in the interior, who, protected by the several branches of the komádugu and the swamps and forests connected with them, keep up a spirit of national independence, possessing even a considerable number of a small breed of horses, which they ride without saddle or harness, and in the same barbaric manner as the Músgu.

Wednesday, December 8th. The district which we traversed in the morning was distinguished by a great number of kúka or monkey-bread-trees, the first one we saw being destitute of leaves, though full of fruit; but gradually, as we approached a more considerable sheet of water, they became adorned with a profusion of rich foliage, and we here met several small parties laden with baskets, of an elongated shape, full of the young leaves of this tree, which, as "kálu kúka," constitute the most common vegetable of the natives. Besides the kúka, large karáge and kórna or jujube-trees (*Zizyphus*), and now and then a fine tamarind-tree, though not of such great size as I was wont to see, adorned the landscape.

We had just crossed a swamp, at present dry, surrounded on one side by fine fig-trees and gerredh of such luxuriant growth that I was scarcely able to recognize the tree, and on the other by talha-trees, when, about noon, we emerged into open cultivated ground, and were here greeted with the sight of a pretty sheet of open water, breaking forth from the forest on our left, and dividing into two branches, which receded in the distance. The Bedde call it Thaba-kenáma. The water is full of fish, which is dried by the inhabitants, and, either in its natural form, or pounded and formed into balls, constitutes an important article of export. We met a good many people laden with it.

It was here that, while admiring this river-like sheet of water,

"kálgu," besides the funó, of course (as is the case also with the Marghí) can only have reference to those among them who have adopted Islám.

I recognized, among a troop of native travelers, my friend the sheríf Mohammed Ben A'hmed, to whom I was indebted for a couple of hours very pleasantly and usefully spent during my stay in Yóla, and for the route from Mozambique to the Lake Nyanja, or, as it is commonly called, Nyassi. I for a moment hoped that it might be my fate, in the company of this man, to penetrate through the large belt of the unknown equatorial region of this continent toward the Indian Ocean. But as he was now on his way from Zínder to Kúkawa, we had only a few moments allowed for conversation and the exchange of compliments, when we separated in opposite directions, never to meet again—my fate carrying me westward, while he was soon to succumb to the effects of the climate of Negroland.

Three miles farther on, turning a little more southward from our westerly direction, we reached the town of Géshiya, once a strong place and surrounded by a clay wall, but at present in a state of great decay, although it is still tolerably peopled, the groups of conical huts being separated by fences of matting into several quarters. Here we encamped on the north side, near a fine tamarind-tree, where millet was grown to a great extent. The south and west sides were surrounded by an extensive swamp or swampy water-course fed by the komádugu, and, with its dense forest, affording to the inhabitants a safe retreat in case of an attack from their enemies. All the towns of the Bedde are situated in similar positions, and hence the precarious allegiance of the people (who indulge in rapacious habits) to the ruler of Bórnu. The inhabitants of Géshiya,* indeed, have very thievish propensities; and as we had neglected to fire a few shots in the evening, a couple of daring men succeeded, during the night, in carrying away the woolen blanket in which my companion the Méjebrí merchant 'Alí el A'geren was sleeping at the side of his horse. Although he was a man of hardihood and experience, he was dragged or carried along to a considerable distance, until he was forced to let go his blanket; and, threatening him with their spear in case he should cry out, they managed this affair so cleverly and with such dispatch, that they were off in the dark before

* The bíllama, or mayor, of this town, who has subjected himself to the authority of Bórnu, bears the title "Mai 'Omár Béddema." Fitíti, the residence of the chief Babýshe or Babúdji, and the chief town of Bedde, lies a short day's march from here S.S.W. I have more materials of itineraries traversing this region, but they are too indistinct with regard to direction to be used for a topographical sketch of the country.

we were up to pursue them. It was a pity that these daring rascals escaped with their spoil; but, in order to prevent any farther depredations of this kind, we fired several shots, and with a large accordion, upon which I played the rest of the night, I frightened the people to such a degree that they thought every moment we were about to ransack the town.

Thursday, December 9th. Keeping along the northeastern border of the swamp, through a fine country where the tamarind and monkey-bread-tree were often interlaced, as I have repeatedly observed to be the case with these species of trees, we reached, after a march of about three miles, the town of Gesma, which is girt and defended by the swamp on the south and east sides, the wall being distinguished by the irregularity of its pinnacles, if pinnacles they may be called, as represented in the accompanying wood-cut. The inhabitants, clad in nothing but a leather apron,

were busy carrying clay from the adjacent swamp, in order to repair the wall, which, however, on the west side, was in excellent condition.

Close to this town I observed the first rími, or silk-cotton-tree, which in Bórnu Proper is entirely wanting; and as we proceeded through the fine open country, numerous species of trees which are peculiar to Háusa became visible, and seemed to greet me as old acquaintances. I was heartily glad that I had left the monot-

onous plains of Bórnu once more behind me, and had reached the more favored and diversified districts of this fine country. Small channels intersected the country in every direction; and immense fishing-baskets were lying in some of them, apparently in order to catch the fish which, during the period of the inundation, are carried down by the river. But the great humidity of this district made it swarm with ants, whose immense and thickly-scattered hills, together with the dúm bush, filled out the intermediate spaces between the larger specimens of the vegetable kingdom.

Having then crossed a tract of denser forest, we entered upon deep sandy soil, where the kúka became the sole tree, excluding almost every other kind, with the exception of a few tamarinds, for whose company, as I have observed, the monkey-bread-tree seems to have a decided predilection.

Thus we reached Donári, formerly a considerable place of the Manga, and surrounded with a low rampart of earth, but at present greatly reduced, the inhabited quarter occupying only a very small proportion of the area thus inclosed. But a good many cattle were to be seen, and, lying just in the shade of the majestic monkey-bread-trees which mark the place, afforded a cheerful sight. This was the residence of the Bórnu officer A'dama, who had accompanied me from Borzári, and who the previous day had gone on in advance to pass the night here. But having once made it a rule to encamp in the open country, I preferred the large though leafless trunk of a kúka at a short distance from the eastern gate to a cool shed inside the town; and the heat was by no means oppressive, a cool wind blowing the whole day.

December 10*th*. We exchanged the domain of the monkey-bread-tree for that of the dúm palm, by giving to our course a north-westerly direction toward Zurríkulo, the queen of the region of dúm palms and the residence of the hospitable Kashélla S'aíd,* passing at some distance on our way a comfortable and populous little place, surrounded with a stockade, and bearing the attractive name of Kechídúniyá, "the sweetness of the world," where a little market was held, to which people were flocking from all sides, male and female, with sour milk, ground-nuts, grain, earthen pots, young cattle, and sheep.

In Zurríkulo I fell into my former route, which I had followed

* His province comprises the following villages: Chando, Gíro, Ghasrmarí, Kellerí, Gabchári, Bilaljawa, Nkibúda, Lawandí, Dalarí, Kerí-zemán, Kábi, Gréma Dalarí.

in the opposite direction in March, 1851, and, crossing the northern branch of the komádugu, which at present was two feet and a half deep, and following almost the same road, encamped the next day in Shechéri, the first village of the district of Búndi.

CHAPTER LIV.

THE MOUNTAINOUS TERRITORY OF MU'NIYO', AND ITS GOVERNOR.

December 12th. In Shechéri I left my former route, which would have taken me to Búndi and Máshena, and followed a N.N.W. direction, toward the mountainous province of Múniyó, which before the time of our expedition was entirely unknown. Passing through the district of Chejéssemo, to which Shechéri belongs, we entered a forest where the kúsulu or magária,* with its small berries, was very common, the ground being covered with tall jungle. We then reached the town of Ngárruwá, surrounded with a clay wall in decay, and here watered our animals. The wells were ten fathoms deep; and crowds of boys and girls were busy drawing water from two other richer wells situated on the north side of the place. The path was also frequented by numbers of people who were carrying the harvest into the town, in nets made from the leaves of the dúm palm, and borne on the backs of oxen. Farther on, forest and cultivated ground alternated; and leaving a rocky mound called Míva, which marks the beginning of the northwestern hilly portion of the Manga country on our right, we reached, after a good march of altogether about twenty-two miles, the rich well of Berbéruwá, a small miserable hamlet which lies at a short distance to the west.

The well, however, which was scarcely a fathom in depth, was surrounded by six fine wide-spreading tamarind-trees at regular distances from each other, and afforded quite a pleasant resting-place. The well is important as a station for travelers, while the hamlet is so poor that it does not possess a single cow or goat. It still belongs to the province of the ghaladíma, who about thirty years ago had a caravan of from sixteen to twenty Arabs exterminated in this neighborhood, when Mukní, the then ruler of Fezzan and one of the greatest slave-hunters of the time, penetrated as far as the Komádugu Wáúbe. Sheikh 'Omar also, when on his

* See what I have said about this tree in vol. i., p. 404.

expedition against Zínder, in order to subjugate the rebellious governor of that town (Ibrahím or Ibrám), encamped on this spot. The temperature of the water of the well was 66°.

On inquiring to-day for the small territory of Auyók or Nkizám, the situation as well as the name of which had been erroneously given by former travelers, I learned that it is situated between Khadéja and Gummel, and that it comprises the following places: Táshina, U'nik, Shágató, Shíbiyay, Belángu, Badda, Rómeri, Sóngolom, Melebétiye, and U'marí.

Monday, December 13th. A band of petty native traders, or dangarúnfu, who carried their merchandise on their heads, here joined our party. Their merchandise consisted of cotton, which they had bought in Díggera, and were carrying to Sulléri, the market of Múniyó, where cotton is dear. While proceeding onward, we met another party of native traders from Chelúgiwá, laden with earthenware. In the forest which we then entered, with undulating ground, the karáge was the predominant tree. Farther on the road divided; and while I took the western one, which led me to Yámiyá, my people, mistaking a sign which some other persons had laid across the path as if made by myself, took the easterly one to Chelúgiwá, where Méle, the lord of this little estate, resided, so that it was some time before I was joined by my party.

The well (which, as is generally the case in this district, lies at the foot of a granite mount, where the moisture collects) in the afternoon presented an interesting scene, a herd of 120 head of fine cattle being watered here; and it was the more interesting, as the herdsmen were Felláta, or Fúlbe, of the tribe of the Hirlége. The well measured two fathoms in depth; and the temperature of the water was 80° at 1.20 P.M., while that of the air was 84°.

Tuesday, December 14th. After a march of about six miles through a fine country, occasionally diversified by a rocky eminence, and adorned here and there by fine tamarind-trees, we reached Sulléri, a considerable place, consisting of several detached hamlets, where the most important market in the territory of Múniyó is held every Friday. The place contains about 5000 inhabitants, and was enlivened at the time by a considerable herd of cattle. Millet is grown to a great extent, although dúm bush or ngille, with its obstructing roots, renders a great portion of the soil unfit for cultivation, and scarcely any cotton at all is raised, so that this forms an important article of importation. Toward

the south lies another place, called Deggerári, and to the southwest a third one, called Dúgura. Granitic eminences dotted the whole country; but the foggy state of the atmosphere did not allow me to distinguish clearly the more distant hills.

Proceeding in a northwesterly direction through this hilly country, and leaving at a short distance on our right a higher eminence, at the western foot of which the village of New Búne is situated, we descended considerably into a hollow of clayey soil of a most peculiar character. For all of a sudden an isolated date palm started up on our right, while on our left the unwonted aspect of a tall slender gónda, or *Erica Papaya*, attracted our attention, the intermediate ground being occupied by a rich plantation of cotton. Suddenly a large "sirge" or lake of natron of snowy whiteness, extending from the foot of the height which towers over Búne, approached on our right, the rich vegetation which girded its border, along which the path led, forming a very remarkable contrast to the barrenness of the "sirge;" for the whole surface of the basin, which did not at present contain a drop of water, was formed of natron, while people were busy digging saltpetre, from pits about six feet deep and one foot and a half in diameter, on its very border. A short distance off, fresh water is to be found close under the surface, giving life to the vegetation, which bears a character so entirely new in this district; and I gazed with delight on the rich scenery around, which presented such a remarkable contrast to the monotonous plains of Bórnu. Widespreading tamarind-trees shaded large tracts of ground, while detached date palms, few and far between, raised their feathery foliage like a fan over the surrounding country. The ground was clothed, besides, with "retem," or broom, and dúm bush, with the *Tamarix gallica*, or "tarfa," which I scarcely remember to have seen in any other spot during the whole of my travels in Negroland.

Ascending from the clayey soil on a sandy bottom, we reached the western foot of the eminence of Old Búne, which is built in a recess of the rocky cliffs on the western slope of the mount. But the village, which has already suffered greatly by the foundation of New Búne at so short a distance, and which is important only as the residence of Yegúddi, the eldest son of Múniyóma, had been almost destroyed some time before by a great conflagration, with the exception of the clay dwelling of the governor, situated at the foot of the cliffs. It was just rebuilding—only the déndal, or principal street, being as yet fit for habitation, while the rest of the place wore a very cheerless aspect.

Returning, therefore, a few hundred yards in the direction from whence I had come, I chose my camping-ground on an eminence at the side of the path, shaded by a majestic tamarind-tree, and affording an open prospect over the characteristic landscape in the bottom of the irregular vale. Here I spent the whole afternoon enjoying this pleasant panorama, of which I made a sketch, which has been represented in the plate opposite. I had now been suffering for the last two months from sore legs, which did not allow me to rove about at pleasure, otherwise I would gladly have accompanied my companion 'Alí el A'geren on a visit to his friend Bashá Bú-Khalúm, a relative of that Bú-Khalúm who accompanied Denham and Clapperton. At this time he was residing in New Búne, where he had lately lost, by another conflagration, almost the whole of his property, including eight female slaves, who were burned to death while fettered in a hut. As conflagrations are very common all over Negroland, especially in the dry season, a traveler must be extremely careful in confiding his property to these frail dwellings, and he would do well to avoid them entirely.

Wednesday, December 15th. A cold northerly wind, which blew in the morning, made us feel very chilly in our open and elevated encampment, so that it was rather late when we set out, changing now our course entirely from a northwesterly into a north-northeasterly direction. The whole neighborhood was enveloped in a thick fog. The country, after we had passed the mountain Bóro, which gives its name to the village Bórmarí, became rather mountainous. The path wound along through a succession of irregular glens and dells, surrounded by several more or less detached rocky eminences, all of which were clothed with bush. The bottom of the valleys, which consisted mostly of sand, seemed well adapted for the cultivation of sorghum. We passed a large store of grain, where the people were busy pounding or threshing the harvested corn.

In many places, however, the ground was intersected by numerous holes of the fenek or *Megalotis;* and at times clay took the place of the sandy soil. Numerous herds of camels enlivened the landscape, all of which belonged, not to the present owners of the country, but to the Tawárek, the friends and companions of the people of Músa, who had lately made a foray on a grand scale into this very province.

We encamped at length, after a march of about thirteen miles,

SALT LAKE NEAR BUNE.

BÚWA-KOLÓSSO.

near the second well of Súwa-Kolólluwa, which was two fathoms in depth, and, unlike the first well, contained a good quantity of water.

The scenery had nothing very remarkable about it; but it exhibited a cheerful, homely character, surrounded as it was by hills, and enlivened by herds of camels, horses, and cattle, which toward evening gathered round the well to be watered; and the character of peace and repose which it exhibited induced me to make a sketch of it.

Among the animals there were some excellent she-camels, which, as evening advanced, were crying and eagerly looking out for their young ones, that had been left in the surrounding villages. The inhabitants, who treated us hospitably, seemed to be tolerably well off; and the feasting in my little encampment continued almost the whole night long.

Thursday, December 16th. With the greater eagerness we started early in the morning, in order to reach the capital of this little hilly country, which forms a very sharp wedge or triangle of considerable length, projecting from the heart of Negroland toward the border of the desert, and exhibiting fixed settlements and a tolerably well-arranged government, in contrast to the turbulent districts of nomadic encampments. Our direction meanwhile remained the same as on the preceding day, being mostly a northeasterly one. The situation of this province, as laid down from my route upon the map, seems very remarkable; but we must not forget that in ancient times, during the flourishing period of the empire of Bórnu, the whole country between this advanced spur and Kánem formed populous provinces subjected to the same government, and that it is only since the middle of the last century that, the Berbers or Tawárek having politically separated entirely from the Kanúri, the whole eastern part of these northern provinces has been laid waste and depopulated, while the energetic rulers of the province of Múniyó have not only succeeded in defending their little territory, but have even extended it in a certain degree, encroaching little by little upon the neighboring province of Díggera, a tribe of the Tawárek, whom I have mentioned on a former occasion.*

The country in general preserved the same character as on the previous day, the narrow vales and glens inclosed by the granitic eminences being well cultivated, and studded with small hamlets,

* Vol. i., p. 472.

in some of which the huts approached the architecture usual in Kánem. Several troops of natives met us on the road, with pack-oxen, over the backs of which large baskets were thrown by means of a sort of network; they were returning from the capital, having delivered their quota of the 'ashúr or "kúngona máibe." The system of tax-paying in these western provinces is very different from that usual in Bórnu Proper, as I shall soon have another opportunity of relating.

After a march of about six miles, an isolated date palm announced a different region, and a little farther on we entered the valley of Túnguré, running from west to east, and adorned with a fine plantation of cotton, besides a grove of about two hundred date palms. Having traversed this valley where the road leads to Bílla M'allem Gárgebe, we entered a thicket of mimosas, while the eminences assumed a rounder shape. The country then became gradually more open, scarcely a single tree being met with, and we obtained a distant view of Gúre, situated at the southern foot and on the lower slope of a rocky eminence, when we began to descend considerably along the shelving ground of the expansive plain laid out in stubble-fields, with here and there a few trees, and intersected by several large and deep ravines.

Having first inspected the site of the town, I chose my camping-ground in a small recess of the sandy downs which border the

south side of a concavity or dell surrounding the town on this side, and laid out in small kitchen gardens and cotton plantations, as shown in the accompanying wood-cut; for, notwithstanding the entreaties of the governor, I did not like to take up my quarters inside the place.

In the evening I received a visit from Yusuf Mukní, the late Mr. Richardson's interpreter, who at present had turned merchant, and, having sold several articles to Múniyóma, the governor of the country, had been waiting here three months for payment. He was very amiable on this occasion, and apparently was not indisposed to accompany me to Sókoto, if I had chosen to make him an offer; but I knew his character too well, and feared rather than liked him. He gave me a faithful account of the wealth and power of Múniyóma, who, he said, was able to bring into the field 1500 horsemen, and from 8000 to 10,000 archers, while his revenues amounted to 30,000,000 of shells, equivalent, according to the standard of this place, to 10,000 Spanish dollars, besides a large tribute in corn, equal to the tenth part, or 'ashúr, which, in all the provinces of Bórnu northwest of the komádugu, in consequence of the governors of these territories having preserved their independence against the Fúlbe or Felláta, belongs to them, and not to the sovereign lord, who resides in Kúkawa. Each full-grown male inhabitant of the province has to pay annually 1000 shells for himself, and, if he possess cattle, for every pack-ox 1000 shells more, and for every slave 2000.

I had heard a great deal about the debts of this governor; but I learned, on farther inquiry, that they only pressed heavily upon him this year, when the revenues of his province were greatly reduced by the inroad of the Tawárek, of which I have spoken before. As a specimen of his style of life, I may mention that he had recently bought a horse of Tarkíye breed for 700,000 shells, a very high price in this country, equal to about £50 sterling.

Friday, December 17th. Having got ready my presents for the governor, I went to pay him a visit; and, while waiting in the inner court-yard, I had sufficient leisure to admire the solid and well-ornamented style of building which his palace exhibited, and which almost cast into the shade the frail architectural monuments of the capital. I was then conducted into a stately but rather sombre audience-hall, where the governor was sitting on a divan of clay, clad in a blue bernús, and surrounded by a great number of people whom curiosity had brought thither. Having exchanged

with him the usual compliments, I told him that, as Mr. Richardson had paid him a visit on his first arrival in the country, and on his way from the north to Kúkawa, it had also been my desire, before leaving Bórnu for the western tribes, to pay my respects to him as the most noble, powerful, and intelligent governor of the country, it being our earnest wish to be on friendly terms with all the princes of the earth, more especially with those so remarkably distinguished as was his family. He received my address with great kindness, and appeared much flattered by it.

The number of people present on this occasion was so great that I did not enter into closer conversation with the governor, the darkness of the place not allowing me to distinguish his features. I had, however, a better opportunity of observing his almost European cast of countenance when I paid him another visit in order to satisfy his curiosity by firing my six-barreled revolver before his eyes. On this occasion he did me the honor of putting on the white heláli bernús which had constituted the chief attraction of my present, and which he esteemed very highly, as most noble people do in this country, while the common chief values more highly a dress of showy colors. The white half-silk bernús looked very well, especially as he wore underneath it a red cloth kaftan.

The real name of the governor is Kóso, Múniyóma being, as I have stated on a former occasion,* nothing but a general title, meaning the governor of Múniyó, which, in the old division of the vast empire of Bórnu, formed part of the Yerí. In the present reduced state of the kingdom of Bórnu, he was the most powerful and respectable of the governors, and by his personal dignity had more the appearance of a prince than almost any other chief whom I saw in Negroland. Besides making himself respected by his intelligence and just conduct, he has succeeded in spreading a sort of mystery round his daily life, which enhanced his authority. The people assured me that nobody ever saw him eating; but, as far as I had an opportunity of observing, even his family harbored that jealousy and want of confidence which undermines the well-being of so many princely households based on polygamy.

Kóso at that time was a man of about sixty years of age, and, unfortunately, died shortly afterward, in the year 1854. He had displayed a great deal of energy on several occasions. It was he

* See vol. i., p. 555, note.

who had transferred the seat of government of this province from Búne to Gúre, having conquered (or probably only reconquered) this territory from the Díggera, the Tawárek tribe formerly scattered over a great part of Háusa. But, notwithstanding his own energetic character, he had manifested his faithfulness to his sovereign lord in Kúkawa at the time of the inroad of the Wádáy, when Serkí Ibrám, the governor of Zínder, not only declared himself independent, but even demanded homage from the neighboring vassals of the Bórnu empire, and, when such was denied him, marched against Múniyóma, but was beaten near the town of Wúshek. Such faithful adherence to the new dynasty of the Kánemíyín in Kúkawa is the more remarkable in this man, as the ruling family of Múniyóma seems to have been of ancient standing, and it was an ancestor of Kóso, of the name of Sérriyó, who once conquered the strong town of Dáura, the most ancient of the Háusa states.

But, notwithstanding the more noble disposition which certainly distinguished this man from most of his colleagues, here also the misery connected with the horrors of slave-hunting and the slave-trade was very palpable; for, in order to be enabled to pay his debts, he was just then about to undertake a foray against one of the towns of the Díggera, the inhabitants of which had behaved in a friendly manner toward the Tawárek during their recent inroad, and he begged me very urgently to stay until his return from the foray. But as I did not want any thing from him, and as the road before me was a long one, I preferred pursuing my journey, taking care, however, to obtain information from him, and from the principal men in his company, respecting those localities of the province which most deserved my attention.

Kóso departed, with his troop in several small detachments, about noon on the 18th, the signal for starting not being made with a drum, as is usual in Bórnu, but with an iron instrument which dates from the old pagan times, and not unlike that of the Músgu. It was also very characteristic that during his absence the lieutenant governorship was exercised by the mágirá, or the mother of the governor, who was said to have ruled on former occasions in a very energetic manner, punishing all the inhabitants capable of bearing arms who had remained behind. Before setting out, however, on his foray, the governor sent me a camel as a present, which, although it was not a first-rate one, and was knocked up before I reached Kátsena, nevertheless proved of

some use for a few days. I presume that it had been his intention to have given me a better animal, and that his design had only been frustrated by some selfish people. He had expressed a wish to purchase from me a pair of Arab pistols; but, although I possessed three beautifully-ornamented pairs, I wanted them myself as presents for other chiefs on my farther march, and therefore could not gratify his wish. During my stay here he treated me very hospitably, sending me, besides numerous dishes of prepared food, two fat sheep as a present.

Gúre, the present residence of Múniyóma, lies on the southern slope of a rocky eminence, and is separated by irregular ground into several detached portions, containing altogether a population of about 8000 inhabitants. In former years it was more spacious, and its circumference had only been lessened a short time before my arrival, in order to insure a greater security. But it is only surrounded with a single, and in some places a double fence or stockade, the southwestern corner, which is most exposed to an attack, being protected in a curious way by a labyrinth of fences, including a number of cotton-grounds and kitchen-gardens.* But although in this manner the town is only very insufficiently protected against a serious attack, the inhabitants have the advantage of the rocky cone rising over their heads, where they might certainly retire in such a case.

Sunday, December 19th. I left Gúre, continuing my march toward Zínder, not along the most direct road, but with the intention of

* I here give a list of the towns and more important villages belonging to the province of Múniyó: Gúre, the present capital, conquered from the Díggera by Kóso, the present governor; Búne, the old capital; New Búne; Sulléri, the chief market-place; Wúshek; Gábana; Sangáya; Méza; Gertégené; Mázamní; Mástatá; Kelé-no; Kizámmana; Dellakóri; Bóbit, W. of Old Búne; Bírni-n-Gámmachak or Ché-chega, the oldest possession of the Múniyómas; Gábu, inhabited besides by Manga. also by Kanúri and Fúlbe; Bratáwa; Kólori; two places called Gediyó; Kábara: Fasú; Chágamo; Mérerí; Ngámarí; Berdéri; Wódo; Dudémerí; Yebál; De-ríkwa; Kalalíwa; Chando; Wurme; Másoda; Fusám ghana; Bermárili; three places called Kadalébbuwa; two places Mája; Changa, with a market every Wednesday; Hogómarí; Gínuwa; Umórarí; Maiganarí; Falám; three places Kolól-luwa; Donári; Gáso; Onjol; Wonji; Aladári; Grémarí; U'duwa; Koïgdám: Bítuwa; Kúrerí; Wórirám; Shéddiga; Ngamda; Boggosúwa; Shá; Bráda: Garekkhí; Mádará; Gergériwá; Sassudári; Gásabá; Maya; Lássorí; Shút: Aúra; Ganákta; Maye; Kelle; Aidambé; Ferám; Hugadébbuwa; two places Felládarí; Yémmerí; Dúgerí; Búgu; Ngóliwá; Térmuwa; Gurógudá; U'rowa: Gárruwa; Farram; Hosomawáro; Shíshuwa: Kangárruwa; Bóbot; M'allem Mádorí; Daúrduwa; Derígnwa; Gujámbo; Wárimí; Gajémmi; Inyóm; Tsér-ruwa; M'allemrí; Karbo; Aríwaul; Díni, and others.

visiting those localities which were likely to present the most interesting features. I therefore kept first in a westerly direction, passing through a mountainous district, and farther on through more open country, with the purpose of visiting Wúshek, a place which had been mentioned to me as peculiarly interesting. The situation of the place has something (as the plate a few pages farther on, as well as the woodcut, will show) very peculiar about it —a mixture of fertility and aridity, of cultivation and desolation, of industry and neglect, being situated at some distance from the foot of a mountain range, and separated from it by a barren tract, while on the side itself the moisture percolates in several small dells and hollows; and thus, besides a good crop of wheat, several small groves of date-trees are produced. The largest of these groves, skirting the east side of the town, contains about 800 trees, while a little farther east another dell winds along, containing about 200 palms, and, joining the former to the north of the village, widens to a more open ground richly overgrown with tamarind-trees, which are entwined with creepers and clad with herbage. This grove, which encompasses the whole of the north side of the place, exhibits a very pleasant aspect. Several ponds are formed here, and abundance of water is found in holes from a foot to two feet in depth.

Going round this depression, I entered the town from the northeast quarter, and here found a large open space laid out in fields of wheat, kitchen gardens, with onions, and cotton-grounds, all in different stages of cultivation: most of the beds where wheat was grown were just being laid out, the clods of dry earth being broken and the ground irrigated, while in other places the green stalks of the crop were already shooting forth. The onions were very closely packed together. Every where the fertilizing element was close at hand, and palm-trees were shooting up in several detached clusters; but large mounds of rubbish prevented my taking a comprehensive view over the whole, and the more so as the village is separated into four detached portions lying at a considerable distance from each other, and forming altogether a circumference of about three miles, with a population of from 8000 to 9000 inhabitants. But the whole is merely surrounded by a light fence. The principal cluster, or hamlet, surrounds a small eminence, on the top of which stands the house of the head man or mayor, built of clay, and having quite a commanding position, while at the northeastern foot of the hill a very picturesque date

WU'SHEK.

1. Principal hamlet surrounding the dwelling of the billama, which is situated on an eminence.
2. Several smaller clusters of huts. 3, 4. Shallow vales with palm-trees.
5. Small depressions or cavities in the sandy soil, also with palm-trees.
6. Another group of palm-trees on the border of a small brook formed by a source of living water.

grove spreads out in a hollow. The ground being uneven, the dwellings, like those in Gúre, are mostly situated in hollows, and the court-yards present a new and characteristic feature; for, although the cottages themselves are built of reed and stalks of Negro corn, the corn-stacks, far from presenting that light and perishable appearance which they exhibit all over Háusa, approach closely that solid style of building which we have observed in the Músgu country, being built of clay, and rising to the height of ten feet.

Wúshek is the principal place for the cultivation of wheat in the whole western part of Bórnu; and if there had been a market that day, it would have been most profitable for me to have provided myself here with this article, wheat being very essential for me, as I had only free servants at my disposal, who would by no means undertake the pounding and preparing of the native corn, while a preparation of wheat, such as mohamsa, can be always kept ready; but the market of Wúshek is only held every Wednesday. In the whole of this country, one hundred shells, or kúngona, which are estimated equal to one gábagá, form the standard currency in the market; and it is remarkable that this sum is

WUSHEK.

not designated by the Kanúri word "míye" or "yéro,"* nor with the common Háusa word "darí," but by the name "zango," which is used only in the western parts of Háusa and in Sókoto.

I had pitched my tent near the southeastern hamlet, which is the smallest of the four, close to the spot where I had entered the place, not being aware of its extent, and from here I made, in the afternoon, a sketch of the mountain range toward the south, and the dry shelving level bordered by the strip of green verdure with the palm-trees in the foreground, which is represented in the plate opposite. In the evening I was hospitably regaled by each of the two bíllama who govern the town, and I had the satisfaction of making a "tailor to his majesty Múniyóma," who was residing here, very happy by the present of a few large darning-needles for sewing the líbbedi or wadded dress for the soldiers.

Monday, December 20th. On leaving Wúshek, we directed our course by the spur of the mountain chain to the south-southwest, crossing several hollows, one of which presented a very luxuriant cotton-ground carefully fenced in by the *euphorbiacea*, here called mágará, which I have described on a former occasion. The country in general consisted of a broken sandy level clothed with tall reeds. Leaving, then, a small village of the name of Gédiyó in a recess of the mountains, we entered an undulating plain, the prairie of Nógo, open toward the west, but bounded on the east by an amphitheatre of low hills, and densely clothed with herbage and broom, to which succeeded underwood of small mimosas, and farther on, when we approached the hills on the other side of the plain, large clusters of "abísga," or *Capparis sodata*. Only here and there traces of cultivation were to be seen. The sun was very powerful; and as we marched during the hottest hours of the day, I felt very unwell, and was obliged to sit down for a while.

After having traversed the plain, we again had the mountain chain on our left; and in a recess or amphitheatre which is formed by the eminences, we obtained a sight of Gábáta, the old residence of the Múniyóma, but at present exhibiting nothing but a heap of unsightly ruins, encompassed toward the road side by a wall built of different kinds of stone, but at present entirely in decay, while in the very angle of the recess at the foot of the mountains a stone dwelling is seen, where it was the custom, in olden times,

* The Kanúri, in order to express "one hundred," have relinquished the expression of their native idiom, and generally make use of the Arab term "míye."

for every ruler of the country, upon his accession to the throne, to remain in retirement for seven days. It had been my intention to visit this spot; but the present governor had urgently requested me to abstain from such a profane undertaking, the place being, as he said, haunted by spirits; and my sudden indisposition prevented me from accomplishing my design. The natives say that there are caves leading from the stone dwelling into the rock.

Our left being bordered by the mountain slope, which is beautifully varied, and having on our right a fine grove of magnificent trees and cultivated fields, we reached, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the well situated in the recess of the mountains, but had great difficulty in choosing a spot tolerably free from ants. Here I felt so weak that I did not care either about the ruins of Gábáta or any thing else but the most profound repose.

Tuesday, December 21*st.* The night was very cold and disagreeable, a heavy northeasterly gale not only bringing cold, but likewise covering us with clouds of the feathery prickle *Pennisetum distichum*, and we started in a condition any thing but cheerful. The mountain chain on our left now receded, and the country exhibited a rich abundance of timber and herbage, the forest being agreeably broken by a large extent of stubble-fields where millet and beans were grown; and distinguished among the cultivated grounds by the appearance of a certain degree of industry were the fields of Chégchegá or Gámmachak, the oldest estate of the family of Múniyóma, which we had on our left.* In the intervening tracts of forest the úm-el-barka or kégo (*Mimosa Nilotica*) was very common, but it was at present leafless. Granite protrudes now and then; and farther on the whole country became clothed with retem or broom.

Close to the village of Baratáwa we crossed a narrow but beautiful and regular vale, adorned with the finest tamarind-trees I ever saw, which were not only developing their domelike umbrageous crowns in full splendor, but which were the more beautiful as the fruit was just beginning to ripen. Close to the well a group of slender dúm palms were starting forth, with their light fanlike foliage, in singular contrast to the domelike crowns of dark green foliage which adorned the tamarind-trees. This beautiful tree farther on also remained the greatest ornament to the landscape; but, besides this, the kómor or baúre also, and other species, were

* I am a little uncertain, at present, whether this is the old residence, or the Gámmazak near Wúshek.

observed, and the fan palm was to be seen here and there. Cattle and camels enlivened the country, which presented the appearance of one vast field, and was dotted with numerous corn-stacks.

I had entertained the hope of being able this day to reach the natron lake of Keléno; but I convinced myself that the distance was too great, and, although I reached the first hamlet, which bears the name of Keléno, I was obliged to encamp without being able to reach the lake. There had been in former times a large place of the same name hereabout; but the inhabitants had dispersed, and settled in small detached hamlets. Close to our encampment there was a pond of small size, but of considerable depth, which seemed never to dry up. It was densely overgrown with tall papyrus and melés. The core of the root of this rush was used by my young Shúwa companion to allay his hunger, but did not seem to me to be very palatable; and, fortunately, it was not necessary to have recourse to such food, as we were treated hospitably by the inhabitants of the hamlet. The baúre, or, as they are here called, kómor, have generally a very stunted and extremely poor appearance in this district, and nothing at all like that magnificent specimen which I had seen on my first approach to Sudán, in the valley of Bóghel.

Wednesday, December 22*d.* The night was very cold, in fact, one of the coldest which I experienced on my whole journey, the thermometer being only 8° above freezing point; but nevertheless, there being no wind, the cold was less sensibly felt, and my servants were of opinion that it had been much colder the day before, when the thermometer indicated 22° more.

As the natron lake did not lie in my direct route, I sent the greater part of my people, together with the camels, straight on to Badamúni, while I took only my two body-guards, the Gatróni and the Shúwa, with me. The country presented the same appearance as on the previous day; but there was less cultivation, and the dúm palm gradually became predominant. In one place there were two isolated delèb palms. Several specimens of the *Kajlia* were also observed. The level was broken by numerous hollows, the bottom being mostly covered with rank grass, and now and then even containing water. In front of us, three detached eminences stretched out into the plain from north to south, the natron lake being situated at the western foot of the central eminence, not far from a village called Magájiri. When we had passed this village, which was full of natron, stored up partly in

large piles, partly sewn into "tákrufa," or matting coverings, we obtained a view of the natron lake, lying before us in the hollow at the foot of the rocky eminence, with its snow-white surface girt all round by a green border of luxuriant vegetation. The sky was far from clear, as is very often the case at this season; and a high wind raised clouds of dust upon the surface of the lake.

The border of vegetation was formed by well-kept cotton-grounds, which were just in flower, and by kitchen gardens, where derába or *Corchorus olitorius* was grown, the cultivated ground being broken by dúm bush and rank grass. Crossing this verdant and fertile strip, we reached the real natron lake, when we hesitated some time whether or not we should venture upon its surface; for the crust of natron was scarcely an inch thick, the whole of the ground underneath consisting of black boggy soil, from which the substance separates continually afresh. However, I learned that, while the efflorescence at present consisted of only small bits or crumbled masses, during the time of the bíggela, that is to say, at the end of the rainy season, larger pieces are obtained here, though not to be compared with those found in Lake Tsád —the kind of natron which is procured here being called "boktor," while the other quality is called "kilbu tsaráfu." A large provision of natron, consisting of from twenty to twenty-five piles about ten yards in diameter, and four in height, protected by a layer of reeds, was stored up at the northern end of the lake. The whole circumference of the basin, which is called "ábge" by the inhabitants, was one mile and a half.

I here changed my course in order to join my people, who had gone on straight to Badamúni. The country at first was agreeably diversified and undulating, the irregular vales being adorned with dúm palms and fig-trees; and cultivation was seen to a great extent, belonging to villages of the territory of Gúshi,* which we left on one side. Presently the country became more open, and suddenly I saw before me a small blue lake, bounded toward the east by an eminence of considerable altitude, and toward the north by a rising ground, on the slope of which a place of considerable extent was stretching out.

Coming from the monotonous country of Bórnu, the interest of this locality was greatly enhanced; and the nearer I approached,

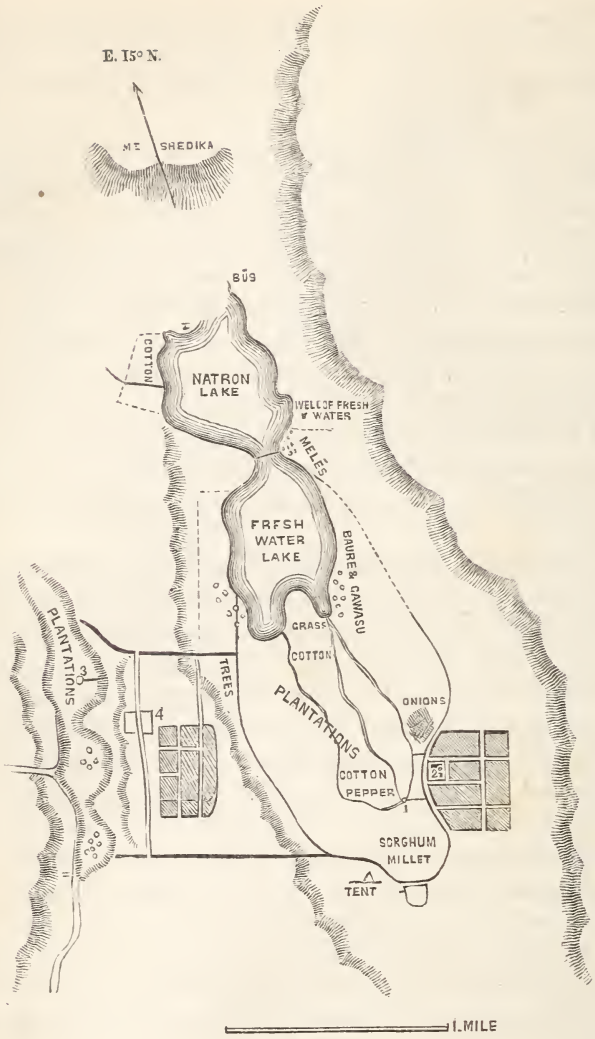
* This territory comprises the following villages: Farilkaia, Górebí, Mataráwa, Tsamaiku, Kachébaré, Yáka, and Báda. The greater part of the inhabitants already belong to the Háusa race, or, as the Kanúri say, "A'funú."

the more peculiar did its features appear to me; for I now discovered that the lake, or rather the two lakes, were girt all round by the freshest border of such a variety of vegetation as is rarely seen in this region of Negroland.

We had some difficulty in joining our camels and people, who had pursued the direct road from Keléno; for, having appointed as the spot where we were to meet the northeastern corner of the town of Gadabúni, or Badamúni, toward the lake, we found that it would be extremely difficult for them to get there, and we therefore had to ride backward and forward before we fixed upon a place for our encampment, at the western end of this small luxuriant oasis. On this occasion I obtained only a faint idea of the richness and peculiarity of this locality; but on the following morning I made a more complete survey of the whole place, as well as my isolated situation and the means at my disposal would allow, the result of which is represented in the following woodcut.

The whole of the place forms a kind of shallow vale, stretching out in a westeasterly direction, and surrounded on the west, north, and south sides by hills rising from 100 to 200 feet, but bordered toward the east by Mount Shedíka, which rises to about 500 or 600 feet above the general level of the country. In this vale water is found gushing out from the ground in rich, copious springs, and feeds two lakes after irrigating a considerable extent of cultivated ground, where, besides sorghum and millet, cotton, pepper, indigo, and onions are grown. These lakes are united by a narrow channel thickly overgrown with the tallest reeds, but, notwithstanding their junction, are quite of a different nature, the westernmost containing fresh water, while that of the eastern lake is quite brackish, and full of natron. It seems to be a peculiar feature in this region that all the chains of hills and mountains stretch from northeast to southwest, this being also the direction of the lakes.

The chief part of the village itself lies on the northwest side of the plantation, on the sloping ground of the downs, while a smaller hamlet borders the gardens on the southwest side. The plantations are very carefully fenced, principally with the bush called mágará, which I have mentioned on former occasions; and besides kúka or monkey-bread-trees, and kórna, or nebek, a few date palms contributed greatly to enliven the scenery. The monkey-bread-trees, however, were all of small size, and of remarkably



BADAMU'NI.

1. Richest source at the southwestern border of the plantation.
2. Open square in the village, adorned with a luxuriant "karáge"-tree.
3. Another rich source in the northern vale.
4. Market-place.

slender growth, such as I had not before observed, while the public place or "fáge" of the smaller village was adorned by a karáge-tree of so rich a growth that it even surpassed, if not in height, at least in the exuberance of its foliage, the finest trees of this species which I had seen in the Músgu country.

I began my survey of this interesting locality on the south side,

following first the narrow path which separates the southern village from the plantation, and visiting again the principal source, the rich volume of which, gushing along between the hedges, had already excited my surprise and delight the previous day.

This lower village can not be very healthy, both on account of its exuberant vegetation, and the quantity of water in which the neighborhood abounds; but its situation is extremely pleasant to the eye. Keeping, then, close along the southern border of the plantation, I reached the eastern edge of the western lake, which is thickly overgrown with papyrus and melés, while, in the narrow space left between the plantation and the lake, the baúre and the gáwasú are the common trees.

The presence of the latter at this spot seems very remarkable, as this tree, in general, is looked for in vain in this whole region; and I scarcely remember to have seen it again before reaching the village, a few miles to the northeast of Wurnó, which has thence received its name.

The papyrus covers the whole shore at the point of junction of the two lakes, while in the water itself, where it first becomes brackish, another kind of weed was seen, called "kumba," the core of which is likewise eaten by the greater part of the poorer inhabitants, and is more esteemed than the melés. It was highly interesting to me to observe that my young Shúwa companion, who was brought up on the shores of the Tsád, immediately recognized, from the species of reeds, the nature of the water on the border of which they grew, as this mixed character of brackish and sweet water is, exactly in the same manner, peculiar to the outlying smaller basins of that great Central African lagoon.*

I found the junction of the two lakes from sixty-five to seventy yards broad, and at present fordable, the water being four feet and a half in depth. The difference in the appearance of the natron lake from that exhibited by the fresh-water basin was remarkable in the extreme, the water of the one being of a dark blue color, and presenting quite a smooth surface, while that of the other resembled the dark green color of the sea, and, agitated by the strong gale, broke splashing and foaming on the shore in mighty billows, so that my two companions, the Shúwa lad and the Háusa boy, whom I had taken with me on this excursion, were quite in ecstasy, having never before witnessed such a spectacle. It would have been a fine spot for a water-party. The

* See what I have said on this subject, vol. ii., p. 64.

surrounding landscape, with Mount Shedíka in the east, was extremely inviting, although the weather was not very clear, and had been exceedingly foggy in the morning. But there was neither boat nor canoe, although the lake is of considerable depth, and is said always to preserve about the same level; for, according to the superstition of the inhabitants, its waters are inhabited by demons, and no one would dare to expose himself to their pranks, either by swimming or in a boat.

The brackish quality of the water arises entirely from the nature of the soil. In the centre it seems to be decidedly of such a quality; but I found that near the border, which is greatly indented, the nature of the water in the different creeks was very varying. In one it was fresh, while in a neighboring one it was not at all drinkable; but, nevertheless, even here there were sometimes wells of the sweetest water quite close to the border. Swarms of water-fowl, of the species called "gármaka" by the Háusa people, and "gubóri" by the Kanúri, together with the black rejíjia and the small sanderling, enlivened the water's edge, where it presented a sandy beach.

A little farther on, the melés and kumba were succeeded by the tall bulrush called "bús," while beyond the northeasterly border of the lake an isolated date palm adorned the scenery, which in other respects entirely resembled the shores of the sea, a rich profusion of sea-weed being carried to the bank by the billows. Then succeeded a cotton plantation, which evidently was indebted for its existence to a small brook formed by another source of fresh water which joins the lake from this side. From the end of this plantation, where the natron lake attains its greatest breadth of about a mile and a half, I kept along the bank in a southwesterly direction, till I again reached the narrow junction between the two lakes. Here the shore became very difficult to traverse, on account of an outlying branch of the plantation closely bordering the lake, and I had again to ascend the downs from whence I had enjoyed the view of this beautiful panorama on the previous day. I thus re-entered the principal village from the northeast side; and while keeping along the upper road, which intersects the market-place, I saw with delight that the town is bounded on the north side also by a narrow but very rich vale, meandering along and clad with a profusion of vegetation; and I here observed another spring, which broke forth with almost as powerful a stream as that near the southern quarter, and was en-

BADAMÚNI.

livened by a number of women busily employed in fetching their supply of water.

The market-place is formed of about thirty sheds or stalls; and there is a good deal of weaving to be observed in the place, its whole appearance exhibiting signs of industry. I could not, however, obtain a sheep, or even as much as a fowl, so that our evening's repast was rather poor; and a very cold easterly wind blowing direct into the door of my tent, which I had opened toward Mount Shedíka in order to enjoy the pleasant prospect of the lakes and the plantation, rendered it still more cheerless. The whole of the inhabitants belong to the Háusa race, and the governor himself is of that nation.* He is in a certain degree dependent on the governor of Zínder, and not directly on the sheikh; and he was treated in the most degrading manner by my trooper, although the latter was a mere attendant of A'dama, the governor of Donári.

Friday, December 24th. I made an interesting day's march to Mírriya, another locality of the province Demágherim, greatly favored by nature. The first part of our road was rather hilly, or even mountainous, a promontory of considerable elevation jutting out into the more open country from S.E., and forming in the whole district a well-marked boundary. The village Hándará, which lies at the foot of a higher mountain bearing the same name, and which we reached after a march of about two miles, was most charmingly situated, spreading out in several straggling groups on the slopes of the hills, and exhibiting a far greater appearance of prosperity than Badamúni. It was highly interesting to take a peep on horseback at the busy scenes which the courtyards exhibited. Poultry was here in great abundance.

While descending from the village, we crossed a beautiful ravine enlivened by a spring, and adorned by a few detached groups of date and delèb palms spreading their feathery foliage by the side of the dúm palms. Leaving then a cotton plantation, stretching out where the ravine widened, we ascended the higher ground, our route lying now through cultivated ground, at other times through forest; and, after a march of about fourteen miles, we crossed a kind of shallow vale, richly adorned with vegetation, and bordered toward the north by sandy downs, over which lies

* The territory under his command comprises, besides Badamúni, four villages, all situated toward the north, their names being as follows: Jíshwa, Koikám, Zermó, and Jígaw.

the direct route to Zínder. A little lower down this valley we passed a small village called Potoró, distinguished by the extent of its cotton plantations. Along the lower grounds a few date-trees form a beautiful fringe to this little oasis; here, also, springs seemed to be plentiful, and large ponds of water were formed.

Four miles beyond this place we reached the wall of the town of Mírriya, which was beautifully adorned with large tamarind-trees. This town had been once a large place, and the capital of the whole western province of Bórnu. But when the town of Zínder was founded, about twenty-five years previously, by Slímán, the father of the present governor Ibrám, Mírriya began to decline, and the chief of this territory fell into a certain degree of dependence upon the governor of Zínder. At the north side of the town there is an extensive district cultivated with cotton and wheat, and irrigated likewise by springs which ooze forth from the sandy downs; besides a few date-trees, a group of slender, feathery-leaved gónda overshadowed the plantation, and gave it an uncommonly attractive character. Having proceeded in advance of my camels, which had followed for some time another path, I had to wait till long after sunset before they came up, and, while resting in the open air, received a visit from the governor of the town, who, in true Háusa fashion, arrived well dressed and mounted, with a numerous train of men on horseback and on foot, singing men, and musicians.

Saturday, December 25th. This was to be the day of my arrival in Zínder, an important station for me, as I had here to wait for new supplies, without which I could scarcely hope to penetrate any great distance westward.

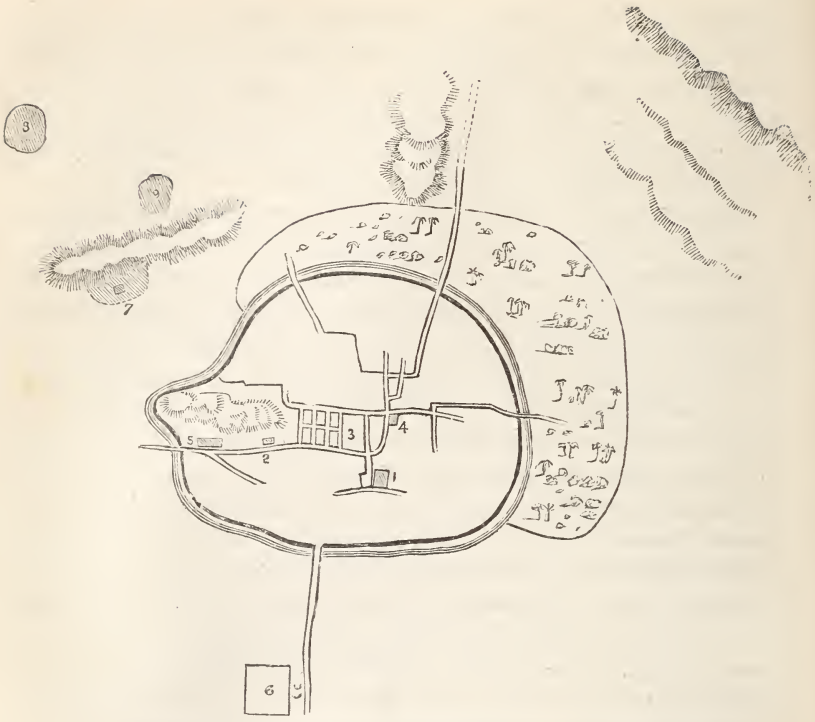
The country was more open than it had been the preceding day, and the larger or smaller eminences were entirely isolated, with the exception of those near Zínder, which formed more regular chains. The ground consisted mostly of coarse sand and gravel, the rocks being entirely of sandstone, and intersected by numerous small water-courses, at present dry. This being the nature of the ground, the district was not very populous; but we passed some villages which seemed to be tolerably well off, as they had cattle and poultry.

Pursuing our northwesterly direction, we reached the town of Zínder after a march of about nine miles and a half, and, winding round the south side of the town, which is surrounded by a low rampart of earth and a small ditch, entered it from the west.

Passing then by the house of the sherif el Fási, the agent of the vizier of Bórnu, we reached the quarters which had been assigned to us, and which consisted of two clay rooms. Here I was enabled to deposit all my property in security, no place in the whole of Sudán being so ill famed, on account of the numerous conflagrations to which it is subjected, as Zínder.

The situation of Zínder is peculiar and interesting. A large mass of rock starts forth from the area of the town on the west side, while others are scattered in ridges round about the town, so that a rich supply of water collects at a short depth below the surface, fertilizing a good number of tobacco-fields, and giving to the vegetation around a richer character. This is enhanced especially by several groups of date palms, while a number of hamlets, or zangó, belonging to the Tawárek chiefs who command the salt-trade, and especially one which belongs to Lúsú, and another to A'nnur, add greatly to the interest of the place. The larger plantation, which the sherif el Fási, the agent of the vizier of Bórnu, had recently begun to the south of the town, although very promising, and full of vegetables difficult to procure in this country, was too young to contribute any thing to the general character of the place. It was entirely wanting in larger trees, and had only a single palm-tree and a lime. I am afraid, after the revolution of December, 1853, which caused the death of that noble Arab, who was one of the more distinguished specimens of his nation, it has returned to the desolate state from which he called it forth.

The accompanying ground-plan of the town and its environs will, I hope, convey some idea of its peculiar character; but it can give not the faintest notion of the bustle and traffic which concentrate in this place, however limited they may be when compared with those of European cities. Besides some indigo-dyeing, there is scarcely any industry in Zínder; yet its commercial importance has of late become so great that it may with some propriety be called "the Gate of Sudán." But, of course, its importance is only based on the power of the kingdom of Bórnu, which it serves to connect more directly with the north, along the western route by way of Ghát and Ghadámes, which has the great advantage over the eastern or Fezzán route that even smaller caravans can proceed along it with some degree of security, that other route having become extremely unsafe. It was then the most busy time for the inhabitants, the salt-caravan of the Kél-owí having arrived some time previously, and all the hamlets situated around the town



1. Residence of governor, inclosed by matting-work.
2. House of sherif el Fási. 3. Market-place. 4. My own quarters.
5. Quarters built for the accommodation of strangers.
6. "Sánia," or plantation, belonging to the sherif el Fási.
7. Hamlet, "zangó," belonging to A'nnur, the chief of the Kél-owí.
8. "Zangó" belonging to Lúsú, the chief of the Kél-azanéres.
9. "Zangó" belonging to some other chiefs among the Tawárek.

being full of these desert traders, who during their leisure hours endeavored to make themselves as merry as possible with music and dancing. This gave me an opportunity of seeing again my friend, the old chief of Tintéllust, who, however, in consequence of the measures adopted toward him by Mr. Richardson, behaved rather coolly toward me, although I did not fail to make him a small present.

Being most anxious to complete my scientific labors and researches in regard to Bórnu, and to send home as much of my journal as possible, in order not to expose it to any risk, I staid most of the time in my quarters, which I had comfortably fitted up with a good supply of "síggedí" or coarse reed mats, taking only now and then, in the afternoon, a ride on horseback either round the town or into the large well-wooded valley which stretches along from N.W. to S.E., at some distance from the town, to

the N.E. Once I took a longer ride, to a village about eight miles S.S.E., situated on an eminence with a vale at its foot, fringed with dúm palms and rich in saltpetre.

On the 20th of January, 1853, I received from the hands of the Arab Mohammed el 'Akerút, whom I have had occasion to mention previously,* a valuable consignment, consisting of one thousand dollars in specie,† which were packed very cleverly in two boxes of sugar, so that scarcely any body became aware that I had received money, and the messenger seemed well deserving of a present equal to his stipulated salary; but I received no letters on this occasion. I had also expected to be able to replace here such of my instruments as had been spoiled or broken by new ones; but I was entirely disappointed in this respect, and hence, in my farther journey, my observations regarding elevation and temperature are rather defective.

I then finished my purchases, amounting altogether to the value of 775,000 kurdí, of all sorts of articles which I expected would be useful on my farther proceedings, such as red common bernúses, white turbans, looking-glasses, cloves, razors, chaplets, and a number of other things, for which I had at the time the best opportunity of purchasing, as all Arab and European merchandise, after the arrival of the káffala, was rather cheap. Thus I prepared for my setting out for the west; for although I would gladly have waited a few days longer, in order to receive the other parcel, consisting of a box with English ironware and four hundred dollars, which was on the road for me by way of Kúkawa, and which, as I have stated before, had been intrusted, in Fezzán, to a Tebú merchant, it was too essential for the success of my enterprise that I should arrive in Kátsena before the Góberáwa set out on a warlike expedition against that province, for which they were then preparing on a grand scale. It was thus that the parcel above-mentioned, which, in conformity with my arrangements, was sent after me to Zínder by the vizier, and which arrived only a few days after I had left that place, remained there in the hands of the sheríf el Fási, and, on his being assassinated in the revolution of 1854, and his house plundered, fell into the hands of the slaves of the usurper 'Abd e' Rahmán.

* See vol. i., p. 166.

† Unfortunately, they were not all Spanish or Mexican dollars; but there were among the number forty pieces of five francs, and more than one hundred Turkish mejidíye.

CHAPTER LV.

DEPARTURE FROM ZI'NDER.—THE BORDER REGION BETWEEN THE BO'RNU AND THE FULFU'LDE EMPIRES.—SECOND STAY IN KA'-TSENA.

Sunday, January 30th, 1853. I left the capital of the western-most province of the Bórnu empire in the best spirits, having at length succeeded, during my prolonged stay there, in getting rid of the disease in my feet, which had annoyed me ever since my return from Bagírmi to Kúkawa. I had, moreover, strengthened my little caravan by two very excellent camels, which I had bought here; and I was now provided with a sufficient supply of money, stores, and presents, the total value of which exceeded two thousand dollars, and which seemed to guarantee success to my undertaking, at least in a pecuniary point of view, and gave me confidence once more to try my fortune with the Fúlbe, my first dealings with whom had not been very promising. However, the road before me was any thing but safe, as I had again to traverse with my valuable property that border district intermediate between the independent Háusáwa and the Fúlbe, which is the scene of uninterrupted warfare and violence, and, unfortunately, there was no caravan at the time; but, nevertheless, the most intelligent men in the place were of opinion that this route, by wây of Gazáwa, was safer than that by Dáura, the unscrupulous governor of the latter province, under cover of his authority, which could not be withstood with a high hand, being apparently more to be feared than the highway robbers in the border wilderness, who, by watchfulness and good arms, might be kept at a respectful distance. But altogether this was a rather unfortunate circumstance for me, as I cherished the ardent desire of visiting the town of Dáura, which, as I have explained on a former occasion, seems to have been the oldest settlement of the Háusa tribe, who appear to have been, from their origin, nearly related to the Berber family, the Díggera, a section of that nation, being formerly entirely predominant in the territory of Dáura. At that time, however, I entertained the hope that, on my return from the west, I might be enabled to visit the latter place, but circumstances prevented me from carrying out my design.

The whole country which we traversed on our way westward, besides being richly studded with fixed dwelling-places, was full of parties of A'sbenáwa salt-traders, partly moving on, partly encamped, and having their merchandise carefully protected by fences of corn-stalks. But, although these people greatly contributed to the animated character of the landscape, yet their presence by no means added to the security of the country, and altogether my order of march became now a very different one from what it had been. Throughout my march from Kúkawa to Zínder, with a few exceptions, it had been my custom to proceed far in advance of the camels, with my horsemen, so that I used to arrive at the camping-ground before the greatest heat of the day had set in; but, on account of the greater insecurity of the country, it now became necessary for me to pursue my march slowly, in company with my luggage train.

The ground along our track, as we proceeded from Zínder, was undulating, with ledges or small ridges and isolated masses of granite boulders starting forth here and there; but the country gradually improved, especially after we had passed a pond at the distance of about seven miles from the town, filling out a concavity or hollow, and fringed with wide-spreading trees and a fine plantation of cotton and tobacco, which were shaded by a few dúm palms. Thus we reached the village of Týrmení, lying at the border of a shallow vale, and surrounded with a strong stockade. Here we fell in with a numerous body of Ikázkezan, mustering, besides a great many on foot, twelve or thirteen men well mounted on horseback, and thinking themselves strong enough, in their independent spirit, to pursue a contraband road along the border district between Dáura and Kátsena, in order to avoid paying any customs to the potentates of either. But the restless governor of Dáura keeps a sharp look-out, and sometimes overtakes these daring smugglers.

Near the village of Dámbedá also, which we reached after a march of two miles from Týrmení, through a more hilly country, several divisions of the salt-caravan were encamped, and we chose our camping-ground near a troop of native traders, or fatáki. While we were pitching the tent, a Tárki or Amóshagh, mounted on horseback, came slowly up to us, apparently astonished at the peculiar character of the tent, which he seemed to recognize as an old acquaintance; but he was still more surprised when he recognized myself, for he was no other than Aghá Batúre, the son

of Ibrahím, from Selúfiyet, the chief instigator of the foray made against us at the time of entering A'ír or A'sben, by the border tribes of that country.

In the depression of the plain toward the south from our encampment, where all the moisture of the district collected, cotton was cultivated to a great extent, while adjoining the village, which lay close to a ridge of granite, a small field of tobacco was to be seen. A petty market, which was held here, enabled us to provide ourselves with grain, poultry, and red pepper, as we had forgotten to lay in a store of the latter article, which is indispensable to travelers in hot countries.

Monday, January 31*st.* The district through which we passed was densely inhabited, but it was rather scantily timbered, the ground being clad only with short underwood; detached hills were seen now and then; but after a march of about seven miles, the character of the country changed, kálgo appearing more frequently, while the soil consisted of deep sand. Toward the south the vegetation was richer, several Tawárek hamlets appearing in the distance. Thus we reached a large well, about thirteen fathoms deep and richly provided with water, where a large number of Búzawe, or Tawárek half-castes, of both sexes, were assembled; and I was agreeably surprised at the greater proof of ingenuity which I here observed, a young bull being employed in drawing up the water in a large leather bag containing a supply sufficient for two horses, this being the only time during my travels in Negroland that I observed such a method of drawing up the water, which in general, even from the deepest wells, is procured by the labor of man alone. The young bull was led by a very pretty Amóshagh girl, to whom I made a present of a tin box with a looking-glass in it as a reward for her trouble, when she did not fail to thank me by a courtesy, and the expression of an amiable "agaishéka," "my best thanks." In the whole of this country a custom still prevails, dating from the period of the strength of the Bórnu empire, to the effect that the horses of the travelers must be watered at any well in precedence to the wants of the natives themselves.

The whole spectacle which this well exhibited was one of life and activity; and the interest of the scenery was farther increased by a dense grove of fine tamarind-trees which spread out on the south side of the path. I learned, on inquiry, that this district belongs to the territory of Tumtúmma, the governor of which is a

vassal of Zínder. Close to Tumtúmma, on the west, lies the considerable town of Gorgom.

Leaving the principal road on our right, and following a more southerly one, we encamped near the village of Gúmda, which consisted of two hamlets inhabited exclusively by Tawárek slaves. But the territory belongs likewise to the province of Tumtúmma. A troop of fatáki, or native traders, were encamped near us.

Tuesday, February 1*st.* The surface of the country through which our road lay was broken by depressions of larger or smaller extent, where the dúm palm flourished in great numbers—a tree which is very common in the territory of Tasáwa, which we entered a short time before we reached the village of Káso. We had here descended altogether, most probably, a couple of hundred feet, although the descent was not regular, and was broken by an occasional ascent. The road was well frequented by people coming from the west with cotton, which they sell to advantage in Zínder.

We made a long stretch, on account of the scarcity of water, passing the large village of Shabáre, which attracted our attention from the distance by the beating of drums, but could not supply us with a sufficient quantity of water, its well measuring twenty-five fathoms in depth, and, nevertheless, being almost dry; and thus we proceeded till we reached Maíjirgí, after a march of almost twenty-five miles. The village is named from a *troughlike** depression, on the slope of which it is situated, and which, toward the south, contains a considerable grove of dúm palms. We encamped close to the well, which is fourteen fathoms deep, at some distance from the village, which has a tolerably comfortable appearance, although it had been ransacked two years before by the governor of Kátsena; but, in these regions, dwelling-places are as easily restored as they are destroyed. The inhabitants are notorious for their thievish propensities, and we had to take precautions accordingly. The whole of this country is rich in beans; and we bought plenty of dried bean-tressels, which are made up in small bundles, and called "haráwa" by the Arabs, affording most excellent food for the camels.

Wednesday, February 2*d.* Several native travelers had attached themselves to my troop. Among them was an abominable slave-dealer who was continually beating his poor victims. I was extremely glad to get rid of this man here, he, as well as the other

* "Jirgí" means boat, as well as a large trough for watering the cattle.

people, being bound for Tasáwa, which I was to leave at some distance on my right. While my people were loading the camels, I roved about, making a very pleasant promenade along the vale, which was richly adorned with dúm palms. Having set out at length, keeping a little too much toward the west, and crossing the great high road which comes from Tasáwa, we passed several villages on our road, while dúm palms and tamarind-trees enlivened the country where the ground was not cultivated, but especially the many small and irregular hollows which we traversed. Having lost one of our camels, which died on the road, we encamped near a village (the name of which, by accident, I did not learn) situated in a large vale rich in dúm palms, and encompassed on the east side by a regular ridge of sandhills of considerable height. Rice was cultivated in the beds beside the onions, while wheat, which is generally raised in this way, was not grown at all. As I have frequently observed, there is no rice cultivated in the whole of Bórnu, this village constituting, I think, the easternmost limit of the cultivation of this most important article of food, which is the chief staff of life in the whole of Kébbi and along the Niger. The wells in this valley were only three feet deep, and richly provided with water; and the whole vale was altogether remarkable.

Thursday, February 3d. The dense grove of dúm palms through which our road led afforded a most picturesque spectacle in the clear light of the morning sky, and reminded me of the extensive groves of palm-trees which I had seen in more northern climes, while large piles of the fruit of the fan palm, stored up by the natives, excited the facetious remarks of those among my people who were natives of Fezzán; and they sneered at the poverty and misery of these negroes, who, being deprived by nature of that delicious and far-famed fruit of the nobler *Phœnix*, were reduced to the poor and tasteless produce of this vile tree. We then left the shallow bottom of the vale, with its wells seven fathoms in depth, at the side of a village a short distance to the east. The country then became more open; and after a march of four miles, we reached the shallow fáddama of Gazáwa, and, leaving the town at a short distance on our right, encamped a little to the south, not far from a fine old tamarind-tree.

I was enjoying the shade of this splendid tree, when my friend the serkí-n-turáwa, whom, on my first entrance into the Háusa country, I introduced to the reader as a specimen of an African dandy, came up, on a splendid horse, to pay his compliments to

me. The petty chief of Gazáwa and his people had been much afraid, after they had received the news of my approach, that I might take another road, in order to avoid making them a present, which has the same value as the toll in a European country. He told me that they had already sent off several horsemen in order to see what direction I had pursued, and he expressed his satisfaction that I had come to him of my own free will; but, on the other hand, he did not fail to remind me that on my former passage through the country I had not given them any thing on account of the powerful protection of Elaíji, which I enjoyed at that time. This was very true; and, in consequence, I had here to make presents to four different persons, although I only remained half a day: first, this little officious friend of mine; then the governor of the town himself, together with his liege lord, the chief of Marádi; and, finally, Sadíku, the former Púllo governor of Kátsena, who at present resided in this town.

Having satisfied the serkí-n-turáwa, I wrapped a bernús and a shawl or zubéta in a handkerchief, and went to pay my respects to the governor, whose name, as I have stated on a former occasion, is Raffa, and whom I found to be a pleasant old fellow. He was well satisfied with his present, though he expressed his apprehension that his liege lord, the prince of Marádi, who would not fail to hear of my having passed through the country, would demand something for himself; and he advised me, therefore, to send to that chief a few medicines.

I then rode to Sadíku, the son of the famous M'allem 'Omáro, or Ghomáro, who had been eight years governor of Kátsena, after the death of his father, till, having excited the fear or wrath of his liege lord, in consequence of calumnies representing him as endeavoring to make himself independent, he was deposed by 'Alíyu, the second successor of Bello, and obliged to seek safety among the enemies of his nation. Sadíku was a stately person, of tall figure, a serious expression of countenance, and a high, powerful chest, such as I have rarely seen in Negroland, and still less among the tribe of the Fúlbe. However, he is not a pure Púllo, being the offspring of a Bórnu female slave. He had something melancholy about him; and this was very natural, as he could not well be sincerely beloved by those among whom he was obliged to live, and in whose company he carried on a relentless war against his kinsmen. Sadíku's house, which was in the utmost decay, was a convincing proof either that he was in reality

miserably off, or that he felt obliged to pretend poverty and misery. He understood Arabic tolerably well, although he only spoke very little. He expressed much regret on hearing of the death of Mr. Overweg, whom he had known during his residence in Marádi; but having heard how strictly Europeans adhere to their promise, he expressed his astonishment that he had never received an Arabic New Testament, which Mr. Overweg had promised him; but I was glad to be able to inform him that it was not the fault of my late lamented companion, who, I knew, had forwarded a copy to him, by way of Zínder, immediately after his arrival in Kúkawa. Fortunately, I had a copy or two of the New Testament with me, and therefore made him very happy by adding this book to the other little presents which I gave him. When I left the company of this man, I was obliged to take a drink of furá with Serkí-n-turáwa—however, not as a proof of sincere hospitality, but as a means of begging some farther things from me; and I was glad at length to get rid of this troublesome young fellow.

Friday, February 4th. We had been so fortunate as to be joined here at Gazáwa by two small parties belonging to the salt-caravan of the Kél-owí, when, having taken in a sufficient supply of water, and reloaded all our fire-arms, we commenced our march, about half past two o'clock in the morning, through the unsafe wilderness which intervenes between the independent Háusa states and that of the Fúlbe. The forest was illumed by a bright moonlight; and we pursued our march without interruption for nearly twelve hours, when we encamped about five miles beyond the melancholy site of Dánkamá, very nearly on the same spot where I had halted two years before. We were all greatly fatigued; and a *soi-disant* sheríf from Morocco, but originally, as it seemed, belonging to the Tájakánt, who had attached himself to my caravan in Zínder in order to reach Timbuktu in my company, felt very sickly. He had suffered already a great deal in Zínder, and ought not to have exposed his small store of strength to such a severe trial. Not being able to have regard to his state of health, as there was no water here, we pursued our journey soon after midnight, and reached the well-known walls of Kátsena after a march of about six hours.

It was with a peculiar feeling that I pitched my tent a few hundred yards from the gate (kófa-n-samrí) of this town, by the governor of which I had been so greatly annoyed on my first en-

tering this country. It was not long before several A'sbenáwa people belonging to A'nnur, followed by the servants of the governor, came to salute me; and after a little while I was joined by my old tormentor, the Tawáti merchant Bel-Ghét. But our meeting this time was very different from what it had been when I first saw him; for as soon as he recognized me, and heard from me that I was come to fulfill my promise of paying a visit to the Sultan of Sókoto, he could not restrain his delight and excitement, and threw himself upon my neck, repeating my name several times. In fact, his whole behavior changed from this moment; and although he at times begged a few things from me, and did not procure me very generous treatment from the governor, yet, on the whole, he behaved friendly and decently. He asked me repeatedly why I had not gone to Kanó; but I told him that I had nothing to do with Kanó; that, in conformity with my promise, I had come to Kátsena, and that here I should make all my purchases, in order to undertake the journey to Sókoto from this place under the protection of its governor, Mohammed Bello. Now I must confess that I had another motive for not going to Kanó besides this; for the Vizier of Bórnu had made it a condition that I should not go to Kanó, as my journey to the Fúlbe would else be displeasing to himself and the sheikh, by interfering with their policy, and I had found it necessary to consent to his wishes, although I foresaw that it would cause me a heavy loss, as I might have bought all the articles of which I was in want at a far cheaper rate in the great central market of Negroland than I was able to do in Kátsena.

I staid outside the town until the following morning, while my quarters in the town were preparing. There was an animated intercourse along my place of encampment, between the old capital and the new place Wagóje, which the governor had founded two years before; and I received the compliments of several active Fúlbe, whose expressive countenances bore sufficient evidence of the fact that their habits were not yet spoiled by the influence of the softer manners of the subjected tribe, although such an amalgamation has already begun to take place in many parts of Háusa.

The house which was assigned to me inside the town was spacious, but rather old, and so full of ants that I was obliged to take the greatest care to protect not only my luggage, but my person from these voracious insects. They not only destroyed every thing that was suspended on pegs from the walls, but while sitting

one day for an hour or so on a clay bank in my room, I found, when I got up, a large hole in my tobe, these clever and industrious miners having made their way through the clay walls to the spot where I was sitting, successfully constructed their covered walks, and voraciously attacked my shirt, all in an hour's time.

My present to the governor consisted of a very fine blue bernús, a kaftan of fine red cloth, a small pocket pistol, two muslin turbans, a red cap, two loaves of sugar, and some smaller articles. The eccentric man received me with undisguised pleasure as an old acquaintance; but, being aware that I had a tolerable supply of handsome articles with me, he wanted to induce me to sell to him all the fine things I possessed; but I cut the matter short by telling him, once for all, that I was not a merchant, and did not engage in any commerce. On the whole, he was well pleased with his presents; but he wanted me to give him another small pistol, and, in the course of my stay here, I was obliged to comply with his request. He had a cover made for the pair, and used to carry them constantly about his person, frightening every body by firing off the caps into their faces.

It was, no doubt, a very favorable circumstance for me that the ghaladíma of Sókoto was at this time staying here, for under the protection of the unscrupulous governor of Kátsena I should scarcely have reached the residence of the emír el Múmenín in safety. The ghaladíma, who was the inspector of Kátsena as well as of Zánfara, had collected the tribute of both provinces, and was soon to start, with his treasure and the articles he had purchased there, on his home journey, so that there did not seem to be time enough for sending some of my people to Kanó to make there the necessary purchases; but circumstances which I shall soon mention delayed us so much that there would have been ample opportunity for doing so, and thus saving a considerable sum of money. The ghaladíma was a simple, straightforward man, not very intelligent, certainly, nor generous, but good-natured and sociable. Born of a female slave, he had very little about him of the general characteristics of the Fúlbe, being tall and broad-shouldered, with a large head, broad features, and tolerably dark complexion.

I made some considerable purchases in this place, amounting altogether to 1,308,000 shells, employing the greatest part of my cash in providing myself with the cotton and silk manufactures of Kanó and Núpe, in order to pave my way, by means of these

favorite articles, through the countries on the middle course of the Niger, where nothing is esteemed more highly than these native manufactures.* But, as I afterward found out, I sustained a considerable loss in buying the Núpe tobes here, at least 20 per cent. dearer than I should have been able to do in Gando; but this I could not possibly know beforehand, nor was it my previous intention to make any stay in that place, where large parcels of these articles are never brought into the market. I also added to my store a few more articles of Arab manufacture, there having arrived, on the 5th of March, a very numerous caravan of Ghadámsi and other people from the north, with not less than from 400 to 500 camels, but without bringing me even a single line, either from my friends in Europe or even from those in Africa. Having likewise arranged with 'Alí el A'geren, the Méjebrí who accompanied me from Kúkawa, buying from him what little merchandise he had, and taking him into my service for nine dollars a month, I prepared every thing for my journey; and I was extremely anxious to be gone, as the rainy season was fast approaching. On the 26th of February evident signs were observed of the approach of the wet season, the whole southern quarter of the heavens being thickly overcast with clouds, while the air also was extremely damp, just as after a shower. Mounting on horseback in order to observe better these forerunners of the "dámana," I clearly distinguished that it was raining in the direction of Záriya and Núpe, and even in our immediate neighborhood a few drops fell. In the course of the evening the freshness and coolness of the air was most delicious, just as is the case after a fall of rain, and summer lightning was flashing through the southern sky.

* I bought here altogether 75 túrkedís or woman-cloths, which form the usual standard article in Timbúktu, and from which narrow shirts for the males are made; 35 black tobes of Kanó manufacture; 20 ditto of Núpe manufacture; 20 silk of different descriptions; 232 black shawls for covering the face, as the best presents for the Tawárek. I also bought here, besides, four very good cloth bernúses from some Tawát traders lately arrived from their country with horses, and some other little merchandise, and half a dozen of "hamaíl," or sword-hangings, of red silk of Fás manufacture. I also provided myself here with water-skins and kulábu, or large skins for covering the luggage for the whole of my journey. No place in the whole of Negroland is so famous for excellent leather and the art of tanning as Kátsena; and if I had taken a larger supply of these articles with me it would have been very profitable; but of course these leather articles require a great deal of room. I also bought a good quantity of the tobacco of Kátsena, which is held in great estimation even in Timbúktu, whither the excellent tobacco from Wádí Nún is brought in considerable quantity.

The ghaladíma was also very anxious to be gone; but the army of the Góberáwa being ready to start on an expedition, on a grand scale, against the territory of the Fúlbe, we could not leave the place before we knew exactly what direction the hostile army would take. They having at length set out on their foray on the 7th of March, we began to watch their movements very anxiously, each of these two powers—the independent pagans as well as the conquering Fúlbe—having in their pay numbers of spies in the towns of their enemies. Only two days before the Góberáwa left their home they killed Bú-Bakr, the chief spy whom 'Alíyu, sultan of Sókoto, entertained in their town.

In the company of the ghaladíma there was a younger brother of his, of the name of Al-háttu, who had lost the better portion of the character of a free man by a mixture of slave-blood, and behaved at times like the most intolerable beggar; but he proved of great service to me in my endeavor to become acquainted with all the characteristic features of the country and its inhabitants.

Besides this man, my principal acquaintance during my stay in Kátsena this time was a Tawáti of the name of 'Abd e' Rahmán, a very amiable and social man, and, as a fáki, possessing a certain degree of learning. He had been a great friend of the Sultan Bello, and expatiated with the greatest enthusiasm on the qualities and achievements of this distinguished ruler of Negroland. He also gave me the first hints of some of the most important subjects relating to the geography and history of western Negroland, and called my attention particularly to a man whom he represented as the most learned of the present generation of the inhabitants of Sókoto, and from whom, he assured me, I should not fail to obtain what information I wanted. This man was 'Abd el Káder dan Taffa (meaning the son of Mústapha), on whose stores of knowledge I drew largely. My intercourse with 'Abd e' Rahmán was occasionally interrupted by an amicable tilt at our respective creeds. On one occasion, when my learned friend was endeavoring to convince me of the propriety of polygamy, he adduced as an illustration that in matters of the table we did not confine ourselves to a single dish, but took a little fowl, a little fish, and a little roast beef; and how absurd, he argued, was it to restrict ourselves, in the intercourse with the other sex, to only one wife. It was during my second stay in Kátsena that I collected most of the information which I have communicated on a former occasion with regard to the history of Háusa.

Besides this kind of occupation, my dealings with the governor, and an occasional ride which I took through and outside the town, I had a great deal to do in order to satisfy the claims of the inhabitants upon my very small stock of medicinal knowledge, especially at the commencement of my residence, when I was severely pestered with applications, having generally from 100 to 200 patients in my court-yard every morning. The people even brought me sometimes animals to cure; and I was not a little amused when they once brought me a horse totally blind, which they thought I was able to restore to its former power of vision.

Living in Kátsena is not so cheap as in most other places of Negroland; at least we thought so at the time, but we afterward found Sókoto, and many places between that and Timbúktu, much dearer; but the character of dearth in Kátsena is increased by the scarcity of shells in the market, which form the standard currency, and, especially after I had circulated a couple of hundred dollars, I was often obliged to change a dollar for 2300 shells instead of 2500.

I had here a disagreeable business to arrange; for suddenly, on the 18th of March, there arrived our old creditor Mohammed e' Sfáksí, whose claims upon us I thought I had settled long ago by giving him a bill upon Fezzán, besides the sum of two hundred dollars which I had paid him on the spot;* but, to my great astonishment, he produced a letter in which Mr. Gagliuffi, her majesty's agent in Múrzuk, informed him that I was to pay him in Sudán.

Such is the trouble to which a European traveler is exposed in these countries by the injudicious arrangements of those very people whose chief object ought to be to assist him, while, at the same time, all his friends in Europe think that he is well provided, and that he can proceed on his difficult errand without obstacle.

On the 19th of March we received information that the army of Góberáwa had encamped on the site of the former town of Róma, or Rúma, and I was given to understand that I must hold myself in readiness to march at an hour's notice.

Meanwhile the governor of Kátsena, who had received exaggerated accounts of the riches which I was carrying with me, was endeavoring, by every means at his disposal, to separate me from the ghaladíma, in order to have me in his own power; and his measures were attended with a good deal of success, at least in the

* See vol. ii., p. 576.

case of my Arab companion 'Alí el A'geren, who, although a man of some energy, allowed himself too often to be frightened by the misrepresentations of the people. On his attempting to keep me back, I told him that, if he chose, he might stay behind, but that I had made up my mind to proceed at once, in company with the ghaladíma, whatever might happen. I had the more reason to beware of the governor, as, just at the period of this my second stay here, when he knew I was going to his liege lord, I had had another opportunity of becoming fully aware of the flagrant injustice exercised by him and his ministers. For the sherif, who, as I have said, had attached himself to my party in Zínder, having died here of dysentery soon after our arrival, he seized upon what little property he had left, notwithstanding that person had placed himself, in some respects, under my protection; and although he pretended he would send it to his relatives, there is no doubt that he or his people kept it back. The safety of the property of any European who should die in these regions ought to be taken into account in any treaty to be concluded with a native chief; but no such contingency was provided for in draughts of the treaties which we took with us.

CHAPTER LVI.

JOURNEY FROM KA'TSENA TO SO'KOTO.

Monday, March 21*st.* The whole town was in motion when we left; for the governor himself was to accompany us for some days' journey, as the whole country was exposed to the most imminent danger, and farther on he was to send a numerous escort along with us. It was a fine morning, and, though the rainy season had not yet set in in this province, many of the trees were clad already in a new dress, as if in anticipation of the fertilizing power of the more favored season.

The hájilíj had begun, about the commencement of March, to put out new foliage and shoots of young fruit; and the dorówa or *Parkia* exhibited its blossoms of the most beautiful purple, hanging down to a great length from the branches. The dorówa, which is entirely wanting in the whole of Bórnu, constitutes here the chief representative of the vegetable kingdom. It is from the beans of this tree that the natives prepare the vegetable cakes

called "dodówa," with which they season their food.* Next to this tree another one, which I had not seen before, called here "rúnhu," and at present full of small yellow blossoms, was most common.

The first day we made only a short march of about three miles, to a village called Kabakáwa, where the ghaladíma had taken up his quarters. I had scarcely dismounted, under a tree at the side of the village, when my protector called upon me, and in a very friendly manner invited me, urgently, to take up my quarters inside the village, stating that the neighborhood was not quite safe, as the Góberáwa had carried away three women from this very village the preceding day. I, however, preferred my tent and the open air, and felt very little inclination to confide my valuable property, on which depended entirely the success of my enterprise, to the huts, which are apt to catch fire at any moment; for, while I could not combat against nature, I had confidence enough in my arms and in my watchfulness not to be afraid of thieves and robbers.†

In the afternoon the ghaladíma came out of the hamlet, and took his seat under a neighboring tree, when I returned his visit of the morning, and endeavored to open with him and his companions a free and unrestrained intercourse; for I was only too happy to get out of the hands of the lawless governor of Kátsena, who, I felt convinced, would not have been deterred by any scruples from possessing himself of my riches; indeed, he had gone so far as to tell me that if I possessed any thing of value, such as pistols handsomely mounted, I should give them to him rather than to the Sultan of Sókoto, for that he himself was the emír el Múmenín; nay, he even told me that his liege lord was alarmed at the sight of a pistol.

Tuesday, March 22d. In order to avoid the enemy, we were obliged, instead of following a westerly direction, to keep at first directly southward. The country through which our road lay was very beautiful. The dorówa, which the preceding day had formed the principal ornament of the landscape, in the first part of this day's march gave place entirely to other trees, such as tall rími or bentang-tree, the kúka or monkey-bread-tree, and the delèb palm or gigiña (*Borassus flabelliformis?*); but beyond the village of

* See the description which Clapperton gives of the manner in which these cakes are prepared. (Denham and Clapperton's Travels, ii. p. 125.)

† The wells here were eight fathoms.

Dóka, the dorówa, which is the principal tree of the provinces of Kátsena and Záriya, again came prominently forward, while the kadéña also, or butter-tree, and the alléluba, afforded a greater variety to the vegetation. The alléluba (which, on my second stay at Kanó, I saw in full blossom) bears a small fruit, which the natives eat, but which I never tried myself. Even the dúm palm, with its fan-shaped yellow-colored foliage, gave occasionally greater relief to the fresher vegetation around. The country was populous and well cultivated, and extensive tobacco-grounds and large fields of yams or gwáza were seen, both objects being almost a new sight to me; for tobacco, which I had been so much surprised to see cultivated to such an extent in the country of the pagan Músgu, is scarcely grown at all in Bórnu, with the exception of Zínder, and I had first observed it largely cultivated near the town of Kátsena, while yams, as I have already had repeatedly occasion to mention, are not raised at all in Central Negroland. Numerous herds of cattle were seen dotting the landscape, and contributed largely to the interest of the scenery. But the district of Máje especially, which we traversed after a march of about seven miles, impressed me with the highest opinion of the fertility and beauty of this country. Here, also, we met a troop of Itísan with their camels.

Having then proceeded for about two miles through a more open and well-cultivated country, with extensive cotton-grounds, large plantations of indigo, and wide fields planted with sweet potatoes, or dánkali, we reached the village called Kúlkadá, where the governor of Kátsena had taken up his quarters; but, leaving this outlaw at a respectful distance, we followed in the track of the ghaladíma, who had been obliged to seek for quarters in a small Tawárek hamlet at the distance of a mile and a half toward the southeast—a remarkable resting-place for a party proceeding to the westward. The heat was very great; and the dorówa-trees, with their scanty acacia-like foliage, which, besides a few gonda-trees (*Carica Papaya*) and a solitary ngábbore, were the only members of the vegetable kingdom here seen, afforded but insufficient shade, the dryness of the country being the more felt, as the supply of water was rather limited.

I was hospitably treated in the evening, not only by the ghaladíma, who sent me a sheep, but even by the inhabitants of the hamlet, who came to visit me in large numbers. I learned that they were Imghád, natives of Tawár Nwaijdúd, the village which

I passed on my road from Tintéllust to A'gades,* and that they had seen me in A'sben, and knew all about my affairs. They were settled here as tenants.

Wednesday, March 23d. I had just mounted my horse, and my camels had gone in advance, when a messenger arrived, who had been sent after me from Kátsena, bringing a letter from Mr. Gagliuffi, her majesty's agent in Múrzuk, a mere duplicate of a letter already received, with reference to the sending of the box (which, however, did not reach me), but not a single line from Europe. We had to retrace our road all the way to Kúlkadá, and from thence, after a march of about six miles through a dense forest, reached the walled town of Kúrayé, and, not being aware that the country on the other side was more open and offered a far better camping-ground, pitched our tent on that side whence we had come, not far from the market-place, consisting of several rows of stalls or sheds. A market was held in the afternoon, and we bought grain and onions, but looked in vain for the favorite fruit of the tamarind-tree, to which we were greatly indebted for the preservation of our health.

The town was of considerable size, and contained from 6000 to 7000 inhabitants, but no clay buildings. The wall was in excellent repair, and well provided with loop-holes for the bowmen, and it was even strengthened by a second wall, of lesser height, on the outside. The town has three gates. The wells were three fathoms in depth.

Thursday, March 24th. The country on the other side of the town of Kúrayé seemed to surpass in beauty the district which we had left behind us; and the bentang-tree, the sacred tree of the former pagan inhabitants, rose here to its full majestic growth, while, besides the dorówa and the butter-tree, the ngábbore (or sycamore) and the dúnnia appeared in abundance. The cultivation was here limited to sorghum or Indian millet. After a while the ground became rather undulating, and we had to cross several small water-courses, at present dry, while boulders of granite protruded here and there. The path was enlivened by the several troops of horsemen which constituted our expeditionary corps. There was first the governor of Kátsena himself, with a body of about two hundred horse; then there was an auxiliary squadron of about fifty horse, sent by Démbo, the governor of Kazáure; and lastly Káura, the serkí-n-yáki, or commander-in-chief of Kátsena,

* See vol. i., p. 313.

with a body of about thirty-five well-mounted troopers. This officer, at the present time, is the most warlike man in the province of Kátsena, and had greatly contributed to the overthrow and disgrace of Sadíku, the former governor, in the hope that the government of the province might fall to his share; but he had been sadly disappointed in his expectations. As for the ghaladíma, he had about twenty mounted companions, the most warlike among whom was a younger brother of his, of the name of 'Omar, or Ghomáro, who was descended from a Púllo mother, and, on account of his noble birth, had better claims to the office of ghaladíma than his brother. Most of these troopers were very fantastically dressed, in the Háusa fashion, and in a similar manner to those I have described on a former occasion. Some of the horses were fine, strong animals, although in height they are surpassed by the Bórnu horses.

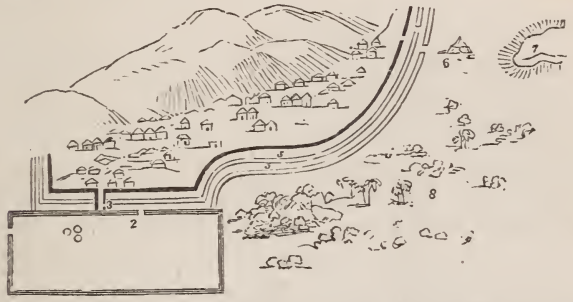
We watered our cattle in a kúrremi or dry water-course, which contained a number of wells from one fathom to a fathom and a half in depth, and was beautifully skirted with delèb palms, while a granite mound on its eastern shore rose to an altitude of from eighty to a hundred feet. I ascended it, but did not obtain a distant view. Near this water-course the cultivation was a little interrupted; but farther on the country became again well cultivated, broken here and there by some underwood, while the monkey-bread-tree, the dúm palm, great numbers of a species of acacia called "árred," and the "merké" dotted the fields. The latter tree, which I have mentioned on a former occasion, bears a fruit which, when mixed with the common native grain, is said to preserve horses from worms.

Thus we reached the town of Kúrrefi, or Kúlfi, and were not a little puzzled by the very considerable outworks, consisting of moats, which the inhabitants had thrown up in front of their town, besides the three-fold wall, and the double moat which surrounded the latter, as shown in the opposite wood-cut.

The town was said to have been founded only three years before, being peopled from the remains of other places which were destroyed by the enemy. It may contain from 8000 to 9000 inhabitants, but it had recently suffered from a conflagration. The wall was full of loop-holes, and it had a gate on each side except the eastern one.

Having made our way with great difficulty through the moats, instead of taking up our quarters inside the wall, to the great

astonishment of the people we pitched our tent outside, at some distance from the western gate. Such was the confidence which we placed in our fire-arms. A rocky eminence, such as are met with also inside the town, started up at some little distance from our camping-ground; and a majestic dorówa, the largest tree of this species which I saw on my journey, shaded the place to a considerable extent, but attracted a number of people, who disturbed my privacy. The ghaladíma had taken a northerly road, to the town of Tsaúrí, which he had recently founded, and did not arrive till the afternoon.



1. Outer entrance, leading into a large square surrounded with a double moat, and containing three huts for the guards.
2. Second entrance, leading from this outwork through the outer moat which surrounds the town.
3. Gate leading into the projecting angle of the wall, from which a second gate leads into the town.
4. Granite mounds inside the town. 5. Outer moats of the wall. 6. Situation of my tent.
7. Granite mount outside the town. 8. Open pasture-grounds.

Friday, March 25th. On mounting my horse in the morning to pursue my march, a Púllo came up to me and handed me a letter, which he begged me to take to a relative of his in Timbúktu. This showed his full confidence in my success, and it did not fail to inspire me with the same feeling. The inhabitants of the town marched out their bands of musicians, who played a farewell to us; and the several troops of horsemen, in their picturesque attire, thronged along the path winding between the granite mounds which broke the level on all sides. Groups of delób and dúm palms towered, with their fan-shaped foliage, over the whole scenery.

We had now entered the more unsafe border country between the Mohammedans and pagans while changing our direction from south to west, and the cultivation was less extensive, although even here a little cotton was to be seen. After a march of about eight miles we traversed the site of a deserted town called Takabáwa, inclosed between rocky cliffs on all sides, and at present changed into a large cotton-ground, the inhabitants having sought

refuge in the more rocky district toward the south. But, although the destructive influence which war had exercised upon this province was plainly manifested by the site of another town which we passed soon afterward, yet the country was not quite deserted, and even small herds of cattle were observed farther on. Meanwhile the dúm palm became entirely predominant, and rocky cliffs and eminences continued to break the surface; but beyond a rocky ridge, which, dotted with an abundance of monkey-bread-trees, crossed our path, the country became more level and open, enlivened by herds, and exhibiting an uninterrupted tract of cultivation.

Thus we reached the walls of the considerable town of Zékka, and here again we had to make our way with difficulty through the moats which started off from the walls as a sort of outwork, when we pitched our tent on the west side, in the shade of two large dorówa-trees. Even here I did not choose to take up my quarters inside the town, which was full of people. Besides those detachments which had come along with us, there arrived here also an auxiliary-troop of 110 horse from Záriya, together with the governor of U'mmadaú with twenty horsemen. The Kanáwa, or people of Kanó, who were proceeding to Sókoto, had continued their march straight to U'mmadaú, in order to take up their quarters in that place.

Besides numbers of sick people from the town, who came to solicit my medical assistance, I received also a visit in the evening from one of the five governors of the place, who bears the title of serkí-n-Féllani. He came to ask whether I had not for sale another pair of pocket pistols, such as I had given to the governor of Kátsena; for my eccentric friend played with the small arms I had made him a present of all the day long, to the great alarm of every body, so that the rumor of my possessing such articles had spread over the whole of this part of Sudán, and even Kaúra had pestered me greatly on this account.

In the town of Zékka resides also the former governor of the wealthy town or district of Rúma, mentioned repeatedly by Captain Clapperton, but destroyed by the Góberáwa after the period of his travels; that officer still bears the title of serkí-n-Rúma. There was a pond of dirty water near our encampment, but good drinkable water was only to be obtained from a water-course at a considerable distance, which, although dry at present, afforded wells at very little depth in its gravelly bottom.

Saturday, March 26th. We remained here the whole forenoon, as we had now the most difficult part of our journey before us; but, instead of having leisure to prepare myself for an unusual amount of exertion, all my spare time was taken up by a disagreeable business, the governor of Kátsena having succeeded in seducing from my service, in the most disgraceful manner, the Ferjáni Arab, whom I had hired for the whole journey to Timbúktu and back, and whom I could ill afford to lose. This lad, who had accompanied Ibrahím Bashá's expedition to Syria, and an expedition to Kordofán, and who had afterward resided with the Welád Slimán for some time in Kánem, might have been of great use to me in case of emergency. But, as it was, I could only be grateful to Providence for ridding me of this faithless rogue at so cheap a rate; and the insidious governor at least had no reason to boast of his conduct, for the Arab, as soon as he found himself well mounted and dressed in a bernús by his new master, took to his heels, and, following the track with which he had become acquainted in my company, succeeded in reaching Zínder, and from thence returned to his native country.

We here separated from most of our companions, the governor of Kátsena, as well as the people from Kanó and Záriya, who were carrying tribute to the Sultan of Sókoto, remaining behind, and only an escort or "rékkia" of fifty horsemen continuing in our company. The hostile army of the Góberáwa being in this neighborhood, the danger of the road farther on was very considerable; and the Kanáwa and Zozáwa, or Zegézegé, of whom the latter carried 2,000,000 shells, 500 tobes, and 30 horses, as tribute, were too much afraid of their property to accompany us. There had also arrived a troop of about 100 fatáki with asses laden entirely with the famous dodówa cakes, but they also remained behind.

The governor himself, however, escorted us, for a mile or two, to a large korámma called Mejídi, which no doubt forms one of the branches of the korámma of Búnka, and contains several wells, where we watered our horses and filled our water-skins for a night's march. Fine cotton-grounds and fields of onions fringed the border of the valley.

As soon as we left this winding water-course we entered a dense forest, only occasionally broken by open spots covered with reed grass, and we pursued our march without interruption the whole night, with the exception of a short halt just in the dusk of the evening. I had taken the lead from the beginning; and the gha-

ladíma, who was fully sensible of the great advantage of my fire-arms, sent messenger after messenger to me till he brought me to a stand, and thus managed to get all his slaves and camels in advance, so that I could only proceed very slowly. After a march of little more than twelve miles from the korámma, we entered a fertile and picturesque sort of vale, inclosed toward the north and south by rocky cliffs, and intersected by a narrow strip of succulent herbage, where water is apparently to be found at a little depth. This is the site of the town of Moníya, which had likewise been destroyed by the Góberáwa three years previously. Their army had even encamped here the previous day; and when our companions found the traces of their footsteps, which indicated that they had taken an easterly direction, all the people were seized with fright, and the intention which had been entertained of resting here for a few hours of the night was given up, and with an advanced guard of twenty horse, and a guard of from fifty to sixty, we kept cautiously and anxiously on.

About midnight we again entered a dense forest, consisting chiefly of underwood. We marched the whole night, and emerged in the morning into open cultivated country. We then passed several small hamlets, and, crossing first a small and farther on a larger water-course, reached, a little before nine o'clock, the considerable place Búnka, surrounded by a clay wall about twelve feet in height, and by a half natural, half artificial stockade of dense forest. In this town, the governor of which is directly dependent upon the ghaladíma of Sókoto, my protector had taken quarters; but, true to my old principle, I here also preferred encamping outside, and, turning round the town on the south side, along a very winding and narrow passage, through dense, prickly underwood, I pitched my tent on the west side, in the midst of an open suburb consisting of several straggling groups of huts.

The inhabitants of the village proved to be industrious and sociable, and, soon after we had encamped, brought me several articles for sale, such as good strong ropes, of which we were greatly in want. In general, a traveler can not procure good ropes in these countries, and, for an expedition on a larger scale, he does well to provide himself with this article. The ropes made of ngille or the dúm bush last only a few days; and those made of hides, which are very useful in the dry season for tying up the legs of the camels, and even for fastening the luggage, are not fit for the rainy season. We also bought here a good supply of tam-

arinds, plenty of fowls (for from thirty to forty kurdí each), and a little milk. Part of the inhabitants of this village at least consisted of A'sbenáwa settlers; and they informed us that the army of the Góberáwa had come close to their town, but that they had driven them back.

The town itself, though not large, is tolerably well inhabited, containing a population of about 5000. It is skirted on the east side by a considerable water-course, at present dry, but containing excellent water close under the gravelly surface, and forming a place of resort for numbers of the gray species of monkey.

The approach of the rainy season was indicated by a slight fall of rain.

Monday, March 28th. The ghaladíma, whom the imminence of the danger had induced to fix his departure for the next day, instead of allowing a day for repose, had already gone on in advance a considerable way, when we followed him, and soon after left on our right a large, cheerful-looking hamlet, shaded by splendid trees, and enlivened by numbers of poultry. Extensive cultivated grounds testified to the industry of the inhabitants, who likewise belonged to a tribe of the A'sbenáwa, or rather to a mixed race of people. Having then crossed dense underwood, where the *Mimosa Nilotica*, here called "elkú," was standing in full blossom, while the ground consisted of sand, we reached, after a march of about a mile, the southeastern corner of the wall of the considerable town of Zýrmi. The water-course of Búnka had been close on our left, providing the inhabitants with a never-failing supply of excellent water, which is found close under the surface of the fine gravel which composes its bed.

Zýrmi is an important town even at present, but, being under the dominion of the Fúlbe, is only capable of preserving its existence by a constant struggle with Góber and Marádi. However, the governor of this town is not now master of the whole of Zánfara, as he was in the time of Captain Clapperton, who visited it on his journey to Sókoto,* the Fúlbe or Féllani having found it more conducive to their policy to place each governor of a walled town in this province under the direct allegiance of Sókoto, in order to prevent the loss of the whole country by the rebellion of a single man. Some ninety or one hundred years ago, before the destruction of the capital, this province was almost the most flourishing country of Negroland; but it is at present divided into a

* Clapperton, Second Expedition, p. 150.

number of petty states, each of which follows a different policy; hence it is difficult to know which towns are still dependent upon the dominion of Sókoto, and which adhere to their enemies, the Góberáwa.* The town is still tolerably well inhabited, the western more densely than the eastern quarter.

The direct road leads along the wall, and close beyond passes by the site of the former town Dáda; but, in order to water my horse, I descended into the korámma, which was here encompassed by banks about twenty-five feet high, the gradually-shelving slopes of which were laid out in kitchen gardens, where onions were cultivated. Passing then a tract thickly overgrown with monkey-bread-trees, we traversed a straggling village, the whole appearance of which left a feeling of peace and comfort rather than of the constant state of warfare which prevails in this country. But every thing in human life depends on habitude; and these poor people, not knowing any better, bear the state of insecurity to which they are exposed without uneasiness.

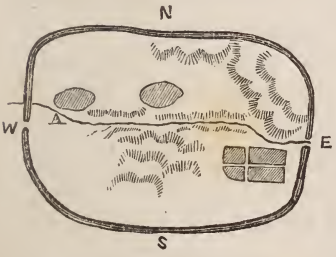
Numerous neat cottages were just being built; and the western end of the village especially, being adorned by several groups of the gónda-tree, or *Erica Papaya*, had a very pleasant appearance. Dyeing-pits are not wanting in any of the larger towns of Zánfara; and a numerous herd of cattle met our view close beyond the village.

When we again reached the direct road, the neighborhood of our friends was distinctly indicated by a very strong and not quite aromatic smell, which proceeded from the luggage of those of the caravan of native traders (or fatáki) who had attached themselves to our troop in Zékka, leaving their more cautious brethren behind. The merchandise of these small traders consisted, for the most part, of those vegetable cakes called dodówa, which I have mentioned repeatedly, and which constitute an important article of trade, as the dorówa or *Parkia*, from the fruit of which those cakes are made, thrives in great abundance in the province of Zegzeg, while it is comparatively rare in the provinces of Kébbi and Góber. Three thousand of these cakes constitute an ass-load, and each of them in general is sold in Sókoto for five kurdí, having been bought on the spot for one urí; so that the profit, being not less than 500 per cent., makes this commerce attractive for poor people, notwithstanding the dangerous state to which this

* For farther details on this subject, see Appendix I.; and for an outline of the history of Zánfara, see the Chronological Tables

road is at present reduced. The return freight which these petty merchants bring back from Sókoto generally consists of the salt of Fógha.

Our farther road conducted us through a more rugged district, intersected by numerous small water-courses with very rocky beds, and mostly covered with dense forest, only now and then broken by a small tract of cultivated ground producing even a little cotton. Thus we reached the town of Dúchi, the name of which, meaning "the rocks," served well to indicate the peculiar nature of the place, which has a very wild and romantic appearance—a labyrinth of rocky eminences intersected by a small ravine, as shown in the woodcut: the dwellings, which are scattered about in several groups, can scarcely be seen, owing to the prevalence of rocks. Several groups of dúm palms contribute greatly to the picturesque character of the place.



Having got inside the wall, which consisted of loose stones, we had some difficulty in finding a fit spot for encamping, and at length, having traversed the whole place, pitched our tent not far from the western gate, but still inside the wall, in the shade of a fine tsámia or tamarind-tree, and close to a small group of huts. The principal hamlet lies nearer the east side. The little water-course contained only a very small supply of water under the gravelly surface of the bed; but on my return from the west in the autumn of the following year, a foaming brook was rushing along it. The interesting character of the scenery induced me, in the course of the night, to leave my tent and to sit down for a while on a rock, which commanded the whole interior of the town. There I had a charming prospect over the scene by clear moonlight, while people were busily employed the whole night collecting the small supply of water from the channel for their next day's wants.

Tuesday, March 29th. In order to pass the narrow gate, if gate it may be called, I was obliged to have the two posts which encompassed it on each side removed. The whole country round about is rocky, with only a slight covering of fertile soil, so that nothing but Indian millet is cultivated, which thrives very well in rocky ground. But the country was adorned with a tolerable

variety of trees, such as monkey-bread-trees, most of which had young leaves, the dorówa, the kadeña, and the merké. While crossing a small rocky ridge, we were joined by a troop of people bearing large loads of cotton upon their heads, which they were carrying to the considerable market of Badaráwa. This cotton was distinguished by its snow-white color, and seemed to be of very good quality.

Beyond the rocky ridge the country became more open, rich in trees and cultivated fields; and having passed a village, we turned round the southwestern corner of the walled town of Sabón Bírni, making our way with great difficulty, and not without some damage to the fences as well as to our luggage, through the narrow lanes of an open suburb. The western side of the town was bordered by a korámma containing a considerable sheet of stagnant water of very bad quality, and fringed all round by a border of kitchen gardens, where onions were cultivated. The governor of Sabón Bírni, like that of Zýrmi, is directly dependent on the Emír of Sókoto. The name or title of his dominion is Bázay.

From hence, along a path filled with market produce, we reached the walled town of Badaráwa, which, like most of the towns of Zánfara, is surrounded on all sides with a dense border of timber, affording to the archers, who form the strength of the natives, great advantage in a defense, and making any attack, in the present condition of the strategetical art in this country, very difficult. In the midst of this dense body of trees there was a very considerable market, attended by nearly 10,000 people, and well supplied with cotton,* which seemed to be the staple commodity, while Indian millet (sorghum) also was in abundance. A great number of cattle were slaughtered in the market, and the meat retailed in small quantities. There was also a good supply of fresh butter (which is rarely seen in Negroland), formed in large lumps, cleanly prepared, and swimming in water: they were sold for 500 kurdí each. Neither was there any scarcity of onions, a vegetable which is extensively cultivated in the province of Zánfara, the smaller ones being sold for one urí, the larger ones for two kurdí each. These onions are mostly cultivated round a large tebki, about half a mile to the west of the town, which, even at the present season, was still of considerable size. Instead of entering the narrow streets of the town, I pitched my tent in the

* It was extensively cultivated in this province at the beginning of the sixteenth century. (Leo Africanus, lib. vii., c. 13.)

open fields, at a considerable distance from the wall; for I was the more in want of fresh air, as I was suffering greatly from headache. The consequence was that I could not even indulge in the simple luxuries of the market, but had recourse to my common medicine of tamarind water.

There was some little danger here, not so much from a foreign foe as from our proximity to a considerable hamlet of Tawárek, of the tribe of the Itísan, who have settlements in all these towns of Zánfara. While endeavoring to recruit myself by rest and simple diet, I received a visit from an intelligent and well-behaved young fáki, M'allem Dádi, who belonged to the suite of the ghaladíma, and whose company was always agreeable to me. He informed me that the Zánfaráwa and the Góberáwa had regarded each other with violent hatred from ancient times, Babári, the founder of Kaláwa, or Alkaláwa, the former capital of Góber, having based the strength and well-being of his own country on the destruction of the old capital of Zánfara ninety-seven years previously. Hence the people of Zánfara embarked heart and soul in the religious and political rising of the Sheikh 'Othmán against his liege lord, the ruler of Góber. I learned also that the same amount of tribute, which I have before mentioned as carried on this occasion by the messengers of Záriya to the emír el Múmenín, was paid almost every second month, while from Kátsena it was very difficult to obtain a regular tribute, the governor of that town generally not paying more than 400,000 kurdí and forty articles, such as bernúses, kaftans, etc., annually. It was only an exceptional case, arising from the exertions of the ghaladíma, as I was told that he had sent this year 800,000 shells, besides a horse of Tárki breed, of the nominal value of 700,000 kurdí.

Wednesday, March 30th. Allowing my camels to pursue the direct road, I myself took a rather roundabout way, in order to get a sight of the tebki from which the town is supplied; and I was really astonished at the considerable expanse of clear water which it exhibited at this time of the year (shortly before the setting in of the rainy season), when water in the whole of Negroland becomes very scanty. The ground consisted of fine vegetable soil, while the cultivation along the path was scarcely interrupted; and in passing a hamlet, we saw the inhabitants making the first preparations for the labors of the field. Cotton was also cultivated to a considerable extent. About a mile and a half farther on, at the village of Sungúruré, which is surrounded with a strong keffi, I

observed the first rúdu, a sort of light hut consisting of nothing but a thatched roof raised upon four poles from eight to ten feet in height, and affording a safe retreat to the inhabitants, during their night's rest, against the swarms of musquitoes which infest the whole region along the swampy creeks of the Niger, the people entering these elevated bed-rooms from below, and shutting the entrance behind them, as represented in the accompanying wood-cut.

Leaving, then, the walled town of Katúru close on our left, we entered a dense forest richly interwoven with creeping plants, and intersected by a large korámma with a very uneven bottom, affording sufficient proof of the vehemence of the torrent which at times rushes along it. At present it contained nothing but pools of stagnant water in several places, where we observed a large herd of camels, belonging to a party of Itísan, just being watered, while tobacco was cultivated on the border of the korámma. A little farther on the torrent had swept away and undermined the banks in such a manner that they presented the appearance of artificial walls. We met several natives on the road, who, although Fúlbe or Féllani (that is to say, belonging to the conquering tribe), and themselves apparently Mohammedans, wore nothing but a leather apron round their loins.

Thus we reached, a little past noon, the town Sansánne 'Aísa, which was originally a mere fortified encampment or "sansánne." But its advanced, and, in some respects, isolated position as an outlying post against the Góberáwa and Mariyadáwa rendered it essential that it should be strong enough by its own resources to offer a long resistance; and it has, in consequence, become a walled town of considerable importance, so that travelers generally take this roundabout way, with a strong northerly deviation. Here also the wall is surrounded with a dense forest, affording a sort of natural fortification.

Having entered the town and convinced myself of its confined and cheerless character, I resolved even here to encamp outside, though at considerable risk; and I went to the well, which was about half a mile distant to the south, and, being five fathoms in depth, contained a rich supply of excellent water. Here a small

caravan of people from A'dar, laden with corn and about to return to their native home, were encamped; and I pitched my tent on an open spot, close to some light cottages of Itísan settlers, who immediately brought me a little fresh cheese as a specimen of their industry, and were well satisfied with a present which I made them in return of a few razors and looking-glasses. These Tawárek are scattered over the whole of western Súdán, not only frequenting those localities occasionally as traders, but even sometimes settled with their wives and children. Their women also did not fail to pay us a visit in the afternoon, for they are extremely curious and fond of strangers.

When I had made myself comfortable, I received a visit from the ghaladíma of the town; he brought me the compliments of the governor, who was a man of rather noble birth, being nobody else but 'Alí Káramí, the eldest and presumed successor of 'Alíyu, the emír el Múmenín. He bears the pompous title of serkí-n-Góber, "lord of Góber," although almost the whole of that country is in the hands of the enemy. Having taken his leave, the messenger soon returned, accompanied by Alháttu, the younger brother of the ghaladíma of Sókoto, who was anxious to show his importance, bringing me a fat sheep as a present, which I acknowledged by the gift of a fine heláli bernús, besides a red cap and turban; and the governor expressed his satisfaction at my present by sending me also corn for my horses, and half a dozen fowls. In the evening we had a short but violent tornado, which usually indicates the approach of the rainy season; but no rain fell, and we passed the night very comfortably in our open encampment, without any accident.

Thursday, March 31*st.* We had a very difficult day's march before us—the passage of the wilderness of Gúndumi—which can only be traversed by a forced march, and which, even upon a man of Captain Clapperton's energies, had left the impression of the most wearisome journey he had ever performed in his life. But, before returning into our westerly direction, we had first to follow a northwesterly path leading to a large pond or tebki, in order to provide ourselves with water for the journey. It was still a good-sized sheet of water, though torn up and agitated by numbers of men and animals that had preceded our party from the town, and we were therefore very fortunate in having provided ourselves with some excellent clear water from the well close to our place of encampment. The pond was in the midst of the forest,

which toward its outskirts presented a cheerful aspect, enlivened by a great number of sycamore-trees, and even a few delêb palms, but which here assumed the more monotonous and cheerless character which seems to be common to all the extensive forests of Negroland.

The beginning of our march, after we had watered our animals and filled our water-skins, was rather inauspicious, our companions missing their way, and with bugles calling me and my people, who were pursuing the right track, far to the south, till, after endeavoring in vain to make our way through an impervious thicket, and after a considerable loss of time, any thing but agreeable at the beginning of a desperate march of nearly thirty hours, we at length, with the assistance of a Púllo shepherd, regained the right track. We then pursued our march, traveling, without any halt, the whole day and the whole night through the dense forest, leaving the pond called tebki-n-Gúndumi at some distance on our left, and not meeting with any signs of cultivation till a quarter before eleven the next morning, when, wearied in the extreme, and scarcely able to keep up, we were met by some horsemen, who had been sent out from the camp at Gáwasú to meet us, provided with water-skins in order to bring up the stragglers who had lagged behind from fatigue and thirst. And there were many who needed their assistance—one woman had even succumbed to exhaustion in the course of the night; for such a forced march is the more fatiguing and exhausting, as the dangers from a lurking enemy make the greatest possible silence and quiet indispensable, instead of the spirits being kept up with cheerful songs, as is usually the case. But having once reached the cultivated grounds, after a march of two miles and a half more we arrived at the first gáwasú-trees, which surround the village, which is named after them, "Gáwasú." In the fields or "kárkará" adjoining this village, 'Álíyu, the emír el Múmenín, had taken up his camping-ground, and was preparing himself for setting out upon an expedition against the Góber people.

It was well that we had arrived, having been incessantly marching for the last twenty-six hours, without taking into account the first part of the journey from the town to the pond, for I had never seen my horse in such a state of total exhaustion, while my people also fell down immediately they arrived. As for myself, kept up by the excitement of my situation, I did not feel much fatigued, but, on the contrary, felt strong enough to search, without

delay, through the whole of my luggage, in order to select the choicest presents for the great prince of Sókoto, who was to set out the following morning, and upon whose reception depended a good deal of the success of my undertaking. The afternoon wore on without my being called into the presence of the sultan, and I scarcely expected that I should see him that day; but suddenly, after the evening prayer, Alháttu made his appearance with some messengers of the chief, not in order to hasten my present, but first to give me a proof of their own hospitality, and bringing me a very respectable present, consisting of an ox, four fat sheep, and two large straw sacks or tákrufa containing about four hundred pounds weight of rice, with an intimation, at the same time, that 'Alíyu wished to see me, but that I was not now to take my present with me. I therefore prepared myself immediately; and on going to the sultan's we passed by the ghaladíma, who had been lodged in a court-yard of the village, and who accompanied us.

We found 'Alíyu in the northern part of the village, sitting under a tree in front of his quarters, on a raised platform of clay. He received me with the utmost kindness and good-humor, shaking hands with me, and begging me to take a seat just in front of him. Having paid my compliments to him on behalf of the Queen of England, I told him that it had been my intention to have paid him a visit two years previously, but that the losses which we had met with in the first part of our journey had prevented me from carrying out my design. I had scarcely finished my speech, when he himself assured me that at the right time he had received the letter which I had addressed to him through the Sultan of A'gades (informing him of the reason why we could not then go directly to pay him our compliments), and that from that moment up to the present time he had followed our proceedings, and especially my own, with the greatest interest, having even heard at the time a report of my journey to A'damáwa.

I then informed him that in coming to pay him my compliments I had principally two objects in view, one of which was that he might give me a letter of franchise, guaranteeing to all British merchants entire security for themselves and their property in visiting his dominions for trading purposes; and the second, that he might allow me to proceed to Timbúktu, and facilitate my journey to that place (which was greatly obstructed at the present moment by the rebellion of the province of Kebbi) by his own paramount authority. Without reserve he acceded to both my re-

quests in the most cheerful and assuring manner, saying that it would be his greatest pleasure to assist me in my enterprise to the utmost of his power, as it had only humane objects in view, and could not but tend to draw nations together that were widely separated from each other. At the same time he expressed, in a very feeling way, his regret with regard to 'Abd Allah (Captain Clapperton), whose name I had incidentally mentioned, intimating that the then state of war, or "gába," between Bello and the Sheikh el Kánemí, the ruler of Bórnu, had disturbed their amicable relations with that eminent officer, whom in such a conjuncture they had not felt justified in allowing to proceed on his errand to their enemy. In order to give him an example how, in the case of foreign visitors or messengers, such circumstances ought not to be taken into account, I took this opportunity to show him that the ruler of Bórnu, although in open hostility with the most powerful of his ('Alíyu's) governors, nevertheless had allowed me, at the present conjuncture, to proceed on my journey to them without the slightest obstacle. He then concluded our conversation by observing that it had been his express wish to see me the very day of my arrival, in order to assure me that I was heartily welcome, and to set my mind at rest as to the fate of Clapperton, which he was well aware could not fail to inspire Europeans with some diffidence in the proceedings of the rulers of Sókoto.

With a mind greatly relieved I returned to my tent from this audience. The dusk of the evening, darkened by thick thunderclouds, with the thunder rolling uninterruptedly, and lighted up only by the numerous fires which were burning round about in the fields where the troops had encamped under the trees, gave to the place a peculiar and solemn interest, making me fully aware of the momentous nature of my situation. The thunder continued rolling all night long, plainly announcing the approach of the rainy season, though there was no rain at the time. Meanwhile I was pondering over the present which I was to give to this mighty potentate, who had treated me with so much kindness and regard on the first interview, and on whose friendship and protection depended, in a great measure, the result of my proceedings; and thinking that what I had selected might not prove sufficient to answer fully his expectation, in the morning, when I arose, I still added a few things more, so that my present consisted of the following articles: a pair of pistols, richly ornamented with silver, in velvet holsters; a rich bernús (Arab cloak with hood) of red

satin, lined with yellow satin; a bernús of yellow cloth; a bernús of brown cloth; a white heláli bernús of the finest quality; a red cloth kaftan embroidered with gold; a pair of red cloth trowsers; a Stambúli carpet; three loaves of sugar; three turbans and a red cap; two pairs of razors; half a dozen large looking-glasses; cloves, and benzoin.*

Having tied up these presents in five smart handkerchiefs, and taking another bernús of red cloth with me for the ghaladíma, I proceeded first to the latter, who received his present with acknowledgments, and surveyed those destined for his master with extreme delight and satisfaction. We then went together to 'Alíyu, and found him in a room built of reeds, sitting on a divan made of the light wood of the tukkurúwa, and it was then for the first time that I obtained a distinct view of this chief, for on my interview the preceding night it had been so dark that I was not enabled to distinguish his features accurately. I found him a stout, middle-sized man, with a round fat face, exhibiting evidently rather the features of his mother, a Háusa slave, than those of his father Mohammed Bello, a free and noble Púllo, but full of cheerfulness and good-humor. His dress also was extremely simple, and at the same time likewise bore evidence of the pure Púllo character having been abandoned; for while it consisted of scarcely any thing else but a tobe of grayish color, his face was uncovered, while his father Bello, even in his private dwelling, at least before a stranger, never failed to cover his mouth.

He received me this time with the same remarkable kindness which he had exhibited the preceding evening, and repeated his full consent to both my requests, which I then stated more explicitly, requesting at the same time that the letter of franchise might be written at once, before his setting out on his expedition. This he agreed to, but he positively refused to allow me to proceed on my journey before his return from the expedition, which he said would not be long; and, acquainted as I was with the etiquette of these African courts, I could scarcely expect any thing else from the beginning. He then surveyed the presents, and express-

* I may as well add, that the richly-mounted pistols which chiefly aided me in obtaining the friendship of this powerful chief, as well as another pair which I afterward gave to Khalílu, the ruler of Gando, and also several other things, were paid for with my own money, which was forwarded to Tripoli by my family at the suggestion of the Chevalier Bunsen, as well as two harmonica, one of which I gave to 'Alíyu, and the other to the Sheikh el Bakáy.

ed his satisfaction repeatedly; but when he beheld the pistols, which I had purposely kept till the last, he gave vent to his feelings in the most undisguised manner, and, pressing my hands repeatedly, he said, "nagóde, nagóde, barka, 'Abd el Kerím, barka" —"I thank you, God bless you, 'Abd el Kerím, God bless you." He had evidently never before seen any thing like these richly-mounted pistols, which had been selected in Tripoli by the connoisseur eyes of Mr. Warrington, and surveyed the present on all sides. It was to these very pistols that I was in a great measure indebted for the friendly disposition of that prince, while the unscrupulous governor of Kátsena, who had heard some report about them, advised me by all means to sell them to himself, as his liege lord would not only not value them at all, but would even be afraid of them.

Soon after I had returned to my tent the ghaladíma arrived, bringing me from his master 100,000 kurdí to defray the expenses of my household during his absence; and I had afterward the more reason to feel grateful for this kind attention, although the sum did not exceed forty Spanish dollars, as I became aware, during my stay in Wurno, how difficult it would have been for me to have changed my dollars into kurdí. I then satisfied my friend Alháttu, the younger brother of the ghaladíma, whose behavior certainly was far from disinterested, but who, nevertheless, had not proved quite useless to me.

Although we were here in the camp outside, and the people busy with their approaching departure, yet I received visits from several people, and, among others, that of a Weled Ráshid of the name of Mohammed, who, on my return from Timbúktu, followed me to Kúkawa in the company of his countryman, the learned A'hmed Wadáwi. This man, having left his tribe on the south-eastern borders of Bagírmi, had settled in this place many years before, and, having accompanied several expeditions or forays, gave me an entertaining description of the courage of the Féllani-n-Sókoto, although he had some little disposition to slander, and even related to me stories about the frailties of the female portion of the inhabitants of the capital, which I shall not repeat.

Sunday, April 3d. Being anxious that the letter of franchise should be written before the sultan set out, I sent in the morning my broker, 'Alí el A'geren, with a pound of Tower-proof gunpowder, to the prince, in order to remind him of his promise; and he returned after a while, bringing me a letter signed with the

sultan's seal, which, on the whole, was composed in very handsome terms, stating that the prince had granted the request of commercial security for English merchants and travelers, which I, as a messenger of the Queen of England, had made to him. But the letter not specifying any conditions, I was obliged to ask for another paper, written in more distinct terms; and although 'Alíyu's time was, of course, very limited, as he was just about to set out with his army, even my last request was complied with, and I declared myself satisfied. I was well aware how extremely difficult it is to make these people understand the forms of the articles in which European governments are wont to conclude commercial treaties. In regions like this, however, it seems almost as if too much time ought not to be lost on account of such a matter of form before it is well established whether merchants will really open a traffic with these quarters; for as soon as, upon the general condition of security, an intercourse is really established, the rulers of those countries themselves become aware that some more definite arrangement is necessary, while, before they have any experience of intercourse with Europeans, the form of the articles in which treaties are generally conceived fills them with the utmost suspicion and fear, and may be productive of the worst consequences to any one who may have to conclude such a treaty.

The sultan was kind enough, before he left in the afternoon, to send me word that I might come and take leave of him; and I wished him, with all my heart, success in his expedition, as the success of my own undertaking, namely, my journey toward the west, partly depended upon his vanquishing his enemies. Giving vent to his approval of my wishes by repeating that important and highly significant word, not more peculiar to the Christian than to the Mohammedan creed, "Amín, amín," he took leave of me in order to start on his expedition, accompanied only by a small detachment of cavalry, most of the troops having already gone on in advance. I had also forwarded a present to Hámmedu, the son of 'Atíku, an elder brother and predecessor of Bello; but he sent it back to me, begging me to keep it until after his return from the expedition. The ghaladíma also, who was to accompany the sultan, called before his departure, in order that I might wind round his head a turban of gaudy colors, such as I then possessed, as an omen of success.

After all the people were gone, I myself could not think of passing another night in this desolate place, which is not only ex-

posed to the attacks of men, but even to those of wild beasts. Even the preceding night the hyenas had attacked several people, and had almost succeeded in carrying off a boy, besides severely lacerating one man, who was obliged to return home without being able to accompany the army. An hour, therefore, after the sultan had left his encampment, we ourselves were on our road to Wurnó, the common residence of 'Alíyu, where I had been desired to take up my quarters in the house of the ghaladíma; but I never made a more disagreeable journey, short as it was, the provisions which the sultan had given me encumbering us greatly, so that at length we were obliged to give away the heifer as a present to the inhabitants of the village of Gáwasú. It thus happened that we did not reach our quarters till late in the evening; and we had a great deal of trouble in taking possession of them in the dark, having been detained a long time at the gateway, which itself was wide and spacious, but which was obstructed by a wooden door, while there was no open square at all inside the gate, nor even a straight road leading up from thence into the town, the road immediately dividing and winding close along the wall.

CHAPTER LVII.

RESIDENCE IN WURNÓ.

I SHALL preface the particulars of my residence in Wurnó with a short account of the growth of the power of the Fúlbe or Féllani in this quarter, and of the present condition of the empire of Sókoto.

There is no doubt that, if any African tribe deserves the full attention of the learned European, it is that of the Fúlbe (*sing.* Púllo), or Fúla, as they are called by the Mandingoes; Féllani (*sing.* Baféllanchi) by the Háusa people, Felláta by the Kanúri, and Fullán by the Arabs. In their appearance, their history, and the peculiar character of their language, they present numerous anomalies to the inhabitants of the adjacent countries. No doubt they are the most intelligent of all the African tribes, although in bodily development they can not be said to exhibit the most perfect specimens, and probably are surpassed in this respect by the Jolof. But it is their superior intelligence which gives their chief expression to the Fúlbe, and prevents their features from present-

ing that regularity which we find in other tribes, while the spare diet of a large portion of that tribe does not impart to their limbs all the development of which they are capable, most of them being distinguished by the smallness of their limbs and the slender growth of their bodies. But as to their outward appearance, which presents various contrasts in complexion as well as in bodily development, we must first take into account that the Fúlbe, as a conquering tribe, sweeping over a wide expanse of provinces, have absorbed and incorporated with themselves different and quite distinct national elements, which have given to their community a rather varying and undecided character.

Moreover, besides such tribes as have been entirely absorbed, and whose origin has even been referred to the supposed ancestors of the whole nation, there are others which, although their pedigree is not brought into so close a connection with that of the Fúlbe, nevertheless are so intermingled with them that they have quite forgotten their native idiom, and might be confounded with the former by any traveler who is not distinctly aware of the fact. Prominent among these latter are the Sissílbe, as they call themselves, or Syllebáwa, as they are called in Háusa, whom I shall have occasion to mention on my visit to Sókoto, and who are nothing but a portion of the numerous tribe of the Wákoré or Wángaráwa, to whom belong also the Súsu and the so-called Mandingoes; and while that portion of them who are settled in Háusa have entirely forgotten their native idiom, and have adopted, besides the Fulfúlde language, even the Háusa dialect, their brethren in the more western province of Zaberma use their own idiom at the present time almost exclusively.

On the other hand, foremost among those tribes who have been entirely absorbed by the community of the Fúlbe are the Toróde or Torunkáwa, who, although they are considered as the most noble portion of the population in most of the kingdoms founded by the Fúlbe, yet evidently owe their origin to a mixture of the Jolof element with the ruling tribe,* and in such a manner that, in point of numbers, the former enjoyed full superiority in the amalgamation; but it is quite evident that, even if we do not take into account the Toróde, the Jolof have entered into the formation

* It is, however, remarkable that, according to Sultan Bello's account, in a passage not translated by Silame, the original idiom of the Tórode was the Wákoro or Wakoré, which, if it be true, would render the Toróde the near kinsfolk of the Sissílbe.

of the remarkable tribe of the Fúlbe or Fúla in a very strong proportion, although the languages of these two tribes at present are so distinct, especially as far as regards grammatical structure; and it is highly interesting that A'hmed Bábá (who, by occasional hints, allows us to form a much better idea of the progress of that tribe, in its spreading over tracts so immense, than we were able to obtain before we became acquainted with his history of Súdán) intimates distinctly that he regards the Jolof as belonging to the great stock of the Fullán or Fúlbe,* although at the present time the terms "Jolof" and "Púllo" seem to be used in opposition, the one meaning a person of black, and the other an individual of red complexion.

It is this element of the Toróde in particular which causes such a great variety in the type of the Fúlbe community, the Toróde being in general of tall stature and strong frame, large features, and of very black complexion, while the other sections of that tribe are always distinguished by a tinge of red or copper color.

But besides the Toróde, who, as I have said, in most cases as well in Fúta as in Sókoto, at present form the ruling aristocracy, there are many other nationalities which have been absorbed in this great conquering nation, and which, on the contrary, are rather degraded. The most interesting among these latter, at least in the more eastern tracts occupied by the Fúlbe, are certainly the Jawámbe, as they are called by the Fúlbe, but rather, as they call themselves, Zoghorán, or, as they are named by the Háusa people, Zoromáwa. This tribe, which we find at present quite absorbed by the Féllani, and, at least in the provinces of Háusa and Kébbi, reduced to the occupation of mere brokers, we still find, during the period of the A'skia, that is to say, in the sixteenth century of our era, quite distinct from the community of the Fúlbe or Féllani, as a tribe by themselves, settled to the S.E. of the Great River, where it enters the province of Másina;† and it was this tribe which, having been continually persecuted by the Songhay during the height of their sway, at a later period, when that empire had been laid prostrate by the musketeers of Morocco, contributed the

* He says of the Jolof that their character is distinguished greatly from that of *the other* Fullán or Fúlbe:

و طبايعهم تباين طبايع ساير الفلانيون

See Journal of the Leipsic Oriental Soc., ix., p. 536.

† A'hmed Bábá in J. L. O. S., p. 550, 555, and elsewhere.

most to its ruin, and conquered great part of it, particularly the most fertile provinces, such as Bára and Kármina.

Nearly the same character distinguishes the tribe of the Laúbe on the Senegal, who, in general, at the present time have been reduced to the rank of carpenters, but, nevertheless, at a former period evidently constituted a distinct tribe.* It is these degraded tribes—viz., besides those above-mentioned, the Mábube or Mábe, considered in general as weavers; the Gergasábe, or shoemakers; the Waílube, or tailors; the Wambaibe, or singing men; the Waúlube, or beggars—who impart to the community of the Fúlbe the character of a distinction into castes, especially as all of them, in the imaginary pedigree of the Púllo stock, have been carried back to one common progenitor called Só; but we find the same degraded families among the Jolof.†

The absorbing of these western tribes, especially the Jolof and Wákoré by the Fulfúlde nation, furnishes at the same time an unquestionable and unmistakable proof that the march of conquest of the latter proceeded from west to east, and not in an opposite direction, as has been the generally adopted view of those who have touched upon the subject. No doubt it is impossible for us,

* M. Eichwaldt, from the account given of them by various French travelers, makes, as to this tribe, the following interesting statement, regarding them as gipsies: "En effet, les ethnographes considèrent habituellement les Laobés comme une branche des Foulahs: mais ce fait n'est nullement démontré, et nous avons nous-mêmes connu des voyageurs qui affirmaient que les Laobés possédaient une langue nationale différente du Foulah." (Journal de la Société Ethnologique, 1841, vol. i., p. 62.)

† The Fúlbe in general divide all the tribes belonging to their stock into four groups or families, but they by no means agree as to the particulars of the division. I will here give one which is commonly assumed:

1. The Jel, comprising the following sections: the Torobe; Ulérbe; Fíttobe: Jébtobe; Súdube; U'rube; Tarábe; Jéllube; Bá'abe; Símbirankóbe, also called Ndójiga, from their dwelling-place; Feroibe; Núkkobe; Síllube; Sosóbe; Tóngabe; Waijóbe. Of these the U'rube are again subdivided into five sections: the U. Búbe, U. Feroibe (distinct from the Feroibe before mentioned), U. Dúde, U. Síkam. U. Waijóbe. The Jéllube, again, are subdivided into three sections: the J. Yorónga, J. Haire, and J. Másina.

2. The B'aá, comprising the sections of the Gnara or Gghara, the Síndega, and the Danéji.

3. The Só, comprising the Jawámbe, the Mábube or Mábe, Gergasábe, Waílube, Laúbe, Wambaibe, and Waúlube.

4. The Berí, comprising the Siwálbe, Jaléji, Kombangkóbe, and Kíngirankóbe.

But besides these there are a great many other divisions of this wide-spread tribe, called from localities, some of which I shall mention as opportunity occurs. See especially Appendix II.

with our faint knowledge of the migration of tribes in general, and of African tribes in particular, to explain how this tribe came to settle in the region along the lower course of the Senegal, as their type is distinguished in so very remarkable a manner from the character of the other tribes settled in that neighborhood, and evidently bears more resemblance to some nations whose dwelling-places are in the far east, such as the Malays, with whom M. Eichwaldt, in his ingenious but hypothetical essay on the Fúla,* has endeavored to connect them by way of Meroë. I myself am of opinion that their origin is to be sought for in the direction of the east; but this refers to an age which, for us, is enveloped in impenetrable darkness, while what I have said about the progress of their conquest from west to east relates to historical times, comprising the period from the fourteenth century downward.† In this respect the mission of two religious chiefs of this tribe from Melle (where they resided at the time) to Bíri, the King of Bórnu, who ruled about the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century,‡ is of the highest interest, as it shows us at once that this tribe, even at that early period, was distinguished by its religious learning, and gives a proof of the progress of the tribe from west to east. Some other facts which have come to our knowledge with regard to the progress of this tribe eastward will be mentioned in the chronological tables; here I will only call the reader's attention to the circumstance that we find among the most intimate friends and most stanch supporters of Mohammed el Háj A'skia a man of the name of 'Alí Fulánu, while in general it was the policy of the Songhay dynasty, which was begun by that great ruler of Negroland, to keep in check this tribe,

* Eichwaldt in Journal de la Société Ethnologique, 1841, vol. i., p. 2, *et seq.* Among all the arguments brought forward by this gentleman in order to show a relation of the Fúlbe with the Malays, there is none of any consequence; and all his specimens of words brought forward with this object are either taken from bad sources or prove nothing, the only striking similarities in the language of these two nations being the words for fish and spear. I speak here of a special and direct relationship of the Fúlbe with the Malays, without taking into consideration the vestiges of the general relationship of the whole human race, which have lately been pursued and demonstrated with such industry by Mr. Logan.

† There may be some remote affinity between the Fúlbe and the South African tribes, but this refers to an age probably not later than the rule of the Pharaohs; and the idea that the Fúlbe proceeded from South Africa is certainly entirely erroneous. The identity of a few numerals in the Fulfúlde and Kaffir languages is curious, but may be explained on historical grounds.

‡ Vol. ii., p. 584, under Bíri (Ibrahím.)

the conquering tendency of which could not but become apparent to intelligent rulers, notwithstanding the humble character of "berróji," under which they used to immigrate and settle in foreign countries; and this is the acknowledged reason why the Gabéro, a tribe whom we shall meet in the course of our proceedings on the river below Gágho, have entirely forgotten their Fulfúlde idiom, not having been allowed, for a certain period, to use it. Whether it be true, as the Féllani-n-Háusa assert, that Kanta, the founder of the homonymous dynasty of Kébbi, in the very beginning of the sixteenth century, was originally a slave of a party of Fúlbe settled in the country, a fact which, if confirmed, would prove the early settlement of the tribe in this country, I am unable to decide, although it is certainly true that in the course of the sixteenth century the Fúlbe became strong enough, in the regions on the east side of the I'sa or Kwára to exercise a great influence in the struggles which ensued between the successors of the first Kanta, while it was a chief of their tribe, the ruler of Danka, or Denga, who, according to A'hmed Bábá,* first began his predatory incursions into the Songhay territory, laying waste the fertile and once extremely populous region along the Rás el má. It is thus explained how, even in the beginning of the seventeenth century, Fúlbe tribes were settled in several places of Bagírmi.†

But just on account of the vastness of the region over which they were scattered were these people, while pursuing only their own local interest, powerless even in these loosely-connected and almost crumbling kingdoms where they had found a new home, with the exception of Bághena, where they appear to have formed a nucleus of greater strength, but destitute of any religious impulse.

A new epoch for this wide-spread tribe did not open till the beginning of this century, when, in the year 1802, Báwa, the ruler of Góber, summoned to his presence the Sheikh 'Othmán, together with the other chiefs of the tribe, and severely reprimanded them on account of the pretensions which they were beginning to put forward. It was then that 'Othmán, who, being settled in the village Dághel, performed the office of imám to his countrymen, and had begun to give them a new religious impulse, which raised them above their petty interests, filled with indignation at the manner in which he, the great Moslim, was treated by those pagans, was roused to the attempt of making himself and his tribe independent of the will of the native ruler of the country, and,

* A'hmed Bábá, J. L. O. S., vol. vi., p. 550. † See vol. ii., p. 550.

having assembled his countrymen, who now conferred upon him the dignity and authority of a sheikh, raised the standard of revolt; but his proceedings, at least as far as regarded Góber and the capital Alkaláwa, were far from proving successful at the beginning, he being vanquished in almost every encounter; but the fanatical zeal of his followers, whom he continually inspired with fresh energy by his religious songs,* was so great that gradually he overcame all these obstacles, and at length succeeded in laying the foundation of a vast empire, being greatly assisted in his career by his brother 'Abd Alláhi, who, although his senior, had been the first to pay him homage, and by his son Mohammed Bello. He took up his residence first at Gando, where he was besieged for a long time, and afterward at Sifáwa, till, as described by Captain Clapperton in the excellent and concise account of this struggle† which he has given in the report of his second journey, 'Othmán ended his life in a sort of fanatical ecstasy or madness.

He was followed by Mohammed Bello, who endeavored to introduce more order into the empire thus consolidated, and who, on the whole, must rank high among the African princes, being distinguished not less by his great love of learning and science than by his warlike spirit, although his military achievements were far from being always successful. But he has had the misfortune, after enjoying a great name in Europe for a short time for the kind and generous spirit in which he received Captain Clapperton on his first journey, to incur the severest condemnation on account of the manner in which he treated that same enterprising traveler on his second journey. No doubt he was a distinguished ruler, but he must not be judged according to European ideas. He had to struggle hard, not less against the native tribes anxious to assert their independence, than against his great rival, Mohammed el Kánemí, the King of Bórnu, who, just at the time of Clapperton's second stay, pressed him very closely, and, having successfully overrun the eastern provinces of the Fulfúlde or Felláta empire, threatened Kanó. Hence this political position, together with the instigations of the Arabs, who feared for their commerce with Negroland if the road from the south should be opened, will account in some measure for his treatment of the English traveler, who perhaps urged his going to the Sheikh of Bórnu with too much energy. However, there is no doubt that Bello's successor

* I shall communicate his principal song in Appendix III.

† Clapperton's Second Journey, p. 203, *et seq.*

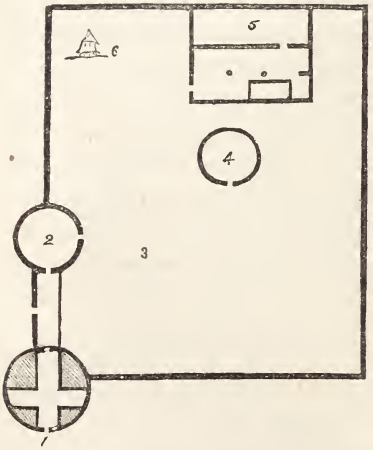
and brother, 'Atíku, who ruled from the year 1832 till 1837, would have weakened the interest of the European public in the example which Bello gave of an energetic and generous ruler in those distant and out-of-the-way regions if his career had become known to them; for he seems to have fully belied the expectation of "a mean prince,"* which he raised when still living in his retirement as a jealous king's brother without power and influence. But his reign was too short for consolidating sufficiently the loosely-connected empire, although, as long as he lived, full security is said to have reigned. The spirit of independence broke out more strongly under his successor 'Alíyu, a son of Bello by a female slave, who, save a well-meaning and cheerful disposition, does not appear to have inherited many of the noble qualities of his father, and, least of all, his warlike spirit; and hence the lamentable condition in which I found this extensive kingdom, while there is scarcely any hope that affairs will assume a more consolidated character before another more energetic ruler succeeds to 'Aliyu. Nevertheless, the kingdom or empire, even at the present time, still comprises the same provinces which it did at its most flourishing period, with the exception of Khadéja, the governor of which has made himself independent; but the military strength of these provinces, especially as regards cavalry, as well as the amount of revenue, is greatly impaired, although the latter, collected from all the provinces† together, certainly exceeds one hundred millions of shells, or about £10,000 sterling, besides an equal value in slaves and native cloth, or articles of foreign produce. The whole strength of the empire, if the distracted state of each province allowed its quota to be withdrawn from thence, would certainly still form an imposing force, viz., the cavalry of the seat of government, together with the subjected parts of Kébbi and Zánfara, about 5000; the cavalry of Kanó, from 5000 to 7000; that of Baúchi, from 1500 to 2000; that of Zégzeg, 3000; A'damáwa, 2000; Kátsena and Mésaw, each about 1000; Katágum, 1200; Marmar and Shéra, each 500; Bobéru, 600; Dáura,

* This is the term which Clapperton uses with regard to him.

† There are inspectors of the provinces residing in Sókoto who are responsible for the tribute being duly delivered. 'Abdú, the son of Gedádo, has all the following provinces under his inspection: Kanó, Zégzeg, A'damáwa, Hamárruwa, Sámbo Degímsa, Katágum, Sámbo-Lé, governed by Yeríma A'hmedu. The ghaladíma A'hmedu has only Kátsena under his inspection; the mágaji inspects Zánfara; Modéggel, Baúchi; Yéron Sambo, Kazáure, the province of Démbo; Dennil Jódi, Dáura.

400; Kazáure, about 200. But we have seen to what a state Zánfara is at present reduced, while the curious manner in which Kébbi is portioned out between the rulers of Sókoto and Gando* can not fail to cause a great deal of jealousy and controversy between the two courts, at the very centre of power; and as for A'damáwa, there are still so many hostile elements in the interior of that half-subdued province, that it is impossible to withdraw from thence a particle of its home force; nay, even the province of Kanó is so harassed and distracted by the continual inroads of the governor of Khadéja, that the ruler of that province is scarcely able to send a few hundred horsemen to join the army of his liege lord. We have seen how that same rebel governor of Khadéja repeatedly defeated a numerous host, taken from almost all the provinces of the empire, which had been sent against him, and we shall see what were the inglorious manœuvrings of 'Alíyu himself when he led out, in person, his army against the enemy during my stay in Wurnó, of which I shall now proceed to give a short diary.

Monday, April 4th. Having entered my quarters in the dark, I had no idea of their character, and it was not till the following day that I became aware of it. They consisted, as shown in the accompanying wood-cut, of a spacious court-yard containing nothing but a clay building, which comprised two apartments besides a small granary, built of clay, but which was covered all round



1. Entrance hut or parlor, furnished with two seats of clay and two couches of the same material.
2. Second hut, without couches. 3. Open court-yard, overgrown with grass.
4. Hut for my chief servant. 5. Clay hall, with a store-room at the back. 6. Small granary.

* See Appendix IV.

with straw at the setting in of the rainy season, in order to protect it from violent rains. The clay hall had been built by A'bú, the elder brother and the predecessor of the present ghaladíma, who greatly surpassed the latter in warlike energy, and who fell in Zánfara during that unfortunate expedition against the Góberáwa, the preparations for which Mr. Overweg witnessed during his stay in Marádi, in the beginning of the summer of 1851. The principal apartment of this clay hall, supported by two massive columns, with an average temperature of 94°, was an excellent abode during the hottest part of the day, when it felt very cool and pleasant; but it was rather oppressive in the morning and evening, when the air outside was so much cooler. But in the court-yard there was not the slightest shade, all the trees in this quarter of the town, as well as the huts consisting of reed, having been swept away by a great conflagration the preceding year, a young kórna-tree, which had been planted at a later period, only just beginning to put forth its foliage. The whole court-yard, also, was in a most filthy state, characteristic of the manners of the natives in their present degraded moral and political situation. The first thing, therefore, that I had to do, in order to make myself tolerably comfortable, was to cleanse out this Augean stable, to build a hut for my servants, and a shady retreat for myself. I was well aware that the latter, which it was not easy to make water-tight, would become useless with the first considerable fall of rain; but I entertained the hope that before that time I should be able to set out on my journey.

It was market-day, there being a market held here every Monday and Friday, although the great market of Sókoto, which is much more important, even in the present reduced condition of that place, still serves to supply the wants of the inhabitants of all the neighboring towns and villages at large. Sending, therefore, into the market, in order to supply my most urgent wants, I found that corn, as well as meat, was even dearer here than in Kátsena, 100 shells scarcely sufficing for the daily maintenance of one horse, and 800 shells buying no more corn than 500 would have done in Kátsena, while an ox for slaughtering cost 7000 shells; and I bought two milking-goats, in order to enjoy the luxury of a little milk for my tea, for 2700 shells. The only article which was at all cheap was onions. The market is held on a natural platform spreading out in front of the northwestern gate, and surrounded and fortified by a ditch, as, in the present weak state

of the Fúlbe, the market-people are liable to be suddenly attacked by the enemy. This place, as well as the whole of the town, I visited the following day, in company with my friend Alháttu, who, in acknowledgment of the present I had given him in Gáwasú, and in expectation of more, took me under his special protection; but in crossing the town in a westerly direction from our quarters, I was surprised at its neglected and dirty appearance, a small ravine which intersects the town forming a most disgusting spectacle, even worse than the most filthy places of any of the deserted capitals of Italy. Emerging then by the western gate (the kófa-n-sábuwa), through which leads the road to Sókoto, and which was just being repaired by the people of the ghaladíma, in order to make it capable of withstanding the effects of the rainy season, we turned northward round the town. In front of each gate, on the slope of the rocky eminence on which the town is built, there is a group of wells, each with a little round clay house, where the proprietor of the well has his usual residence, levying on each jar of water a small contribution of five shells; but there are also a great number of wells facing the northwestern gate, close to the market.

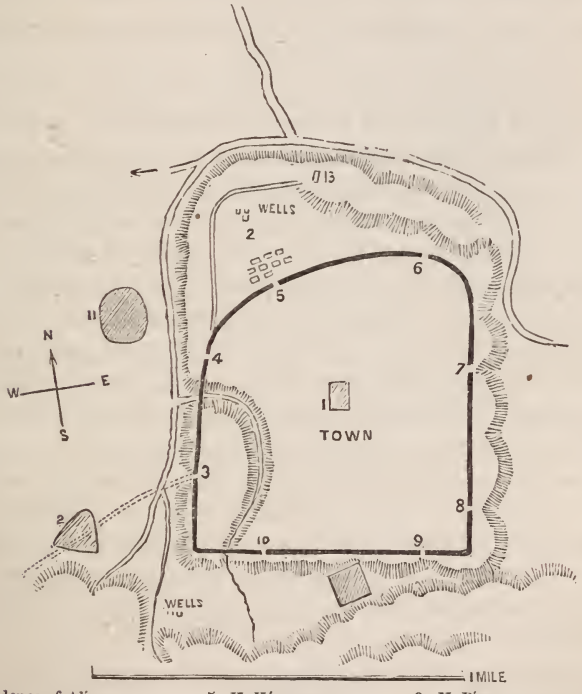
Leaving a small farm, belonging to my friend 'Abd el Káder, the Sultan of A'gades, on our left, we then turned round to the north, into the road which leads to Saláme, and crossed once more the "gulbi-n-ríma," which takes its course toward Sókoto, exhibiting a very uneven bottom, and forming several pools of stagnant water. Here a broad plain spread out, at present almost bare of vegetation, where my poor camels searched in vain for pasture, putting me to a daily expense of 800 shells in order to recruit their strength by means of "haráwa," or bean-straw, which furnishes the most nourishing food for the camel in these regions, though in general it is regarded as unwholesome for the horse. Having thus fed my camels for some time, I sent them to a greater distance, in the direction of Sókoto, between Dankému and Gída-n-mánomí, where better fodder was to be procured.

After the luxuriant vegetation of other parts of Negroland, I was astonished at the naked appearance of the country around the capital, only a few kúka or monkey-bread-trees being seen; but the country presented a very different aspect on my return journey the next year, at the end of the rainy season. Góber is distinguished for its general dryness, and for this very reason is esteemed exceedingly well adapted for cattle-breeding. The fron-

tiers of the three different provinces or territories (viz., Kebbi, Góber, and A'dar) join in this corner; and this is the reason that, while Sókoto is regarded as lying within the borders of the province of Kebbi, Wurnó is considered as belonging to the conquered territory of the province of Góber; while just beyond the gulbi-n-ríma, in a northerly direction, the province of A'dar or Tadlar commences.

But, to return to my first promenade round Wurnó, having surveyed the broad dry valley of the gulbi, we turned round the precipitous cliffs over which winding paths lead up to the town, and, having skirted for a while a small branch or korámma, which farther on turns away, we kept along the eastern side of the town, and re-entered the place from the southeastern corner, through the gate by which we had made our first entrance. Annexed the reader will find a wood-cut which will serve to show its situation much better than any description could do.

Meanwhile the town became more and more deserted, and on



1. Residence of Aliyu.
2. Market-place.
3. Kófa-n-Súbuwa.
4. K. Serki-n-A'gades.
5. K. Kásuwa.
6. K. Máleki.
7. K. Kúrremi.
8. K. Ráha.
9. K. Ríma.
10. K. Ghaladámchi.
11. Gída-n-Serki-n-A'gades.
12. Suburb.

the 7th of April, Alháttu and 'Omár, or Ghomáro, the two brothers of the ghaladíma, with numbers of other people, went to join the expedition; but these fighting men, with a few exceptions, care only about their bodily comfort, and for a few "goríye" or Kóla nuts would be willing to sell the whole of their military accoutrements. It was a great matter with these warriors that, while the old goríye were nearly finished, the new ones, which were just then brought into the market, were sold for the high price of 120 shells each. In scarcely any place of Negroland did I observe so little true military spirit as in Wurnó; and almost all the leading men seem to be imbued with the melancholy conviction that their rule in these quarters is drawing to an end.

Friday, April 8th. It was again market-day, and I made sundry purchases, including a small ox, for almsgiving, as I had made it a rule, in every large town where I staid any considerable time, to distribute alms among the poor. I was astonished at the great quantity of cotton which was brought into the market, and which showed what these fine vales are capable of producing, if the inhabitants, instead of being plunged in apathy and exposed to the daily incursions of a relentless enemy, were protected by a strong government. This very day we received the news that the rebellious Kábáwa, or natives of Kebbi,* had made a foray against Señína, a town situated on the most frequented road between Sókoto and Gando, the two capitals and central seats of the power of the Fúlbe in these quarters. The neighboring Féllani had come to the rescue of the town, and had prevented the enemy from taking it, but six horses had been carried away. Only a few days later, the news arrived of another attack having been made by the rebels upon the town of Gando, the residence of Dyang-rúwa, one day's distance to the south from Bírni-n-Kebbi, although this time they were less fortunate, and were said to have been driven back with the loss of twenty-two horses. Meanwhile the sultan himself, with his sluggish host of cavalry, instead of attacking the Góberáwa, who already, before we left Kátsena, had taken the field with a numerous army, was said to be stationed in Katúru. He had been joined by the governor of Záriya in person, while Kanó had sent only the ghaladíma with the whole of their cavalry.

* The national name Kábáwa is taken from the ancient form of the name, Kábi, which was formerly in use (exactly like the form Máli, Maláwa), but has given place to the form Kebbi, which is thus distinctly written, even in Arabic, by authors of the seventeenth century.

From Katúru, 'Alíyu with his army, after some useless delay, betook himself to Káuri-n-Namóda, whence we received news on the 11th, the Góberáwa having meanwhile taken up a strong position in front of him, without being able to induce him to offer them battle. The dread of these effeminate conquerors for the warlike chief of the Góberáwa, the son of Yakúba, is almost incredible. He has ruled since 1836, and the preceding year had roused the whole of the indigenous population of the various provinces to a struggle for their national and religious independence against the ruling tribe. This dread of him has been carried so far that they have quite obliterated his real name, calling him only Mayáki, or "the warrior." While 'Alíyu was stationed at Káuri-n-Namóda, and part of his army was in Dankárba, the A'zena made an attack upon Ráya, a town situated at a day's distance from the former place. But the whole condition of the country, to the west as well as to the east, was most deplorable; and three native merchants, of the Zoromáwa or Zoghorán, when speaking about my projected journey toward the Niger, and beyond that river westward, told me, in the most positive manner, "bábo haña," "there is no road;" that is to say, "the country is closed to you, and you can not proceed in that direction." And taking into consideration the low ebb of courage and enterprise among the natives—the weakness and unwarlike spirit of 'Alíyu —the complete nullity of Khalílu—the vigor of the young and warlike Mádemé, the rebel chief of Kebbi, who, starting from his residence Argúngo, distant only a couple of hours' march from that of Khalílu, was carrying the flame of destruction in every direction—the revolted province of Zabérma, with an equally young and energetic ruler, Dáúd, the son of Hammam Jýmma—the province of Déndina in open revolt and cutting off all access to the river—all these circumstances rendered the prospect of my accomplishing this journey very doubtful. Moreover, besides the weakness of the two rulers of the Fúlbe dominions, there is evidently a feeling of jealousy between the courts of Sókoto and Gando; and here we find the spectacle of two weak powers weakening each other still more, instead of uniting most cordially in an energetic opposition against the common foe. For instance, the young chief of Kebbi, who at present caused them so much trouble, had been previously a prisoner in Wurnó; but when Khalílu wanted to take his life, 'Alíyu procured his liberty, and gave him a splendid charger to boot.

But a European will achieve what the natives of the country themselves deem impossible; and my friends the Zoromáwa merchants, who wanted to induce me to relinquish my project, had perhaps their own private interests in view. They probably entertained the hope that, in case of my being prevented from penetrating westward, I should be obliged to sell my stock here, which I now kept back as a provision for the road before me. By way of consoling them, I gave them a parcel of beads of the kind called dankasáwa, which I found useless for the countries through which I had to pass, in exchange for some shells I was in want of for the daily expenses of my household.

Meanwhile I collected a good deal of information concerning the topography of the neighboring provinces, and the remarkable manner in which the province of Kebbi has been portioned out between the two empires of Gando and Sókoto. I also compiled an outline of the history of this country, which began greatly to attract my attention. Meanwhile, in order to preserve my health, I took a ride almost every day out of the town, and was, in particular, much interested in an excursion which I made in the afternoon of the 16th, in a northerly direction, on the road to Saláme, which is at the same time the great high road to A'dar and A'gades. A cheerful aspect was especially exhibited by the village of Fáchi, stretching out to a considerable length from east to west, and skirted by a small water-course, which inundates and fertilizes the neighboring grounds during the rainy season, so that the people are able to raise, besides two species of yams, namely, gwáza and rógo, a good deal of tobacco and cotton. Beyond, a wide open plain spreads out, covered with the plant "kakma," which looks very much like aghúl (*Hedysarum Alhaggi*). But the whole of this ground so near the capital is now very unsafe under the weak rule of 'Alíyu, and exposed to continual inroads of the energetic Góberáwa; and a few days later the village of Saláme itself was ransacked by the enemy, and a good many slaves carried off. The more desperate the condition of the country was, the more remarkable appeared to me the outward show of dominion which was maintained; in proof of this, I may state that the very day we received the news of a new outbreak of the general mutiny of the native tribes, the tribute from the provinces of Kanó and Záriya entered the town.

Wednesday, April 20th. A highly interesting and delightful interruption to my protracted and involuntary stay in Wurno was

caused by an excursion which I made to Sókoto. The first part of this road I had already become acquainted with on a former ride, which had extended as far as Dankému; but at that period, being more intent upon inhaling the fresh air than upon laying down the country, I had not paid much attention to the extensive cultivation of rice which is going on in this valley, while on this occasion the features of the country, and, in particular, this branch of cultivation, formed a special object of attraction to me. For it was the first time during my travels in Negroland that I had seen rice cultivated on a large scale; and as we were winding along the foot of the rocky hills to the southeast, crossing the various small channels which descend from them and afterward join the greater rivulet which we saw at some distance on our right, the country became dotted with small villages, or "rugga," as they are called by the Fúlbe, some of them of historical renown, such as Dággel, the village where 'Othmán the Reformer had his usual residence before he rose to that great political importance which he attained in after times. But such is the degraded state of these conquerors at the present time, that even this village, which, if they had the slightest ambition or feeling of national honor, ought to be a memorable and venerable place to them for all ages, has been ransacked by the Góberáwa, and lies almost deserted.

It is at Dághel that the valley attains its greatest breadth; but as we advanced, in a southwesterly direction, it was narrower, till, at the village called Gída-n-mánomí, it became greatly contracted, shortly after which, the river turning away to a greater distance, the path ascended the rocks. It is the same path along which Clapperton, on his second journey, went so repeatedly from Sókoto to Magáriya, but which, from the scanty information obtained from his papers in this respect, has been laid down so very erroneously. In general, I can not praise too highly the zeal and accuracy (allowance being made for his positions of longitude) with which this eminent and successful traveler, who crossed the whole breadth of the African continent between the Mediterranean and the Bight of Benin, has laid down his various journeys. On the other hand, the companion of his former travels, Major Denham, has shown great inaccuracy, both with respect to distances as well as to the direction of his various routes.

The ground was enlivened by the cultivation of "rógo," which, when attaining a certain growth, contributes greatly to the beauty

of the scenery; but kúka or baobab trees were almost the only larger vegetable production which adorned the country during the first part of our ride, sometimes shooting out from between the very blocks of sandstone with which the hills were strewn. Farther on, another tree, called "kádasí," and a few small tamarind-trees also appeared, and the tops of the ant-hills, which at times form regular rows, were often adorned with the fine fresh-leaved bush "sérkekí." The ground, which consists of black argillaceous soil, "láka" or "fírki," as it is called in Bórnu, not yet fertilized by the rainy season, was cracked and torn asunder, while the white "káli bálbalé" (*Buphaga Africana*), which enliven every district of Negroland where cattle are common, were stalking about in the fields, looking out for food. But cattle at the present time were sought for in vain. Here they would have found no pasture, and, in consequence, were driven to a great distance, as is the general custom with the Fúlbe or Féllani of these quarters, even those settled in the province of Kátsena having at times their herds of cattle pasturing in the far-distant grassy and healthy grounds of Zabérma.

While the cultivation of rice prevails in the northeasternmost part of the valley, more cotton and sorghum were observed toward the village of Gída-n-mánomí, although the state of the fields did not argue a great deal of industry on the part of the inhabitants, being rather obstructed by weeds and thorny bushes. But far more native corn is grown on the other side of Wurnó, so that it even forms a mercantile speculation, on a small scale, to carry corn from Wurnó to Sókoto; nay, even sheep are transported in this way for a very small profit, being bought in Wurnó for 1200, or, when on credit, for 1400 shells, and sold in Sókoto for 1500.

Having ascended the rising ground close beyond a source of limpid water producing a narrow spot of fresh verdure, the rocky surface was soon succeeded by a fertile plain of sand covering the rock to the depth of a foot, while the fields of the various farmers were separated from each other by slabs of sandstone. The labors of the fields, however, had not yet begun; and trees also here were scanty, a small mimosa indicating the half way or "marár-raba" between the two towns, while another village was distinguished by a single delèb palm. Having reached the highest point of the path, from whence we obtained the first sight of Sókoto, we descended into a deeper hollow or irregular valley, adorned by fine green fields of "rógo," and bordered by living hedges

of the *Nux purgans*, the nut being still green, but having just attained its full size.

This was the valley of Bamúrna, which is distinguished on account of its fertility and abundance of water, but for this same reason is rather unhealthy, and, during and shortly after the rainy season, becomes quite impassable for travelers. Close to the source, which rushes forth from the western cliffs, a small market is held, where travelers generally make a short halt; but this spot being very narrow, and affording but little comfort for a midday halt, we went on a little farther, and halted for an hour or two at the end of the vale, under two fine dúrremi-trees a little to the right of the path. Here, where the principal vale is joined by a side branch, and where the greatest amount of moisture is collected, the vegetation is especially rich, and a beautiful limún-tree full of fruit adorned the place, besides young offshoots of the plantain. But more interesting still was a small plantation of sugar situated at the foot of the hill, although the stalks were at present only about sixteen or eighteen inches high; and I was not a little surprised when I learned that this piece of ground belonged to a man who not only cultivated, but even prepared sugar; but I did not then make his acquaintance, as he was absent at the time. Meanwhile, enjoying our cool shade, we partook of a very moderate but wholesome African luncheon, consisting of a few onions boiled in water, seasoned with some tamarind fruit and a little butter, which forms a very refreshing treat during the hot hours of a tropical climate; for the onions hereabout are of excellent quality and extremely cheap, fifteen being sold for ten kurdí.

Soon after starting in the afternoon we fell in with a long marriage procession, consisting of a bride and her mother, both mounted on horseback, accompanied by a considerable number of female servants and attendants, carrying the simple household furniture on their heads. At the same time that this interesting procession caused a cheerful intermezzo, a greater variety of vegetation was perceptible at a village on our right. Besides kórna, there were a few dúm and delèb palms, and the fields were adorned with a great number of tamarind-trees, but of small growth.

Proceeding thus over the rocky ground, we reached the small rivulet of Sókoto, the "gulbi-n-Rába" or "Búgga," or, as it is called in its upper course, where I fell in with it on my return journey, gulbi-n-Bakúra. Even at the present season it had a small current of water, but only about ten yards wide and ten

inches deep, and just sufficient for us to water our horses. The water is regarded as unwholesome for man; and at this season of the year, shallow wells or holes are dug in the gravel at some distance from the stream, in order to supply the poor people. The wealthier classes are believed to be supplied from other quarters, although such a presumption is very often false, the water from this stream being merely sold to them under a more pompous title.

Ascending then the slope of the eminence on which the town is built, and which rises to about one hundred feet, and leaving a spacious "máriná" or dyeing-place on the slope of the hill on our left, we entered the walls of Sókoto by the kófa-n-rími; and although the interior did not at present exhibit that crowded appearance which made such a pleasing impression upon Clapperton, the part nearest the wall being rather thinly inhabited, and the people being evidently reduced to a state of great poverty and misery, it made a cheerful impression on me, on account of the number of dúm palms and kórna-trees by which it is adorned.

Orders having been sent beforehand, I was quartered without delay in the house of the ghaladíma—a clay dwelling in tolerable repair, but full of white ants, so that I was glad to find there a "gadó" or couch of reeds, where I was able to rest myself and put away my small effects, without being continually exposed to the insidious attacks of these voracious insects. Having thus made myself comfortable, my first visit the following morning was to Módibo 'Alí, who had already testified his friendship for me by sending me a fat sheep to Wurnó. Differing entirely from the present generation of beggars, whose ignoble habits make a long stay in Wurnó or Sókoto intolerable, he is a cheerful old man of noble demeanor, and with pure Fúlbe features, with which his middle height and rather spare growth exactly corresponded. He was simply but neatly dressed in a white shirt and a shawl of the same color. Módibo 'Alí is the oldest member of the family of the Reformer still alive, being the son of 'Ali, an elder brother of 'Othmán the Jehádi, and about seventy-five years of age. He was seated in the antechamber of his house, before the door of which his little herd of milch cows were assembled; and he received me with unaffected kindness. I immediately saluted him as an old friend and acquaintance, and we had a very pleasant and cheerful conversation, after which I delivered to him my present, consisting of a heláli bernús, a piece of white muslin, a

high red cap or "mátri," a small flask of "óttár" of roses, two razors, a pound of cloves, a loaf of sugar, and a looking-glass; and he was particularly delighted with some of these articles, which, on account of the insecurity of the road at the present time, are imported more rarely even from Kanó. In former times a great many Arabs used to visit this place, partly for the purposes of trade, partly in order to obtain a present from the sultan; but the danger of the communication in the present reduced state of the empire is so great that not a single Arab merchant visits the town. This circumstance can not fail to render the conquering tribe more favorably disposed toward opening an intercourse with the English, or Europeans in general, by way of the Niger. At present almost the whole traffic in foreign merchandise is in the hands of the people of Ghát and A'gades, especially in those of Mohammed Bóro, my friend the fugger of A'gades, who, being a native of A'dar, and having a numerous host of full-grown sons, exercises a great influence upon commercial and even political affairs in these quarters.

Having thus commenced an acquaintance with the most respectable man in the town, I made a longer promenade through its interior, when I found the chief quarter, which had been the residence of Bello, greatly dilapidated, and the royal mansion itself in a state of the utmost decay. No doubt a considerable proportion of the inhabitants of the town, especially the males, had joined the expedition of 'Alíyu to Zánfara; but as the greater part of the population consists of Zoramáwa or Zoghorán, or, as they are called farther westward, Jawámbe, a peculiar tribe which I have mentioned before, and about which I shall say more in another place, mixed here with the Imóshagh of A'dar, who do not join the army, the war could not exercise so great an influence upon the desolate appearance of the place. The Zoromáwa, in fact, are the artisans of the town, and the small tradesmen and brokers, and exercise a sort of monopoly in the art of working in leather, in which they are very expert, having probably learned it from the Emgedesíye.

In endeavoring to survey the town, I first paid a visit to the market, which is situated at its northeastern corner, on the brink of the rugged slope which descends into the valley. It was empty at the present time, only a few slight sheds being made ready for the following day, when the great market was to be held; and the prospect over the broad flat valley to the north and northwest, in

the direction of Dúnday, was uninterrupted, presenting at this season a scorched-up savanna, while the deep rill of the river was scarcely to be distinguished. A number of blind women, leaning on their staves or led by young children, were seen carrying pitchers of water up the cliff, affording a sad proof of the unhealthiness of the situation of the town, where blindness is very frequent. Turning then westward from the market, I reached the house of the late king 'Atíku, where at present his son Hámedu resides, who formerly had his residence at Bakúra, till that place was taken by the Góberáwa. The house is in good repair, and the quarter adjacent is tolerably well inhabited—at least, better than any other part of the town; for Hámedu is the chief of the Sissílbe or Syllebáwa,* who form the principal stock of the population of the neighboring hamlets or rugga of Sókoto. The different nationality of these Syllebáwa, causing a diversity of interests and pursuits, is stated to be one of the reasons why 'Alíyu, who has been made sultan chiefly through the influence of the Tórobe, does not like to reside at Sókoto as well as at Wurnó, although his residence at the latter place is greatly needed in the present reduced state of his power, in consequence of the continual danger from the Góberáwa, who, if the sultan should stay in Sókoto, would endanger the safety of all the people living in the open villages and hamlets between the former and the present residence; and it was on this account that Bello built the town of Magáriya (the site of which, a little to the northeast of the latter, I have indicated on a former occasion), which, however, was soon abandoned for Wurnó.

The chief, Hámedu, was at present absent; but I have mentioned already that I sent him a present immediately on my arrival in Gáwasú, on account of his influential position, although I thought it politic afterward to keep out of his way as much as possible, in order not to excite any jealousy, Hámedu being one of the nearest, if not the very nearest, to the succession, but opposed by the greater part of the present courtiers. Passing, then, along the well-frequented road which leads out of the town, we emerged from the kófa-n-'Atíku in order to obtain a first glimpse of the country which I was to traverse on my road to Gando.

* I shall say more in another place about this interesting tribe, who, originally belonging to the Negro stock of the Wákoré, have been swallowed up in the remarkable migration and conquest of the Fúlbe eastward; here I will only mention the various sections into which they are divided, at least as far as these eastern quarters are concerned. These are the Lobárbe, Lómbe, Seníugbe, Yiróbe, Wárbe, Jakkóbe, Walárbe, Jagálbe, and Jatíbe.

It was an open level tract, at present without many signs of vegetation; but that part nearest the town was agreeably enlivened by a thriving suburb extending as far as the kófa-n-Tarámnia, and buried in a thicket of shady trees and hedges, thus presenting altogether a more animated spectacle than the interior of the town itself. Keeping along the machicolated wall, here only about twelve feet high and surrounded by a ditch, and following the path between it and the suburb, we entered the town, and turned our steps to the house of the gedádo, where Captain Clapperton closed his meritorious career as an African explorer.

The house is still in tolerable repair, 'Abdú, the son of the gedádo, who, although not very energetic, and still less warlike, is a man of cheerful disposition and good principles, having too great a veneration for his father, who did so much toward embellishing and adorning this town, to allow his residence to go to ruin. The old gedádo had long outlived his master Bello, and if I had proceeded to Sókoto directly from A'gades, I should still have found him alive, for he only died during my presence in Kanó in February, 1851. I will here only mention that it was believed for a moment in England that Clapperton died from the effects of poison; but the amount of fatigue, privations, and sickness to which this most eminent of African travelers was exposed on his circuitous journey, by way of Núpe and Kanó, from the coast as far as this place, explains fully how he was unable to withstand the effects of the shock which mental disappointment exercised upon him; nay, it is wonderful how he bore up so long, if his own hints with regard to the state of his health are taken into account.

In the evening, my old friend Módibo 'Alí, and the mother of A'bú, the elder and more warlike brother of the present ghaladíma, who was slain by the Góberáwa two years before my visit to this place, treated me hospitably, and I sent a present to S'aídu, a younger son of Bello, who resides in Sókoto, and is considered as a sort of mayor.

Friday, April 22*d.* It was the great market-day, which was of some importance to me, as I had to buy a good many things, so that I was obliged to send there a sum of 70,000 shells; but the market did not become well-frequented or well-stocked till between two and three o'clock in the afternoon, when I myself proceeded thither. I had taken a ride in the morning through the south-eastern quarter of the town, proceeding through the kófa-n-'Atíku,

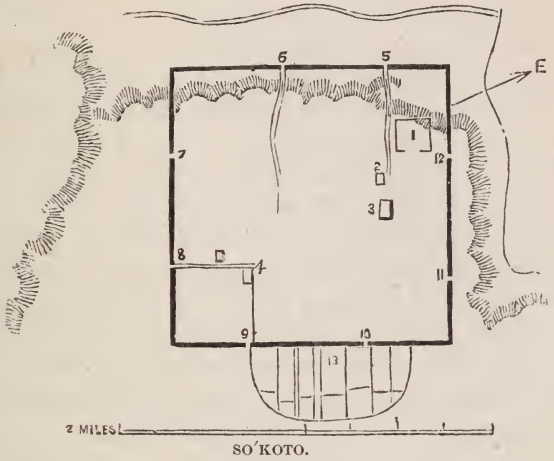
thence along the wall, toward the west, and re-entered the town by the kófa-n-'Alí Jédu, where the whole quarter is very desolate, even the wall being in a state of decay, and the fine mosque, built by the gedádo during Clapperton's stay here, fallen entirely to ruins. But, even in the present reduced condition of the place, the market still presented a very interesting sight, the numerous groups of people, buyers as well as sellers, and the animals of various descriptions, being picturesquely scattered over the rocky slope, as I have endeavored to represent in the plate opposite. The market was tolerably well attended, and well supplied, there being about thirty horses, three hundred head of cattle for slaughtering, fifty takérkere, or oxen of burden, and a great quantity of leather articles (this being the most celebrated branch of manufacture in Sókoto), especially leather bags, cushions, and similar articles, the leather dressed and prepared here being very soft and beautiful. There were more than a hundred bridles for sale, the workmanship of which is very famous throughout all this part of Negroland; but especially a large quantity of iron was exposed for sale, the iron of Sókoto being of excellent quality and much sought for, while that of Kanó is of bad quality. A good many slaves were exhibited, and fetched a higher price than might be supposed, a lad of very indifferent appearance being sold for 33,000 shells; I myself bought a pony for 30,000. It being just about the period when the salt-caravan visits these parts, dates also, which usually form a small addition to the principal merchandise of those traders of the desert, were to be had; and I filled a leather bag for some 2000 shells, in order to give a little more variety to my food on the long road which lay before me..

April 23*d*. I took another interesting ride through the kófa-n-Dúnday not following the direct road to that village, which lies close to the junction of the gulbi-n-Ríma with the gulbi-n-Rába, but not far from the decayed northern wall, and thus crossed a considerable channel, a branch of the river, full of water, being even at the present time about fifteen yards wide, and a foot and a half in depth, and then, keeping away from the village, reached the other branch, which was narrower, but more richly bordered by bushes, and, following it up in an easterly direction, reached the point of junction, or "megan-gámu."

The whole valley here formed one uninterrupted rice-field; and how different was the aspect of the country from what it exhibited on my home journey, at the end of the rainy season of the

MARKET AT SÓKOTO.

following year! A number of small boats were lying here, at the side of the narrow channel, but all of them separated into two halves, which had to be sewn together when their services were required for the rainy season. From this point I crossed over to the road leading to the village of Koré, where, two days later, a party of Kélgeres made a foray; and, returning along this road toward the town, at a distance of about five hundred yards from the wall, we crossed another small arm of the river, which, during the rainy season, forms an extensive swamp. Leaving then the kófa-n-Koré on our right, we turned round the northeastern corner of the wall, and ascended toward the kófa-n-Marké, which has received this name from a tree of the marké kind, although at present none are to be seen here. Annexed is a sketch of a ground-plan of the town.



1. Market-place. 2. House of Gedádo, at present 'Abdú.
3. House of Bello, now of 'Aliyu, very much in decay.
4. House of 'Atiku, at present Hámedu, and close to it the mosque built by Gedádo, now in ruins.
5. Kófa-n-Koré. 6. Kófa-n-Dúnday. 7. Kófa-n-Kadé.
8. Kófa-n-'Ali Jédu. 9. Kófa-n-'Atiku. 10. Kófa-n-Tarámnia.
11. Kófa-n-Rimi. 12. Kófa-n-Marké. 13. Suburb.

Altogether my visit to Sókoto formed a most interesting intermezzo to my involuntary stay in the capital, although it could not fail to give me a farther insight into the frail character of the dominion of the Fúlbe over these regions; and during my stay here I certainly had no cause to complain of inhospitable treatment, as my friend Módibo 'Alí sent me every day a large basin of furá, the favorite drink of ghussub water, two dishes of hasty pudding, and two bowls of milk. Having given, by this excursion to the former capital, fresh energy to my spirits, I returned to my quar-

ters in Wurnó on the 24th, accomplishing the distance in little more than four hours; and it was time that I returned, for in the evening of that same day the joyful news arrived that the sultan had reached Gándi. However, he did not enter Wurnó till the 23d, having forwarded a message to me the preceding evening from Yan-serkí, in the territory of Rába, requesting me to meet him the following morning outside the town. In consequence of this, I mounted on horseback with the first dawn of day, but found the sultan already close to the gate, descending the rocky path which leads from the above-mentioned place. He then made a halt with his whole suite, and saluted me in the kindest manner, calling me by my name, 'Abd el Kerím. The sultan was followed by the ghaladíma; and I here first made the acquaintance of the learned 'Abd el Káder dan Taffa (Mustapha), whom I was most anxious to see, in order to obtain from him some historical information. As soon as the people had dispersed quietly, returning to their various quarters, I sent him a present, when he paid me a visit in the evening, and furnished me immediately with some positive data with regard to the history of the dynasty of the Asáki or A'skia, the rulers of Songhay, which he had perfectly in his head, and which were of the greatest importance in giving me an insight into the historical relation of the western countries of these regions with that of Central Negroland.

April 29th. In the forenoon I went to 'Alíyu, in order to pay my compliments to him upon his safe return from this expedition, which, although not very glorious, had yet proved not quite unprofitable, he having reduced to subjection the poor little hamlets of the rocky district of Kotórkoshé, the inhabitants of which had previously placed themselves under the protection of the enemy; but even this insignificant victory he had only achieved through the bravery of the horsemen from Kátsena, while his own men had, as usual, exhibited the greatest cowardice. As long as the Fúlbe do not defeat the host of the Góberáwa, who take the field every year and offer them battle, the state of this empire will become daily worse and worse, while at present each of the two parties, the indigenous inhabitants as well as the conquerors, do nothing but accelerate the ruin of the country, without dealing a decided blow.

Although I had made the chief a very respectable present on my first arrival, I thought it well to give greater impulse to his friendly disposition toward me by adding something also this time,

presenting him with a cloth waistcoat and several smaller articles, besides a musical box, with the performance of which he was extremely pleased; but, unfortunately, when, anxious to impart his delight to his greatest friend and principal minister, 'Abdú, the son of Gedádo, he had called the latter to witness this wonder, the mysterious box, affected by the change of climate and the jolting of the long journey, was silent for a moment, and would not play. I may observe here that I think it better for travelers not to make such presents as musical boxes, which so easily get out of order. The sultan fully granted my request for a speedy departure, promising also to assist me in my dangerous undertaking with a small "rékkia" or escort; and it was very essential to me to hasten my proceedings, as the following day brought the first evident proof of the approach of the rainy season.

Having made a present to the ghaladíma also, I thought it better, in order to make up for the deficiency of the musical box, to satisfy the musical taste of the sultan by making him a present of one of the harmonica which the Chevalier Bunsen, in consideration of the great effect which the Rev. Mr. Knoblecher had produced with the aid of such an instrument upon the inhabitants of the shores of the Nile, had procured for me; but I succeeded afterward in repairing, in some measure, the musical box, which caused the good-natured chief inexpressible delight, so that he lost no time in writing for me a commendatory letter to his nephew Khalílu, the chief of Gando. But I was extremely anxious to get away from this place, as I was sorely pestered by begging-parties, the inhabitants of Wurnó and Sókoto being the most troublesome beggars in the world, and besides them there being also many strangers in the town, especially the Kélgeres, who had brought the salt.

I was sitting one day in the entrance-hall of my house, in the company of some of these sons of the desert, when Góme, the brother of the Sultan 'Abd el Káder, from A'gades, who had lately been dethroned in order to make way for a new chief, A'hmed e' Rufáy, called upon me, and, with a very important and mysterious air, requested me to give him a private audience. After I had dismissed my other visitors, he began by reminding me of the kind manner in which his brother had received me, and finished by urgently begging me to use my influence in order to restore 'Abd el Káder to his former dignity. I had great difficulty in convincing him that I had very little influence with the emír el

Múmenín, and that I was afraid my intercession would have little or no effect, although, as well by way of private acknowledgment for the kindness of my host in that place, where I began to acquire more confidence in the success of my proceedings, as from a persuasion of the influence which a great service rendered by me to this man would have upon my future prospects, I should have desired nothing better than to be the means of reinstating him in his former position.

Among the people who sought my acquaintance there was also Khalílu dan Hassan, one of the presumptive heirs to the royal power—Hassan being a younger brother of Bello—a young man of gentlemanly manners, but not of a very generous disposition, as he plainly evinced on my home journey the following year, when he wanted to oblige me to send him, after my safe return home, a pair of pistols in exchange for a black shirt scarcely worth 5000 shells, or two dollars.

All this time I had employed my leisure hours in reading a manuscript work which had given me the first insight into the history of the western portion of these Féllani dominions. It had been composed by 'Abd Alláhi, the brother of 'Othmán the Reformer, to whom the western portion of the conquered region was awarded as his share. But, although this work, the title of which is "Tezén el aúrekát," contained, besides a great deal of theological matter, some important historical data, it did not satisfy my curiosity, and I had been endeavoring in vain to obtain the work of Bello, entitled "Infák el misúrí fi fat-há el Tekrúri," which had been earnestly recommended to me by my friend the fáki 'Abd el Káder in Kátsena; but I did not succeed in getting it into my hands till a few days before I left this place, when I found that the greater part of its contents, which had any geographical or historical importance, were identical with those documents brought back by Captain Clapperton on his first journey, and which have been partly translated by Mr. Salame in the appendix to the account of those travels.

Meanwhile the country became more unsafe; and on the 5th of May the cattle of the village of Saláme were driven off by the people of Chéberi, to the great loss of my friend 'Abd el Káder dan Taffa, who had considerable property there; but strongly reminded of the effects of the rainy season by a heavy shower which fell on the 6th, driving me out of my cool shed, I urged my departure, and in the afternoon of the 8th took leave of 'Alíyu with a

cheerful spirit, it being evident to me not only that he entertained not the slightest mistrust of my future proceedings, but on the contrary, even took considerable interest in me, as he found that it was my earnest desire to become well acquainted with the country and the people, and that I was anxious to establish friendly relations with the most distinguished and learned among them. But he gave me repeatedly to understand that he wished me not to go to Hamdalláhi, to present my compliments to their countrymen and co-religionists there and their chief or his successor, we having just received a few days previously the news of the death of Shékho A'hmedu, while he had not the slightest objection to my going to Timbúktu, and paying a visit to the Sheikh El Bakáy, who had spent some time in Sókoto, and was on friendly terms with the family of Fódiye.

CHAPTER LVIII.

STATE OF INSECURITY ALONG THE MOST FREQUENTED HIGH ROAD.—GANDO.

Sunday, May 8th. At length I was able to pursue my journey, which now, as soon as I had passed Sókoto, was to lead me into almost unknown regions, never trodden by European foot.

I was escorted out of the town, in grand style, by the ghaladíma with six horsemen, and then pursued my former track to Sókoto, the character of which was but little changed, on account of the vegetation having only just begun to be vivified and restored by the first showers of the rainy season. The little stream which skirts the foot of the hill on which the town of Sókoto is situated, and where we had watered our horses on our former excursion, now began gradually to increase, although as yet it exhibited but few signs of that considerable volume which I found here on my home journey the next year.

I was lodged in my old quarters, in the house of the ghaladíma, and was treated by my old friends Módibo 'Alí and S'aíd with great hospitality. Although most anxious, on account of the season, to continue my journey with the shortest possible delay, I remained here the four following days, in order to procure what was still wanted in my outfit for the long journey before me, but principally from regard to the interests of my companion,

'Alí el A'geren, who had here to arrange some business; hence we did not set out until the 14th of May.

There had been so heavy a shower the preceding afternoon, that a large stream broke through the roof of my dwelling, and placed my whole room several inches under water. I passed, therefore, a most uncomfortable night, and when I got up in the morning I had a very bad headache. Every thing, also, was extremely wet, so that it took us a long time to get ready our camels, and it was eight o'clock when we left the kófa-n-Tarámnia, which, though the widest of the gates of the town, did not allow my two largest boxes to pass without damage.

A grandson of Módibo 'Alí, together with Shékho, the chief of the Zoromáwa, escorted me outside the town. The first was certainly sincere; but as for the second, I could not expect that he was in earnest in wishing me success in my undertaking; for the Zoromáwa, who are the chief traders of the country, viewed my enterprise with a great deal of mistrust, as they were told that I wanted to open an intercourse along the river.

Thus we entered the large open plain, which is only bounded, at the distance of about three miles to the north, by a low chain of hills, and scarcely dotted with a single tree. But the monotonous country at present was not quite wanting in signs of life, the plentiful fall of rain having inspired the inhabitants of the several villages which were scattered about with sufficient confidence to trust their seed to the ground. Having then passed a larger village, called Kaffaráwa, we crossed a considerable depression or hollow, stretching from S.W. to N.E., with plenty of water, and with extensive grounds of yams, a branch of cultivation which, in these swampy valleys of Kebbi, is carried on to some extent; and this depression was soon succeeded by others of a like nature. Numerous herds of cattle were here grazing on the intervening pasture-grounds, which were adorned with sycamores and monkey-bread trees; and this continued till we reached Bodínga, and took up our quarters in a small cluster of huts lying on the outside, close to the wall. This time I did not enter the town, but I did so on my return journey, when I satisfied myself of the considerable size of the town, and the state of decay and desolation into which it has at present relapsed.

Sunday, May 15th. While we were loading our camels, the governor of the town, who is a son of Módibo 'Alí, of the name of Mohámmedu, came out to pay me his compliments. He was of

a cheerful disposition, and had treated us hospitably the preceding evening. He even accompanied me to a considerable distance, till we left, on our right, the town of Sifáwa or Shifáwa, an important place in the history of the Púllo reformer 'Othmán dan Fódiye, but at present almost desolate and reduced to great misery, presenting a fair specimen of the state of the province of Gando, which we here entered.

The country here, as well as near Bodínga, is almost exclusively adorned with monkey-bread-trees, and the soil seemed to be very parched; but a little farther on we descended into a depression which, having been already fertilized by the rain, was just being sown. Farther on, the ground continuing undulating, we watered our horses at a rich source of living water which rushed out from the rocks at the side of a small hamlet. We then passed a large and comfortable-looking place called Ðendi (perhaps after a portion of that tribe, which settled here), and adorned with a profusion of trees, among which the dorówa or *Parkia*, the góreba or dúm palm, and the gigíña or delèb palm were most conspicuous. Toward the southeast side it was bordered by a depression full of yams and fresh herbage, and fringed by numbers of monkey-bread-trees. Even a little market-place was to be seen; and the place seemed so attractive to my people that they would fain have spent here the rest of the day, and they were not at all pleased when I insisted on continuing our march. A little after noon we passed a pretty village with a small dyeing-place. Besides cornfields, where the crops were already two inches out of the ground, indigo was cultivated to a great extent. We then entered upon rocky ground, and, five miles farther on, reached the place Shagáli, separated into two groups along the northern slope of an eminence, and surrounded on three sides by a deep and wide ravine, which made the access to it very difficult. Here we were rather inhospitably received, the former mayor having been deposed, and a new one not yet installed in his place.

Monday, May 16th.. Early in the morning we pursued our journey, through a rather hilly country broken by several small water-courses, full of cultivated ground and fine timber, principally monkey-bread-trees, which now exhibited a more cheerful appearance, as they were clad in fresh foliage. We passed several villages, where we again observed some signs of industry in the shape of dyeing, and, about six miles and a half from Shagáli, left the considerable place Señína (the same town which a few days before

had been attacked by the enemy) on our left, situated on a small hilly chain. Here we entered a tract of country at present desolate, and thickly covered with underwood, and greatly infested by the independent inhabitants of Kebbi; but it was only of small extent, and, about four miles beyond Señína, we entered, by a steep rocky descent, the fine valley of Sála, which is intersected by a considerable sheet of water.

We took up our quarters in the walled town of Sála, the dwellings of which were almost lost in the most splendid vegetation, among which one of the finest tamarind-trees I have ever seen was greatly distinguished, attracting to its dense foliage countless flights of birds, which were gathering from all sides to pass the night here in cheerful communion. The wider-spreading foliage of the tamarind and monkey-bread trees was very picturesquely diversified by a large number of gónda-trees, or *Carica Papaya*, while in front of the principal gate a most splendid rími or bentang-tree was starting forth as a proud landmark, pointing out to the traveler the site of the gate. The camels, who suffered greatly from thirst, immediately on our arrival were sent off to the brook of living water, which is formed at the foot of the rocky cliff a little to the north of the place where we had descended from the higher ground.

Tuesday, May 17th. We reached Gando, the residence of another powerful Púllo prince (as powerful as that of Sókoto), after a march of six hours, through a country richly provided by nature, and partly, at least, well inhabited. Hill and dale alternated, the depressions and cavities offering suitable grounds for the cultivation of yams. The vegetable kingdom also displayed its larger members in great variety. In the village Babanídi, which we passed about two miles from Sála, we observed the three species of palms which are common to Negroland in the same locality, viz., the dúm, the date, and the delèb palm, while, near a swampy sheet of water before we came to Masáma, I caught sight of the first banána or áyaba-tree that I had seen since I had left A'damáwa, with the exception of those young offshoots which I had observed in Bamúrna. Near this latter place, which was situated at the border of a deep valley, a large swamp spread out covered with rank reed-grass; and beyond the town of Masáma we had to cross another large and irregular valley or fáddama, where, even at this season of the year, a large sheet of water was formed, which, according to the statement of the natives, was full of alligators.

The towns also exhibited a considerable degree of industry in their dyeing-places; and a short distance from our halting-place

we even passed large hollows about two fathoms in depth, and one in particular where iron had been dug out. Small marketing stalls in some places lined the road, and the town of Masáma, with its straggling suburbs, presented an animated spectacle; but cattle were greatly wanting, nothing but sheep being seen, as all the horned cattle had been carried away by the predatory bands of Argúngo.

As we approached the town of Gando, I could not help wondering how the people had been led to choose this locality as the seat of a large empire, commanded as it was by hilly chains all around, in the manner shown in the accompanying wood-cut, while the rising ground would have offered a far more suitable locality. But the situation of the town is on a par with the character of its dominion—without commanding strength, and quite incapable of keeping together that large agglomeration of provinces which have gathered around it. However, for a provincial town, the interior is very pleasant and animated, being adorned with a variety of trees, among which the banana is prominent.

Having sent a messenger in advance, I soon obtained quarters in the house of El Khassa, the chief eunuch of the court; but they were extremely narrow and unpleasant, although I had a very good clay house for myself.

Thus I had entered the residence of another very important Púllo chief, whose dominion extended several hundred miles over the country which I had to traverse, and whose friendship it was of the utmost importance for me to secure, as his provinces inclose both banks of the Niger, while the dominion of the Sultan of Sókoto does not reach the principal branch at all. It was the more unfavorable that the present ruler of this very extensive kingdom should be a man without energy, and most inaccessible to a European and a Christian. His name is Khalílu, and he is the son of 'Abd Alláhi,* the brother of the great Reformer 'Othmán, to whom

* 'Abd Alláhi died 20th of Moharrem, 1245; and Mohammed died 4th of Ramadhán, 1250. The children of 'Abd Alláhi were the following: Mohammed Wáni, Khalílu, 'Abd el Kádiri Innecháwa, Halíru or Hadhíru and 'Alíyu (masuyáki).* 'Abd el Kádiri Ay, Hassan, 'Abd e' Rahmáni, Abú Bakr Maiguña, Is-háko, Mamman Sambo (maiyáki).*

* Maiyáki (*pl.* masuyáki) means commander-in-chief.

that remarkable man, at his death, gave the western part of his vast domains, while he installed the celebrated Sultan Bello over the eastern portion. Khalílu succeeded to his brother Mohammed Wáni about seventeen years ago, and has since lived in a state of the greatest seclusion, well fitted for a monk, but by no means suited to the ruler of a vast empire, employing one of his brothers in order to keep up a certain show of imperial dignity where it was absolutely necessary. Thus, during the first few years of his reign, he had employed 'Abd el Kádiri, and was now employing Halíru, or, as the name is written, Hadhíru. Even by Mohammedans he is scarcely ever to be seen except on Fridays. It appeared, from my first arrival, extremely doubtful whether he would allow me to see his holy face; and after a vain struggle, merely in order that, by an untimely obstinacy in matters of form, I might not frustrate all my schemes of discovery, I agreed at length to deliver my present to the messengers of the sultan, in his palace, without seeing him. This present consisted of almost the same number of articles as I had given to the emír of Sókoto, with the exception of the silver-mounted pistols. I gave him three bernúses, one of yellow, one of red cloth, and the third of the kind called heláli; a háík or jeríd of the finest quality, a Stambúli carpet, two entire pieces of muslin, a red cap, four loaves of sugar, three phials of rose oil, a pair of razors, five looking-glasses, a pound of cloves, and another of benzoin.

It was very unfortunate that a foreigner and an adventurer, who had no other interest than his own selfishness, became the go-between with me and the sultan, and found ample opportunities, owing to the monkish character of the latter, for advancing his own interests, in the thousand embarrassments which he caused me. This was El Bakáy, a person who made me hate his very name, though it afterward became so dear to me on account of my protector in Timbúktu being called by the same. However, he also was an Arab from the west, and from the tribe of the Kunta, but not connected in any way with the family of the sheikh. After having tried his fortune in several other places along the Niger, especially in Zágha and Yélu, he had at length settled down here, constituting himself a sort of consul of the Arabs, and, in the miserable state into which affairs were plunged in this court, soon exercising a great influence over the principal and the secondary rulers; for, besides Khalílu, his several brothers enjoyed a large share of authority, to all of whom I had, in con-

sequence, to make suitable presents besides. The most remarkable among them were the above-mentioned Halíru and Bú-Bakr Maiguña, the latter an aspiring and restless man, who occasionally distinguished himself by acts of great violence, and to whom, in consequence, I had to make a more respectable present, in order to insure myself against any predatory proceedings on his part.

My present to the sultan himself seemed at first to have given great satisfaction; but after a few days, matters assumed a different aspect, and I was told that the pistols which I had given to 'Alíyu were of more value than the whole of the presents which Khalílu had received from me, while the empire of the latter extended over a larger tract of country than that of the former; and I was clearly given to understand that it was not in my power either to proceed or even to retrace my steps, unless I gave much larger presents. After a protracted and serious dispute with El Bakáy and my broker 'Alí el A'geren, I came at length to the determination of sacrificing the second handsome pair of silver-mounted pistols which I possessed, and then at length I had some prospect of being allowed to proceed on my journey, although the state of the country before me was really such as to make progress appear very difficult, and it was certainly very doubtful whether I should be able to reach the river. After much trouble and a great number of presents, however, which I had to give to the crafty Arab, I managed even to obtain a letter of franchise from Khalílu written with his own hand, but in so general a style that it had not much the character externally of an official document, although its contents were altogether very satisfactory, guaranteeing full security to any Englishmen visiting his territories, and commanding the officers of the various provinces to respect their property and to facilitate their proceedings.

Besides the presents to be given to all these people, I had also to make a fresh sacrifice to my Arab 'Alí el A'geren; for, notwithstanding the arrangement which I had previously made with him, when he saw the difficulties I was in, and being aware that the easy part of my journey was now over, he threatened to leave me if I did not accept the conditions which he prescribed to me. I had also the misfortune to lose, during my stay here, my best camel, which I had bought from the governor of Kátsena for 60,000 shells; so that I was obliged to purchase another animal from Bú Bakr Maiguña at the price he demanded, camels here being very scarce.

Notwithstanding all this disagreeable business, which occasionally cost me much bitter reflection, greatly enhanced by the advance of the season, the month of May being at an end, and that of June having set in with violent rains, I passed the time during my residence in this place not quite uselessly, especially as I was so fortunate as to obtain here, from a learned man of the name of Bokhári, a son of the late Mohammed Wáni, a copy of that most valuable historical work of A'hmed Bábá, to which my friend 'Abd el Káder, in Sókoto, had first called my attention, but without being able to satisfy my curiosity; and I spent three or four days most pleasantly in extracting the more important historical data of this work, which opened to me quite a new insight into the history of the regions on the middle course of the Niger, whither I was bending my steps, exciting in me a far more lively interest than I had previously felt in a kingdom the great power of which, in former times, I here found set forth in very clear and distinct outlines, and I only lamented that I had not time enough to copy the whole.

As for the town of Gando itself, there was not much to be seen; and the situation of the place, hemmed in as it is in a narrow valley, did not admit of long excursions; moreover, the insecurity of the neighborhood was so great that it was not possible, at least in a northerly direction, to proceed many yards from the wall. Several times during my stay the alarm was given that the enemy was approaching; and the whole political state of the place was plunged into the most terrible disorder, the enemy being established in several strong places at scarcely half a day's journey distance, Argúngo being the residence of Dáúd, the rebellious chief of the independent Kábáwa. A numerous foray ("yáki," or, as the Fúlbe say, "konno") left early in the morning of the 29th of May, but returned the same evening amid the noisy manifestations of the inhabitants. They had, however, only given an additional proof of their cowardly disposition, inasmuch as they had not even dared to attack the enemy, who had just succeeded in ransacking the town of Yára, and were carrying all the unfortunate inhabitants into slavery.

The interior of the place was not quite without its charms, the whole of the town being intersected, from north to south, by the broad and shallow bed of a torrent, which exhibited fine pasture-grounds of fresh succulent herbage, while it was skirted on both sides by a dense border of exuberant vegetation, which altogether

is much richer in this place than either Sókoto or Wurnó, being surpassed only by the fine vegetable ornament of Kanó. The rains are extremely plentiful in Gando, causing here quite an exceptional state in the productive power of the soil; and to this circumstance we have partly to ascribe the fact that very fine bananas are grown here in considerable quantity; and the fruit being just ripe at the time, formed a very pleasant variation to my usual food. The onion of Gando is remarkable for its size and quality, compared with that of all the neighboring districts; and it is well for the traveler, in whatever direction he may intend to go, to lay in a supply of this wholesome article. But the place is extremely dull, and the market very insignificant—a fact easily to be explained by the desperate state of the provinces around, although the situation of the capital, as a central place for commerce, is rather favorable. But the town of Jéga has not yet lost, in this respect, the whole of its former importance, and is still the great entrepôt for that coarse kind of colored silk which is imported from the north, and which, notwithstanding its very inferior character, is nevertheless so greatly sought after by the natives for adorning their leather-work. It is, perhaps, in consequence of the little trade which is carried on that the people of Gando have applied themselves with more industry to supplying their own want of cotton cloth, and no one can deny that their cotton strips are of first-rate quality; their dyeing, on the contrary, is very coarse, and they seem quite unable to give to the dyed cloth that lustre which so eminently distinguishes the manufactures of Núpe and Kanó; but, nevertheless, this cloth of Gando is in great demand as far as Libtáko.

The kingdom or empire of Gando, according to its title, comprises a number of wealthy provinces, all lying along that great West-African river which opens such an easy access into this continent or on its branches, although nobody who stays in the capital for any length of time would suppose that it holds such a pre-eminent rank. I shall give some farther details respecting these provinces in the Appendix;* here I will only enumerate them by name. They are, the western half of Kebbi, Maúri or A'rewá, Zabérma, Déndina (comprising Kénga-koy and Zágha), a great part of Gurma (comprising the provinces of Galaijo, Toróde, Yágha, and Libtáko), with a small portion of Borgu or Barba, a large portion of Yóruba, with the capital Alóri or Ilórin.

* See Appendix VI.

and, on the east side of the river, the provinces of Yaúra and Núpe or Nyffi. But at that time most of these provinces were plunged into an abyss of anarchy, which could not fail to impart to the capital a more sombre aspect than it may possess in general.

CHAPTER LIX.

THE PROVINCE OF KEBBI AND ITS RIVER.—THE SALT VALLEY OF FO'GHA.—REACH THE NIGER.

Saturday, June 4th. At length I was allowed to proceed on my journey, which now soon promised to become of overwhelming interest, as I was approaching that great African river which has been the object of so much discussion and individual ambition for so long a period. There had been a very heavy thunder-storm during the night, accompanied by a great abundance of rain, which lasted till late in the morning, and delayed my setting out for a considerable time. It was almost eleven o'clock when we at length left the western gate of the town, or the kófa-n-Jéga, and entered the open fields, where the crop was already shooting forth. Keeping along the rocky ground bordering the valley on the north side, we soon had a specimen of the swamps which during the rainy season are formed in these deep valleys of Kebbi, while we beheld here also extensive rice-grounds, the first which I saw under actual cultivation. But the guide, who was to accompany me to the very western extremity of the territory of Khalílu, having not yet arrived, we made only a short march of about six miles, and took up our quarters in a comfortable hut lying outside the walls of Kámbasa, which, by a separate wall, is divided into two distinct quarters.

This town lies on the north side of a large swamp, which fills the bottom of the fáddama, and affords excellent grounds for the cultivation of rice. The governor treated me hospitably, sending me every thing that was wanted for a good African dinner, from a sheep down to a bit of salt and a few cakes of dodówa, and I made him a suitable present in return. During the night we suffered greatly from musquitoes, giving us a fair idea of what we were to expect on our journey through these swampy valleys.

Sunday, June 5th. Another storm again delayed our departure this morning; and being now in the middle of the rainy season,

I had a fair sample of what I should have to endure on my long journey to Timbúktu. In consequence of the rain, it was again eleven o'clock before we could start. The principal road leads along the northern bank of the fáddama, by way of Zóro, the residence of Cháfo, a son of Khalílu; but it was deemed too unsafe in the present unsettled state of the country, that very town of Zóro, although situated on the north side of the fáddama, at present being only accessible from the south; and it was decided, therefore, to cross the swamp close to Kámbasa, in order that it might afford us protection, in our farther progress through this unsafe region, against any sudden attack from the rebels in the northern part of the province. Thus proceeding along the south side of the sheet of water here, about 200 yards broad, and thickly overgrown with tall reeds of different species, including a large proportion of papyrus, we reached, after a little less than two miles, another walled town, likewise called Kámbasa, a civil war having broken out among the inhabitants of the former town, and a portion of them having separated from the original tribe, and settled in this place. We then continued along the southern side of the valley, till, after a march of about four miles, we had to cross a small branch which joins the chief trunk of the valley from the south, and opened a view of Mount Bóbye, over the saddle of which the road leads from Támbawel to Jéga, the great market-place of this quarter of the country, while the fáddama, here spreading out in a large sheet of water, receded behind a walled town called Badda-badda. A track frequented by the elephant, of which for a long time I had seen no traces, led through the rich pasture-ground to the edge of the water. Almost the whole cultivation along this fertile but swampy valley consisted of rice. It was about 1200 yards broad, and even at the present season, before the rains had set in, was full of water. A couple of months later it inundates its low borders, and almost precludes any passage, so that, on my home-journey from the west, I was obliged to pursue another path. The crops of negro corn were here already three inches high, numbers of people being busily employed in the labors of the fields, while an isolated delèb palm gave a peculiar character to the landscape. The prevailing representatives of the vegetable kingdom were the dorówa and the useful kadeña-tree. The pasture-grounds were full of cattle; and every thing testified to the rich nature of the district, which is still very populous. After passing another walled town, perched on the high border of the

swampy valley, three miles and a half beyond Badda-badda, we reached Gaúmaché, at present reduced to a small hamlet, or rather "rúmde," inhabited exclusively by slaves, and adorned by a few specimens of the butter-tree and the dorówa. It was once a large walled town; but in the sanguinary war between the native Kábáwa and the conquering tribe of the Fúlbe, it was destroyed by the former.

Having crossed here a considerable stream of running water, which testified to the quantity of rain which had fallen in this district, we passed, on our left, the large walled town of Talba, where the beating of drums gave proof of warlike preparation. The fields around were adorned with numbers of delèb palms.

At a short distance from Talba lies Dáube. The whole of this district had attained a high degree of power and prosperity under the dominion of the Kanta, and had only recently begun, in consequence of the war of independence, to lose many of its former centres of human industry.

An obvious illustration of this desolation was afforded by the little town of Yára, which we reached after another three miles. We had left the fáddama at some distance on our right, and kept along rocky ground occasionally broken by patches of fine sandy soil. But we were urgently warned, by people whom we met on our road, of the danger of an approaching ghazzia.

This place, which a short time ago was the seat of human well-being, had been destroyed by the enemy on the 29th of the preceding month, and all the inhabitants carried into slavery, notwithstanding the presence of the expedition which, as I have mentioned above, marched out from Gando to the succor of their countrymen. The aspect of the place was doleful and melancholy in the extreme, corresponding well with the dangerous situation in which we found ourselves; and while traversing the half-ruined village, which from a bustling little place had become the abode of death, I almost involuntarily snatched my gun, and held it steadily in my hand. But life and death in these regions are closely allied; and we had scarcely left the ruined village behind us, when, in a widening of the fáddama, which again opened on our right, we were greeted by a most luxuriant rice-field, where the crops were already almost three feet high, and girt by the finest border of a rich variety of shady trees, such as the dorówa, kadé, and kágim, overtopped by a number of tall delèb palms, the golden fruit of which, half ripe, was starting forth from under the feathery foliage. But our

attention was soon diverted from the enjoyment of this scenery to a point of greater interest to ourselves. We here observed a solitary individual, in spite of the unsafe state of the country, sitting quietly at the foot of one of the palm-trees, and seemingly enjoying its fruit. Now, coupling the present state of the country with the news we had just received, we could not help greatly suspecting this man to be a spy, posted here by the enemy in order to give them information of the passers-by; and I had the greatest difficulty in preventing my Méjebrí Arab, who, when there was no danger for himself, always mustered a great amount of courage, from shooting this suspicious-looking character.

Proceeding then through a very rich country, we reached, after a march of about two miles, the town of Gúlumbé, situated close to the southern border of the valley, and exhibiting extensive fields cultivated with yams and cotton. The banana constituted the chief ornament of the narrow border inclosed between the fáddama on one side and the wall of the town on the other, and the gónda, or *Erica Papaya*, raising its feathery foliage on its slender, virgin-like stem, towered proudly over the wall, as shown in the accompanying engraving. The town was walled, of considerable size,

and densely inhabited; but, nevertheless, the people were in such dread of the enemy that they kept up a continual beating of drums; and although, on account of the smallness of the gate, we encamped outside, in a court-yard situated between the wall and the border

of the fáddama, we thought it prudent to fire a few shots, in order to apprise the people around that we were well prepared to receive them, to the great relief of the inhabitants of the town, who, delighted at the unexpected addition to their strength, treated us in a very hospitable manner. The only disturbance to our night's rest was caused by the musquitoes, which harassed us greatly and drove most of my people into the rúdu, that kind of raised hut which I have described on a former occasion, and which forms the most essential part of even the poorest dwelling in the province of Kebbi.

Monday, June 6th. After a thunder-storm accompanied by a few drops of rain, the night was succeeded by a beautiful morning; and I felt great pleasure in surveying the interesting landscape, only regretting that the insecure state of the country did not allow the natives to enjoy it in tranquillity, the war having driven thousands of people from their homes, and as many more into captivity. The fields on this side of the town, as well as on the other, where we had approached it the day before, were fenced with great care, while horses and asses were grazing on the rich pasture-grounds. After a little more than a mile and a half, we passed, on our left, a farming village called I'gené, after its master, a cheerful Púllo of advanced age, who was just inspecting the labor of his slaves in the fields. The crops hereabouts were already more than a foot above the ground; and a little farther on they reached a height of two feet. Besides sorghum, yams were cultivated to a great extent; but nevertheless, on account of the insecurity of the country, dearth and famine every where prevailed.

A little farther on we passed, on our left, a considerable sheet of water, with plenty of dorówa, large kadé, and sycamores. The delèb palms had ceased just beyond I'gené. A broad, flat-topped mountain, called Hamári, at the eastern foot of which lies the town of Zóro, broke the uniform surface of the country.

Proceeding through this rich but distracted and unsafe district. I was greatly delighted when, near the walled town of Kardi, I fell in with a solitary and courageous pilgrim, a Jolof, from the shores of the Atlantic, carrying his little luggage on his head, and seemingly well prepared to defend it with his double-barreled gun which he carried on his shoulder, and a short sword hanging at his side, while his shirt was tossed gallantly up, and tied over the shoulder, behind the neck. In my joy at the sight of this enterprising native traveler, I could not forbear making him a small present, in order to assist him in his arduous undertaking.

The walls of the town of Kardi, which is chiefly inhabited by the slaves of Khalílu, and which is of great importance for the supply of corn in this province, were strengthened by a thick fence of thorny bushes, which, in these regions, afford an immense advantage in the defense of any town by furnishing a secure place of retreat to the archers.

The green bottom of the wide fáddama had receded to a greater distance on our right; but we joined it again seven miles from Gúlumbé, and had here to cross it beyond a couple of hamlets which, lying close together and called, the one Háusáwa, and the other Kábáwa, gave us a slight indication as to the history of this country, where the Háusa element, as the more civilized, gradually gained the upper hand, and drove the native element, as well as the Songhay, which advanced from the west, into the background. Perhaps, if we knew more of the history of this country, the annals of these two villages might open to us a view of an interesting national struggle. The fáddama was here at present dry; and besides yams a great deal of tobacco was cultivated. We then traversed a wooded tract adorned with a violet *liliacea* and with the bush tsáda or bidér, the delicious cherry-like fruit of which I have mentioned repeatedly, and, slightly ascending, reached, a little before eleven o'clock, the beautiful site of the former more extensive wall of the large town of Bírni-n-Kebbi. It was founded in this commanding position by the dynasty of the Kanta, at the time when the rival Songhay empire was dashed to pieces and became the prey of foreigners and of a number of small tribes, who had once been kept in a state of insignificance and subjection.

Under such circumstances Kebbi, besides being the seat of a powerful kingdom, became also the centre of a considerable trade even in gold, till it was destroyed by the Fúlbe under ʿAbd Alláhi, in the year of the Hejra 1221, when a great deal of gold and silver is said to have been found among the ruins. The royal palace, however (the ruins of which I visited), does not seem to have been very extensive; but this in part may be attributed to the fact that a great portion of the residence consisted of straw huts for the female department and the followers.* The walls of the present town are almost a mile distant from those of the old one, lying close to the steep slope which, with a descent of about

* Kálgo, at the northern foot of the mountain, lies southwest from here, and the town of Gurma, at present destroyed, northeast beyond the valley.

250 feet, goes down here into the large green valley or fáddama which intersects the whole of Kebbi from E.N.E. to W.S.W., and is at this part almost three miles in breadth, affording the richest ground for cultivation, but at present plunged in a state of the utmost insecurity. Even then it was full of cattle, at least its southerly part; but they had to be carefully watched by the natives from above the slope, for the whole of the country on the other side, the hilly chains and cones of which are clearly seen, is in the hands of the A'zena, that is to say, those native inhabitants of Kebbi who, since the death of the more energetic 'Atíku, are successfully struggling for their religious and political independence. On the very brink of the slope a market was held, where we bought some necessaries before entering the town; and I willingly lingered a few moments, as the whole presented a very novel sight, increased by a picturesque spur or promontory which juts out into the valley a few miles to the west, and is a remarkable feature in the landscape. We then entered the town, which is rather thickly inhabited, but is far from presenting that cheerful aspect which is peculiar to most of the towns in those regions, as it is almost bare of trees. I myself was quartered in an excellent hut, belonging to a newly-married couple, and possessing all the comforts of which these simple dwellings are capable—the floor and walls of the hut being neatly polished, and the background or "nanne" being newly sprinkled with snow-white sand; but the whole of the courtyard was extremely narrow, and scarcely afforded space for my horses and camels.

There are two great men in the town, 'Othmán Lowel and 'Othmán Záki; but the former is the real governor of the place, bearing the pompous but rather precarious title of serkí-n-Kebbi—for even he, at the present time, possesses such limited authority that it was rather out of my respect for historical connections than for his real power* that I made him a considerable present. He is a man of simple manners, without pretensions, and almost blind. His residence was distinguished by its neatness. The other great man, 'Othmán Záki, who was many years ago governor of Núpe, and knew Clapperton, although I did not pay him a visit, showed his friendship for me by very hospitable treatment. He has since returned to Núpe, and is rebuilding Rabba. We had a long conversation in the afternoon with the more respectable inhabitants.

* For a statement of the few facts which have come to my knowledge, with regard to the history of this kingdom, see Appendix.

on the subject of our journey, and most of the people thought that I should not succeed in reaching the Niger, the country being in such a turbulent state; but they advised me to address myself to the governor of Zogírma, who was the only man, they said, able to assist me in my endeavors to traverse that part of the country with some degree of security.

Tuesday, June 7th. In the morning we left the town in the company of a son of 'Othmán, a person of manly bearing and a rather European expression of countenance; and traversing the fields, which were quite dry and as yet without any preparation for cultivation, we directed our march straight for a pass in the mountain spur which I have mentioned above, and which is called Dúko; but we found it too narrow for our heavily-laden camels to pass through, the path being cut into the sandstone like a gutter, so that I was obliged to send my train round the southern slope of the promontory. We thus descended almost to the level of the fáddama; but having traversed a richly-wooded vale with a variety of trees, such as dynnia, mádachi, and fresh kadé, we had another mountain spur on our left, while on our right the exuberant savanna of the valley became visible. The place was enlivened by cattle, and occasionally by a sheet of water at times fringed with a rich border of vegetation, among which also isolated specimens of the delèb palm, besides dorówa, were not wanting.

Thus we reached the foot of a rocky eminence, on the top of which the walled town of Kóla is situated in a very strong position, commanding the whole passage of the valley. It is the seat of a governor who bears the title of serkí-n-Záromé, and who is said to have as many as seventy musketeers under his command; so that, as he was an officer of much importance in this turbulent country, it did not seem advisable to pass him unnoticed, and we therefore determined to take up our quarters here, although it was still early in the morning. He has a large house or palace, but it is somewhat in decay. Having made him a small present, I was hospitably treated both by himself and his sister, who sent me an excellent goose, which afforded a very pleasant change in my diet. He accompanied me the following morning to the boundary of his little territory.

Our road lay through fine corn-fields, shaded by beautiful dorówa-trees, along the border of this fertile valley, which was formerly surrounded on both sides by an uninterrupted line of large walled towns. But most of them are now deserted and destroyed,

such as the towns of Kúka (which lies about three hours north-west) and Ambúrsa; and both factions are continually harassing each other by predatory expeditions. In fact the state of the country is such, that the whole of the tribute which the province of Núpe has to pay to Gando is obliged to take the roundabout way through Zágha and Bunza, the latter of which is situated about eight miles south from Zogírma, on the river Gíndi, which is said to be navigable as far as this place, and sometimes even as far as Jéga. A considerable number of horses were grazing on the fine pasture-grounds at the border of the valley, under the protection of a couple of hamlets well defended by a stockade; but the herbage was full of small venomous snakes, which repeatedly crossed our path in such numbers as I never saw before. When we reached the border of the territory of Júggurú, my companion returned to his residence.

Leaving the walled town of Júggurú (surrounded by a good many monkey-bread-trees) on the hills to our left, we reached, after a march of about five miles along the border of the valley, and only once crossing a romantic rocky defile, the considerable town of Diggi; and here I had the satisfaction of being officially received by three sons of the Governor of Zogírma, who quite unexpectedly came galloping up to the front and saluted me, wishing me all possible success on my dangerous undertaking, and bidding me welcome to the province of their father. The eldest of the three was a very handsome young man, and splendidly mounted upon a tall gray horse. Pursuing then our march in their company, we immediately entered the wide fáddama which separated us from Zogírma; and it took us more than three hours to cross this shallow swampy valley, the whole of which at the end of the rainy season is filled with water, but which at present was only intersected by two broken sheets of stagnant water, while I endeavored in vain to make out, at this spot, an uninterrupted channel of the gulbi: and yet, in the month of September, the whole valley is flooded by a river of considerable breadth.

The town, which was surrounded by a clay wall in good repair, impressed me as being more considerable than I had supposed it to be. We were led immediately to our quarters, and were here treated with very good tíggera, or prepared millet and sour milk; after which a large calabash full of rice, and, a short time after, a heifer, were brought me as a present. Later in the afternoon I went to pay my respects to the governor, Hámed Búrtu, and found

him a very decent-looking man of from fifty to sixty years of age, with almost European features, but with rather a melancholy expression of countenance. His residence had a very stately appearance, and surprised me not a little by its style of architecture, which approached to the Gothic, although the fine and well-ornamented clay walls were only loosely held together by a framework of boards and branches. Presenting to him a red bernús of middling quality, a piece of muslin, a pair of razors, and some other trifles, I delivered to him the letter with which Khalílu had furnished me, and explained to him how the ruler of Gando had given me hopes of his being able to conduct me safe to Fógha; for the two horsemen whom I had with me, one from Gando and the other from Sókoto, were only of service as long as there was any thing to eat and while there was no great danger. He received my address in the most cheerful manner, and informed me that there were two roads, one of them leading straight on through the midst of the forest from Zogírma to the town of Kallíul. This he said was the safest, though it was probably too difficult for my heavily-laden camels. The other, he added, was more convenient but very unsafe. He promised, however, that he would find trustworthy men to escort me.

Zogírma may contain from 7000 to 8000 inhabitants; but at that time it was suffering greatly from famine, on account of the war which had been raging for the last two years between the Fúlbe conquerors of the country and the native inhabitants the Dendi, who, favored by the weakness of the government of their oppressors, had risen to assert their independence; and I could scarcely feel dissatisfied with my host when, after the first signs of hospitality which he had shown me, he left us to provide for our own wants, although we had some difficulty in procuring a sufficient supply of corn. I was very sorry that, owing to the unfavorable circumstances of the whole country, I was prevented from visiting the town of Bunza (which is situated south from Zogírma), on account of its interesting and important situation as regards the intercourse with Núpe on the lower part of the gulbi, where it is still navigable, and the number of deléb palms which are said to adorn it. There was also residing in this place a man whom I should like to have visited, inasmuch as he is reported to possess a great knowledge of the history of the Kanta, and of the relations of the province of Kebbi to the neighboring countries. His name is M'allem Mahamúdu.

Thursday, June 9th. We were to start the following day, in order to allow our camels some rest before entering the unsafe wilderness; but in the course of the morning the news suddenly arrived that a party of Tawárek, with about forty camels besides bullocks and asses, had arrived at the neighboring town of Tilli on their way to Fógha, thus affording us the opportunity of traversing the wilderness with some degree of security. It was therefore decided that we should start in the afternoon by way of Tilli, which certainly lay greatly out of our road, in order to join this party, while my young friend A'bú Bakr, the eldest son of the governor, rode immediately to the neighboring town to induce those people to wait for us. It was thus deemed sufficient to give me for companions only two horsemen; but fortunately they were of such a character that I preferred them to at least a dozen other people, both of them being experienced old warriors and most respectable men, one of them having been till lately the governor of the town of Débe, which was now deserted, and the site of which we had to pass on our road. I was heartily glad to get rid of my two former effeminate companions, Lowel, the servant of the Governor of Gando, and Beshír, an attendant of the ghaladíma in Sókoto, as they had been of scarcely any use to me on my way hither, except, perhaps, in procuring me a better reception from the governors of the towns and villages; and I gladly complied with the demands of my new companions, by giving to each of them a new black "lithám" or "ráwani bakí" for themselves, a flask of rose oil for their wives, and one thousand shells for the expenses of their households during their absence.

Returning then in a northeasterly direction along the western border of the broad fáddama, we reached, after a march of about four miles, when the sun had already gone down, the town of Tilli, which, coming from Diggi, we had had just opposite us on the other side of the valley. Here the danger from the enemy was already considered so great that the gates of the town on this side had been walled up, only a very narrow passage having been left, which could only be used by way of a drawbridge or kadárku. Having here learned that our new companions were already gone on in advance, and had encamped at the very border of the forest, we changed our direction from northeast to northwest, and, after a march of about a mile, encamped close to them. A large herd of cattle had its resting-place in the neighborhood.

Friday, June 10th. When we started, at an early hour in the

morning, we soon left the cultivated grounds and entered a dense forest, which at the present season had a very pleasant appearance, all the trees being in blossom and spreading a delightful fragrance around. We were also agreeably surprised when, after proceeding about five miles, we passed two extensive ponds, which supplied us with delicious water. But on our return journey, in August, 1854, the water of these same ponds had acquired such a pernicious character, that it almost poisoned the whole of my troop. A little beyond these ponds we had a considerable rocky declivity, of about one hundred feet, from the top of which we surveyed the extensive forest before us. To our disappointment, we encamped at a very early hour, a little after noon; but a short distance farther on, the danger would have become so imminent that it would have been unwise to pass the night there. Having therefore pitched my tent in the midst of the forest, I indulged with great delight in the pleasure of an open encampment, such as I had not enjoyed since leaving Gáwasú, the dirty huts in which I had lately taken up my quarters having literally turned my stomach. But I had to enjoy this wild encampment rather longer than was pleasant; for we had to remain in it the whole of the following day, in consequence of my friends the A′sbenáwa losing, in the course of the night, one of their camels, which they did not choose to abandon. This involuntary feat of mine procured me a name in the whole neighborhood, so that when I safely returned the following year from my journey to Timbúktu, the people of the neighborhood designated me only as the man who had spent a day in the unsafe wilderness.

But it almost seemed as if we were to stay here a third day; for when we were getting ready our luggage early in the morning of the 12th, a very violent thunder-storm broke out, with torrents of rain, which made our open encampment rather uncomfortable, and did not allow us to start until a late hour. After a march of about four miles through a very dense forest with low ridges on our right, we reached the site of Bírni-n-Dćbe, a beautiful open spot adorned with a rich abundance of dorówa besides a tolerable number of delćb palms, while beyond the rich mass of vegetation a hilly chain approached from the northeast. Footprints of elephants were here observed in every direction. The rich character of the country scarcely allows the traveler to suspect that a few miles to the north lies the province of Máuri or A′rewá, which all my authorities represent as a country approaching closely to the nature of the desert.

Having then entered again thick forest, which occasionally became so dense that it scarcely allowed us to pass, and caused repeated delays, we reached, after a march of about nine miles, a large depression or shallow vale coming from the northeast from the province of Máuri, and therefore called Dallul or Ráfi-n-Máuri (the Vale of Máuri), richly clad with a profusion of the most succulent herbage and with numerous delèb palms, besides a few specimens of the dúm palm; and having halted here for a few minutes near a well and the site of a former Púllo settlement of the name of Bána, we crossed the path which leads from Máuri to Yélu, the capital of the province of Déndina. This is the most dangerous part of the whole route, on account of the two provinces, that of Máuri and Déndina, having rebelled, and there being constant intercourse between the enemy in these two quarters along this track, so that our companions were not a little alarmed when fresh footprints of horses were here discovered. However we could move on but slowly on account of the dense thicket, and the anxiety of the people to collect the fruit of the delèb palm, corn being extremely scanty and scarcely to be got in this region at the time. Here the camel which I had received from Khalílu in a present, and which I had given up to my Méjebrí companion, went raving mad, making the most ludicrous leaps, and kicking in every direction, till it fell to the ground.

At length we emerged from the dense vegetation of the fertile but neglected vale, and ascended higher ground, which separates the dallul Máuri from the dallul Fógha,* and, after a while, obtained a sight of the hilly chain bordering the east side of the latter valley, which runs from N. 20° E. to S. 20° W., being at the broadest part about 1000 yards across. These valleys certainly form a very remarkable feature in this quarter, and, by their shallow character and the total want of a current in the water here collected, evidently prove the little inclination which the country has toward the Niger, as well as the limited extent of ground which they drain; and it seems extremely doubtful whether, even after the plentiful rains which occasionally fall in the mountainous country of A'sben, the water-courses of that region have even the slightest connection with these shallow vales which join the Niger.

It was half past four in the afternoon when, greatly fatigued by our long and slow march, we gradually descended the shelving

* Dallul Fógha joins the Niger at Bírni-n-Dóle, one day and a half from Gáya.

RÁFI-N FOGHA.

ground into the valley of Fógha, the beautifully sloping banks of which are adorned with a profusion of dúm palms, but are entirely wanting in delèb palms. Crossing then the green vale, which was clothed with rank grass, and only presented here and there a broken sheet of water, we reached the first salt-manufacturing hamlet, which is situated on a mound of rubbish of almost regularly quadrangular shape, and of about thirty feet elevation, not unlike the ancient towns of Assyria, while at its foot a shallow, dirty pond of brackish water of almost black color spread out, the whole scenery forming a very remarkable *ensemble*, of which an attempt has been made to give a fair representation in the plate opposite.

A few cattle were grazing here and there, but they looked very sickly and emaciated, and skeletons of others were lying about in all directions, proving the ravages that disease had made among them; for, besides the fact that general epidemic diseases visit the cattle in these regions as well as in the countries to the south of the equator at certain periods, the conquering tribe settled in this quarter having had to sustain a long siege against the enemy, most of their cattle, being cooped up in the town, had perished for want of pasture. Notwithstanding all these disasters, the inhabitants of Kallíul stood their ground; for the Fúlbe hereabouts are a very warlike race, and are excellent archers. Several of them, attracted by the news of the arrival of a caravan with corn, of which they stood so much in need, rushed past us on horseback as we were looking out for a place where we might take up our quarters with some degree of safety. Leaving two other salt-manufacturing hamlets on our left side equally jutting out into the bottom of the vale, we descended at length from a higher slope crowned by a cluster of well-built but at present deserted huts; and, being informed that the town of Kallíul, or Káura, was still some distance off, and far out of our road, we turned into one of these salt-hamlets, which was the fourth on this side. Here we were quartered in a very excellent hut, but suffered greatly from musquitoes during the following night.

We remained in this poor hamlet the following day, and, being aware of the great distress which prevailed in the whole of this tract of country, I had no more urgent business than to dispatch two of my men early in the morning to our companions the A'sbenáwa, who had encamped on the other side of the valley, in order to endeavor to buy from them as much corn as they were

able to spare; but my servants soon returned with the news that the distressed inhabitants had taken from the fatáki or native traders all their corn by force. I was therefore rather badly off, but nevertheless was prevented from pursuing my route at once, as the camels wanted some repose. The site of our hamlet was highly interesting to me, and I soon set out for a stroll around this artificial mound of rubbish. It was of considerable size, measuring about 200 yards in length and the same in breadth, with an elevation of 50 feet toward the bottom of the valley, and about 20 toward the edge of the bank, the whole of this mound bearing evident proof of its artificial character, consisting as it did of nothing but the soil of the valley itself, from which the saline particles had been extracted. The salt is here prepared in the following manner. The earth is taken from the bottom of the vale, and put into large funnels made of straw and reeds, when water is poured upon the earth, and strained through the funnels, after which it is caught in vessels placed underneath, and then boiled, and the sediment formed into the shape of a small loaf.

That it is the earth which contains the saline particles, and not the rank grass which grows here, I am quite sure, although in other places there is no doubt that salt is extracted from the grass growing in such localities; but this can only be done by burning, the salt being extracted from the ashes; and no such process is pursued here. The salt is of a grayish-yellow color, and quite fit for cooking purposes; it is of a much better quality than the bitter salt of Bílma, although, no doubt, far inferior to the beautiful crystal salt of Taödénni, of which I here saw the first specimen with some Songhay pilgrims, who had left Hómbori four months previously on their way to Mekka. However, such a mode of proceeding is only practicable in the dry, or toward the beginning of the rainy season; for at the end of the latter the valley is quite full of water, which then is fresh, and is said to contain plenty of fish, the saltish properties of the soil being too scanty and inconsiderable to impregnate so large a body of water. Even at present a considerable quantity of the aqueous element had already collected, filling, in some places, the whole width of the valley between the two banks, to the depth of a foot or two, so that the people could not make use of the soil from the valley itself; but they had stored up a sufficient provision to enable them to carry on their labors for a month or two longer.

The Fúlbe call these places síle-chólli. It is only the salt which

induces the inhabitants to remain in this locality, for they have been harassed extremely by their energetic enemy the Déndi. The town of Kallíul had had to sustain, during a very short period, no fewer than five attacks from the latter, whose chief seat, Yélu, closely borders upon their territory; and, in addition to the sad circumstance of all their cattle having died, these people had also lost the whole of their slaves, who, under such circumstances, had run away in a body. The neighborhood, even at the present moment, was so unsafe, that the people of the town would not allow me to stay in the open hamlet where I was, and wanted me to come to them behind their wall; but fearing longer delay I declined, and fixed my departure for the following day.

Yélu,* the principal place of Déndina, the country of the Déndi (a branch of the Songhay, about whom I shall say more on another occasion), is situated only about seven or eight miles lower down this same valley, which joins the Great River at the town of Dóle, and which is especially inhabited by Songhay people. Their well-known and renowned chief, Gójida, had recently died, and had been succeeded by a younger brother of his of the name of Gódu, who kept up the struggle against the conquering tribe with considerable energy, and probably, if he had been better provided with cavalry, would have long ago established the independence of his countrymen, by driving away the Fúlbe from the valley of Fógha, and thus opening a free intercourse with the countries to the north. But the inhabitants of Kallíul, as I assured myself especially on my return journey, when I entered the town, are hardy warriors, and keep well together, although that little community is ruled by four petty chiefs—Seññna, Mámma Yídi, and two brothers called Mámma Gúnga and A'medu Gúnga. Even on the present occasion of my journey westward, these petty chiefs paid me a visit, and I made each of them a small present; but none of them was able to supply me with even the smallest

* For the other places of Déndina, see Appendix V. Here I will only enumerate a few villages belonging to the districts which we passed on our road from Zogírma, and lying just in the border district of the Songhay and Háusa territories. Close to Júnju lie the following places, or rather hamlets, at present greatly reduced: Karákará, 'Abd el 'Azi, Jabóre, Bébé, Dámana, Gangánge. The following places are said to lie along the dallul Fógha, but I am not able to indicate their situation more distinctly: Rúma, Béngu, Baná Harukári, Nyánsamé, Kúduru, Gergánga, and Lúdu. There is no such town as "Bírni-n-Fógha," Fógha being only the name of the valley; but not far from Kallíul there is another town called Báura. Most of the villages mentioned are inhabited by pagans.

provision of corn, although they all evinced their benevolent disposition, and Señína (who, by wearing a miserable sort of bernús of the poorest description, seemed to vindicate his superiority over his brother chiefs) made me a present of 100 Kóla nuts, which luxury he could more easily spare than a few grains of corn. Mámma Yídi, on the other hand, an elderly gentleman, was distinguished by his amiable conduct, and understood even a little Háusa. Generally speaking, none of the Fúlbe here speak a single word of that language, the valley of Fógha forming the boundary between the Háusa and the Songhay languages. I likewise received a visit from two sons of the kádhi or alkáli, one of whom, of the name of 'Abd el Wahábi, was a remarkably handsome man, of very gentlemanlike bearing, more like a European in his countenance than a native of Negroland, and of a melancholy turn of mind, which awakened my interest in him.

Tuesday, *June* 14*th*. My two warlike companions from Zogírma, who, by their experience and energetic conduct, had inspired me with almost unbounded confidence, and whom I should have liked to have attached to me for a much longer period, had returned home the moment I reached the border of the valley, finding their only safety in speed and secrecy, and cutting straight across the thickest part of the forest; and, in consequence, I had used all my endeavors to obtain here another escort, but all in vain. However, Mámma Yídi having promised that a guide should overtake me on the road, I started tolerably early the next morning, in order to pursue my journey through this unsafe wilderness, being anxious not to cause more delay, and thus to increase the danger of my situation in consequence of the news of my proceedings having spread through the neighborhood; but instead of making right across the country, I was first obliged to retrace my steps northward, to the very place where I had crossed the valley two days previously, for, Kallíul being any thing but a place of trade and commerce, all the little intercourse which is still going on in this region is carried on along the direct road, without touching at this place.

A few hundred yards higher up from this spot a rich source of excellent fresh water gushes out from the rocky ground, and forms a large sheet in the bottom of the valley, affording a remarkable contrast to the black, muddy water which covers the remainder of the surface. Having taken in here a supply of water, we then passed several other salt-hamlets or síle-chólli, and

emerging from the valley ascended the higher ground, which presented open pastures with only a little underwood scattered in bushes here and there, principally the gónda bush and the poisonous plant damankádda, which I have already mentioned repeatedly as forming an ornament of the landscape, at the same time that it endangers the life of the camel.

It was a beautiful morning, and the view over the valley from this undulating ground was highly interesting. We had just entered denser forest, when my friend Yidi overtook me, accompanied by two horsemen, and handing me, to my great surprise, besides a good provision of salt, 2000 kurdí, or shells, which I only reluctantly accepted for the sake of my servants. He also brought me a guide, who was to accompany me as far as Gárbo. We therefore pursued our march cheerfully, but experienced repeated delays in the thick covert of the forest. The trees were rather dry, and not very luxuriant, no rain having fallen in this part of the country for some time. A little farther on we passed a small pond, where we fell in with a party of Tawárek half-castes from Zaberma or Chéggazar, who were carrying the salt of Fógha to their home on a small number of oxen and asses. We encamped at a quarter past three o'clock in the afternoon near another small pond, on an open spot, where I again enjoyed an open encampment, which is the greatest charm of a traveling life.

Wednesday, June 15th. Soon after starting, we had to descend a rocky passage, and we were glad to find the road, from time to time, enlivened by small parties of travelers. First we fell in with a man of the name of Mohammed el Amín, from Hámed-Alláhi, the capital of the western empire of the Fúlbe, who had come by way of Júnju, and who, having cherished the good intention of performing the pilgrimage to Mekka, had been frightened by the difficulties of the road; and farther on we met another party of travelers, among whom was a Limtúni, that is to say, a Moor, a man of mixed Arab and Berber blood, of the ancient tribe of the Limtúna, who, having once formed the chief portion of the powerful confederation of the Merábetín (Almoravides), are at present scattered and settled, in small fragments, on the very shores of the Atlantic. He was a stout and active little fellow, with an open countenance, and, being on his way to Mekka, rushed immediately toward me to salute me, asking me whether I was a Turk or a Christian. I presented him with a dollar, requesting him to give a short note (which I wrote on the spot) to

my friend Háj Beshír, in Kúkawa, wherein I informed him of my whereabouts.

Having then passed several ponds, among which the tebki Sugíndo was the most important, and made another rocky descent, from the top of which we overlooked the large valley or dallul of Bóso, and having turned round a small rocky ridge, we reached the village of Gárbo about two o'clock in the afternoon. Gárbo is a small place, half deserted, and greatly harassed by the enemy, the Déndi of Tanda having made a foray against this place only two days previously, and carried away almost all the cattle belonging to the inhabitants. But it is of importance, as being the last Háusa place in this direction, the regions to the west belonging exclusively to the Songhay and Fúlbe. A clay wall, which was to afford some protection to the town, had just been begun but left half finished. Numbers of corn-stacks inspired us with the hope that we might be able here to supply ourselves with corn; but not a grain was to be obtained. There was therefore no staying in this place, although our heavily laden camels were rather fatigued after the forced march through the wilderness.

Thursday, June 16th. At a tolerably early hour we were again on the march through the fields, where the fresh crops were just shooting up; but a little farther on they had attained already to a greater height, and were just being cleared of weeds. Cattle also were not entirely wanting, and gave sufficient proof that, under a strong government, there were elements enough for the welfare of the people. The ground here is broken by several cavities or hollows, where ponds are formed, which of course vary in size according to the season. Some of them, although of considerable circumference, contained salt water of a blackish color. Thus, having passed a fresh swampy depression, where dúm and delèb palms also were not unfrequent, we reached, after a march of about seven miles, a farming village called Lanadéji, where the peculiar structure of the corn-stacks attracted my attention; but although built of clay they are not pretty, and neither similar to the nobler style of those which we have found in the Músgu country, nor to those which we are to meet with farther on, in the country of Másina. The whole cultivation consists here of negro millet, to the exclusion of rice and sorghum. Last year's crop had here also been very scanty; and we endeavored in vain to procure a supply. We had then to cross the bottom of the valley or ráfi, which at present exhibited only separate sheets of

water, while on my return journey the following year, later in the season, it was almost entirely inundated. But at a short distance beyond the hamlet, even at present, we crossed with some difficulty an extensive swamp covered with rank grass.

We took up our quarters, after a march of about nine miles, in an open village situated on a rising ground, and overhanging a large sheet of water which is overgrown with reeds; it is called Songho-sáre, meaning probably "the town of the Songhay," but nevertheless a very remarkable name, as "sáre" is not a Songhay, but a Mandingo word. Besides Songhay and Fúlbe, it was inhabited by serfs belonging to the people of Támkala; and, being a farming village, it was full of corn-stacks. All the huts in these Songhay villages consist merely of reeds; and while they are less solid than the dwellings of Kebbi, which throughout are built with clay walls, they are better ventilated and have a less offensive smell. There was here a jovial old Púllo farmer, with a cheerful countenance and pleasing manners, of the name of Mámmaga, who behaved very hospitably toward me, and, besides milk and corn, even made me a present of a sheep.

Friday, June 17th. There had been a thunder-storm in the night; but it was not accompanied with much rain, and the sky, not having been lightened by a discharge, was thickly overcast when we set out. An extensive tract of country consisting of sandy soil was here under cultivation, while the trees at first were very scanty; but gradually the country became more wooded, while considerable herds of cattle gave life to the landscape. After we had passed another pond of water, we halted for a few minutes to refresh ourselves near a herd of cattle, which was the property of a clan of Fúlbe, called Dánan-koye, the original inhabitants belonging to that part of the Songhay nation which are called Germábe; and proceeding through a more woody country with an undulating surface, we took up our quarters at a very early hour in another farming village, called Tigóre: for my camels were in want of rest, and I was too weak myself to resist the wishes of my servants. This village is exclusively inhabited by independent farmers, although belonging to the native Songhay stock. The architecture of the place was entirely different from that of Songho-sáre (which is more of a slave village), consisting of very large court-yards, which evidently appeared intended for a rich supply of cattle, although at the present moment no cattle were to be seen in the neighborhood; and the huts them-

selves, although consisting entirely of reeds, were large and spacious. We had some difficulty in obtaining quarters, as the mayor of the hamlet was by no means of a jovial or hospitable disposition, besides that the Songhay in general are among the most inhospitable people I ever met, and, in their present degraded political situation, are of a rather sullen character. Moreover, the inhabitants of this hamlet, just at that moment, were in a state of great excitement, as they had received the news that Dáúdu, the young rebellious chieftain of Zaberma, or Zerma, was about to attack A'bú 'l Hassan, the Governor of Támkala, with a strong force; and this ray of hope, of once more making themselves independent of those foreign intruders who had conquered their country, could not fail at once to rouse the national spirit of these people, who had formerly offered a long resistance to the Fúlbe, and to render them indisposed to honor a stranger who was paying his court to those foreign rulers, and at present was under the protection of the chief of Gando. This report was the reason of my giving up my intended visit to the town of Támkala, which lay a short distance out of our direct road to Say, toward the north, where we expected to find a supply of corn.

Saturday, June 18th. On leaving Tigóre, we passed by the well, which presented a busy scene, numbers of women being engaged in drawing water. Although situated in a depression, it was twelve fathoms in depth. Farther on we passed another well, which had even been surrounded by a strong fence, to prevent strangers from using it; and in the village of Tihóre, which we reached after a march of about eight miles, the well, although situated at the foot of the hill, measured as much as twenty-five fathoms in depth. Owing to the weak condition of my camels, I was induced by my people to take up my quarters in this village; but I was heartily tired of these short marches, for the hut where I was lodged was in very bad condition, being extremely small and dirty, with no trees to afford a little shade during the hot hours of the day. Provisions were also here very scanty; and it was with great difficulty that I obtained a small supply of corn for our horses. But I was so fortunate as to procure a little sour milk, there being a tolerably large herd of cattle belonging to Fúlbe cattle-breeders, who inhabit a sort of suburb at the north-western end of the village. The whole neighborhood was suffering from drought, as there had been no rain for the last eight days; nor did a thunder-storm, which in the afternoon gathered from the east, bring us a single drop.

Sunday, June 19th. The district, also, through which lay the first part of this day's march, was extremely parched and suffering from want of rain, and in consequence of this drought, notwithstanding the advanced season, the ground hereabout had not yet been brought under cultivation; but after a march of a little more than three miles, through a country partly laid out in fields, partly covered with underwood, we entered a district which had been more favored with rain, and where the labors of the field had begun. The people here make use of a hoe with a long handle, of a different shape from what I observed in other quarters.

Forest and cultivated ground then again succeeded each other alternately; and having passed a farming-village of some extent called Tanna, we took up our quarters about four miles beyond, in a village called Tóndifú, but were obliged to use force to obtain a hut for our use, as the head man of the village was too lazy, or too obstinate, to leave his cool shed in the heat of the day: probably here also the news of the proceedings of their countrymen in Zaberma kept the minds of the people in a state of excitement. The hamlet, which is rather a miserable one, has received its name from lying at the commencement of a rocky district, which extends from here to the river, a hill or mound being called "tóndi" in the Songhay language. We were now close to the Niger; and I was justified in indulging in the hope that I might the next day behold with my own eyes that great river of Western Africa, which has caused such intense curiosity in Europe, and the upper part of the large eastern branch of which I myself discovered.

Monday, June 20th. Elated with such feelings, I set out the next morning, at an early hour; and after a march of a little less than two hours, through a rocky wilderness covered with dense bushes, I obtained the first sight of the river, and in less than an hour more, during which I was in constant sight of this noble spectacle, I reached the place of embarkation, opposite the town of Say.

In a noble unbroken stream, though here, where it has become contracted, only about 700 yards broad, hemmed in on this side by a rocky bank of from twenty to thirty feet in elevation, the great river of Western Africa (whose name, under whatever form it may appear, whether Dhiúlibá, Máyo, Eghírrëu, I'sa, Kwára, or Báki-n-rúwa, means nothing but "the river," and which therefore may well continue to be called the Niger) was gliding along, in a N.N.E. and S.S.W. direction, with a moderate current of about

three miles an hour. On the flatter shore opposite, a large town was spreading out, the low rampart and huts of which were picturesquely overtopped by numbers of slender dúm palms.

This is the river-town, or "ford," the name Say meaning, in this eastern dialect, "the river." The Fúlbe call it Ghútil, which name may originally have been applied to the ford at the island of Oitilli. The banks at present were not high; but the river, as it rises, approaches the very border of the rocky slope.

I had sent a messenger in advance, the preceding day, in order to have some large boats ready for me to cross the river. But no boat having arrived, I had plenty of leisure for contemplating the river scenery, which is represented in the plate opposite. There were a good number of passengers, Fúlbe and Songhay, with asses and pack-oxen, and there were some smaller boats in readiness suitable to their wants; but at length the boats, or rather canoes, which were to carry me and my effects across, made their appearance. They were of good size, about forty feet in length, and from four to five feet in width in the middle, consisting of two trunks of trees hollowed out, and sewn together in the centre. These boats are chiefly employed for conveying the corn from the town of Sínder, which lies higher up the river, to the town of Say; and they had been expressly sent for by the "king of the waters," or the inspector of the harbor, the "serkí-n-jirgí," or "lámido-lála," as he is called by the Fúlbe, or "híyokoy," according to his title in the Songhay language. The largest of them was able to carry three of my camels; and the water was kept out much better than I had ever yet found to be the case with the native craft of the inhabitants of Negroland.

My camels, horses, people, and luggage having crossed over without an accident, I myself followed, about one o'clock in the afternoon, filled with delight when floating on the waters of this celebrated stream, the exploration of which had cost the sacrifice of so many noble lives. A little nearer the western bank, a short distance below the spot where the river is generally crossed, an isolated rock starts forth from the river, rising at this season from twelve to fifteen feet above the surface; and beyond there is a smaller one, which, as the river rises a little higher, becomes covered by the water. The sight of the river was the more momentous to me, as I was soon again to take leave of it; for my former notion, that I should be able to reach Timbúktu only by way of Libtáko, had been confirmed in Gando, and I only entertained a

THE ISA (NIGER) AT SAY.

slight hope that perhaps on a future occasion I might visit that part of the river between Timbúktu and Say. From the very beginning I entertained strong doubts whether I should be able to reach the western coast; and it seemed to me more interesting to survey the course of the Niger between the point where it has become tolerably well known by the labors of Mungo Park and Réné Caillié and the lower portion explored by the Landers, than to cross the whole extent of Central Africa.

Having presented myself at the governor's house, I soon obtained quarters; but they were not at all according to my fancy, being small and narrow. The town, in its very low position, is not refreshed by a single current of air, and altogether has a very oppressive atmosphere. The huts in these Songhay places are made rather for women than for men, the greater part of such hut being occupied by the female apartment or the alkilla, and the bedstead or serir, made of the branches of trees, being inclosed in a separate chamber of mats, and thus leaving only a very small entrance, and obstructing the whole interior of the dwelling. I have already had occasion, in describing the town of A'gades, to point out the care which the Songhay people bestow upon their matrimonial couches; and I was obliged first of all to take down one of these small matting bed-rooms in order to obtain some little ventilation in my hut. At length I had made myself somewhat comfortable, when the governor sent two calabashes of rice in the husk, and two others of millet, but no refreshment for the moment, though I stood very much in need of it, having been exposed to the sun during the hottest part of the day. To the master of the harbor, who had so opportunely supplied me with the large boats, I made a present of 1000 shells. Very little rain had fallen as yet in this neighborhood; and a thunder-storm which broke out in the afternoon did not reach us. Indeed the air in this low valley, which is probably at a level of about 350 feet, was so oppressive, that I felt at times almost suffocated, and unable to breathe.

The following morning I took a ride round the place and its neighborhood. The shape of the town is tolerably quadrangular, being encompassed on three sides by a low rampart of earth, the side toward the river being unprotected. It is of considerable size, each side measuring about 1400 yards; but the town is only thinly inhabited, the dwellings (all of which, except the house of the governor, consist of matting and reeds) lying scattered about

like so many separate hamlets. It is intersected from north to south by a wide shallow depression or vale encompassed by dúm palms, which are almost the only trees either inside or outside the town; and at the end of the rainy season it becomes filled with water, causing great inconvenience to the business of the town and the intercourse between the various quarters, and greatly contributing to its unhealthiness. There can be no doubt that, in seasons when the river reaches an unusual height, the whole town is under water, the inhabitants being obliged to seek safety beyond the borders of the valley.

There is a market held every day in the eastern part, not far from the bank of the river. Poor as it is, it is of some importance in the present state of the country; and hence the town has a great name as a market-place among the inhabitants of Western Súdán, a great many of whom here supply their want of native manufactures, especially of the common clothing for males and females, as the art of weaving and dyeing is greatly neglected in this quarter, cotton being cultivated only to a very small extent. But the place was most miserably supplied with provisions, there being no store of grain whatever. Every thing necessary was brought day by day from the town called Sínder—the same place which I have mentioned as being situated about eighty miles higher up the river. I was greatly surprised at not finding here even a vestige of the cultivation of rice, although a large tract of ground on this low island, which, toward the rainy season, becomes partly inundated, is particularly suited to that branch of cultivation. Not even onions are grown in the place; but, fortunately, I had been informed of the circumstance beforehand, and had provided myself with a large supply of this useful article in Gando, where the onions are excellent.

Being detained in this place longer than I wished, and feeling a little better, on the Thursday following I took a ride along the river to some distance below, where it takes a westerly bend, and I was astonished at the dry and barren aspect which this island bore; even here neither rice-crops nor vegetables, as might be expected along the banks of so noble a river, being seen. The island, which during the highest level the river attains becomes almost inundated, bore the aspect of a scorched treeless prairie; and disappointed in my expectation of finding a cool shade, I returned into the town, being cheerfully saluted by all the people whom I met, the name of a módibo or learned man, which pre-

ceded me, gaining me the favor of the inhabitants. While passing along the streets, I was delighted to observe a certain degree of industry displayed in small handicrafts and in the character of the interior of the households.

Every thing was very dear, but particularly butter, which was scarcely to be procured at all. All the currency of the market consists of shells; but I found the most profitable merchandise to be the black cloth for female apparel from Gando, which realized a profit of eighty per cent., while the Kanó manufactures did not find a ready sale. The black Núpe tobe, of common manufacture, bought in Gando for 3300 shells, here fetched 5000, while the black zenne, manufactured in Gando itself, and bought there for 1050, sold here for 2000. Of course all depends, in this respect, upon the momentary state of the intercourse of this quarter with Háusa; and, at the present time, almost all communication with that manufacturing province being interrupted, it is easy to explain how an article produced in Gando could realize such a percentage in a town at so short a distance from that place—a state of things which can not form the general rule. At any rate, for the English, or Europeans in general, Say is the most important place in all this tract of the river, if they ever succeed in crossing the rapids which obstruct the river above Rabba and especially between Búsa and Yaúri, and reaching this fine open sheet of water, the great high road of Western Central Africa. The traffic of the natives along the river is not inconsiderable, although even this branch of industry has naturally suffered greatly from the rebellious state of the adjacent provinces, more especially those of Zabérma and Déndina; so that, at present, boats did not go farther down the river than Kirotáshi, an important place situated about fifteen miles lower down, on the western bank, while in the opposite direction, up the river, there was constant intercourse as far as Kindáji, with which place I made myself sufficiently acquainted on my return journey.

About noon the second day of my stay here I paid a visit to the governor of the town. His name is A'bú Bakr, the son of the far-famed mállem Mohammed Jébbo. I found him a tolerably cheerful person, although he is wanting in that manliness of character which makes a lasting impression, and he bore evident signs of having been born of a female slave, while his manners appeared to me to possess something approaching to a Jewish character. He, however, was delighted to see me, as I was not only the first

Christian who had ever visited this place, which Mungo Park, on his ever-memorable journey, seems to have passed by entirely unnoticed, but especially as I had come at a time when the whole intercourse of the country had been interrupted, and Arabs as well as natives were all afraid of visiting it. Having heard of the great superiority of Europeans over the Arabs, both in point of intelligence and industry, he entertained an earnest wish, if it could be accomplished without detriment to the welfare of his province, that a vessel or steamer belonging to them might come and fill his poor market with luxuries; and it was with the utmost surprise that he learned that I did not trade. But, on the other hand, this led the governor to think that, in exposing myself to such great dangers, I could not but have a very mysterious object in view; and he soon became alarmed, and asked repeatedly why I did not proceed on my journey.

I had already been informed in Gando that A'bú Bakr, two years previously, had navigated the river with a small flotilla of boats, upward as far as Gágho or Gógó, the ancient capital of Songhay, and collected tribute from the Fúlbe or Féllani settled near that place, but that he had been prevented by the threatening attitude of the Tawárek from penetrating any farther. In consequence of this expedition on the river, made in open boats which were continually filling with water, the governor was suffering very severely from rheumatism, and was scarcely able to move.

Having so many petty chiefs before me, and seeing that this officer did not possess much power, I did not choose to give him a large present; but on my return the following year, when I still had something left, I made him a more considerable present of a bernús.

Having entered a new country, where a language was spoken (the Songhay) with which neither I nor any of my servants was acquainted, and not being able to give much time to its study, as I had to apply myself to the Fulfúlde, the language of the conquering tribe, I was extremely anxious to take into my service a native of the country, or to liberate a Songhay slave; but I did not succeed at this time, and, in consequence, felt not so much at home in my intercourse with the inhabitants of the country through which I had next to pass as I had done formerly. For Gurma, although originally inhabited by quite a distinct race, has been conquered and peopled by the Songhay to a great extent.

CHAPTER LX.

THE HILLY COUNTRY OF GURMA.

Friday, June 24th. I now left the Great River behind me, which formed the limit between the tolerably known regions of Central Negroland and the totally unexplored countries on the southwestern side of its course; and with intense interest my thoughts were concentrated on the new region before me. However, this very day we had a sufficient specimen of what awaited us on our march during the rainy season; for we had scarcely left the low island behind us, on which the town of Say, this hotbed of fever, is situated (with its dry prairie ground almost destitute of verdure, and covered only with a few scattered specimens of the *Asclepiadeæ*), and had ascended the steep rocky bank which borders the west side of the narrow, shallow, and irregular western branch of the river, which, being encompassed by granite boulders, was at present dry, when a dark array of thunder-clouds came, as it were, marching upon us from the southeast, and we had scarcely time to prepare for the serious assault when a terrible thunder-storm broke out, beginning with a most fearful sand-wind, which enveloped the whole district in the darkness of night, and made progress for a moment quite impossible. After a while it was followed by a violent rain, which relieved the sand-storm, but lasted for nearly three hours, filling our path with water to the depth of several inches, and soaking us through to the skin, so that our march could not fail to be very uncomfortable.

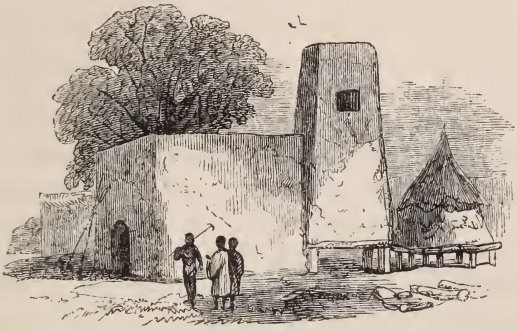
It was on this account that we took up our quarters about half an hour before noon in a farming hamlet called Sanchérgu, where the people were busily employed in sowing; the plentiful rain of to-day, which was the first of the season, having rendered the fields fit for cultivation. After some search, we obtained two huts of round shape, which were situated near a sheep-pen in front of the dwelling of the proprietor. This was a cheerful and wealthy old man, who both lodged us comfortably and treated us hospitably. While my people were drying their clothes and luggage, I roved about a little, and observed, at a short distance west from the hamlet, a small rocky water-course, with pools of stagnant water, where the women were washing their clothes, while the slaves were busy in the labors of the field.

Saturday, June 25th. Having rewarded our hospitable host, we started at an early hour to pursue our march, in order to reach in time the residence of Galaijo, a distinguished chief, of whom I had heard a great many flattering reports. It was a fine morning after yesterday's storm, and the country through which our march lay was hilly, and at times presented very pleasant vales or glens, but in general it was destitute of trees, and was only insufficiently inhabited and cultivated. The view which presented itself to us of the country before us, when, after a march of about three miles and a half, we reached the highest point, was that of an extensive wilderness, the few cultivated spots being entirely hidden in the midst of the forest. Red sandstone was apparently the chief component of this hilly country, with occasionally a black tint, received from exposure to the air, and rich in oxide of iron—in fact, of the same geological feature as the border country between Kebbi and Góber. Short herbage was springing up here and there, affording but scanty food to the cattle that were grazing hereabouts.

A steep rocky declivity brought us from the higher level, which was covered with small stones, into a deep valley. But we had soon to ascend again, traversing a district which belonged to the village of Ndobúra, and bore some signs of cultivation; and a dell, which we passed a little farther on, was extremely picturesque. But the country hereabouts does not in general seem to be very fertile, and, besides, the exceptional drought of the present year had destroyed a large proportion of the crops; and it was this very unproductiveness that had induced the chief to leave his former place of residence, Shirgu, which lay a little more to the east, and to found a new dwelling-place farther west.

This place, which is called Champagóre, we reached at noon, but preferred taking up our quarters on a hill opposite the town, to the north, which was bounded on that side by a well-wooded dell, and overlooked the whole neighborhood. The town itself is inclosed by a small hilly chain toward the south, at the foot of which are the wells, seven fathoms in depth. It was to have been surrounded by a clay wall; but, only provisionally, the four gates had been finished with clay, while the rest of the town was still inclosed by a stockade. The interior of the place looks very peculiar, and quite different from the style usual in Kebbi, which is chiefly owing to the remarkable character of the magazines of corn, which consist of towers or quadrangular buildings, raised a

few feet above the ground, in order to protect them from the ants. They are from ten to fifteen feet in height, and about six feet in diameter, the walls gradually sloping inward toward the top, as shown in the accompanying wood-cut. They have no opening at



the bottom, but only a window-like aperture near the top, through which the corn is taken in and out, and, on the whole, they are not unlike the dove-cots of Egypt. In every court-yard there were one or more of these magazines; and they far surpassed, in their whole appearance, the dwellings themselves, which, with a few exceptions, consisted of low huts, the whole of the court-yards being only surrounded by a frail fence, made of the stalks of the native corn, while in many yards, one half of the circumference

of the huts themselves, of which there were rarely more than two, formed part of the fence.

I went in the afternoon to pay my compliments to the chief. The portal of his residence has quite a stately appearance, as shown in the preceding wood-cut, bearing evident testimony to an attempt at architectural decoration; but the spacious court-yard inside, which was inclosed by a low clay wall, full of rubbish and poor mean-looking huts, did not correspond with the stately character of the entrance. However, the dwelling itself, although simple, is not so mean, and, besides two spacious clay halls, includes some very airy and cool corridors built entirely of wood. Having been first received by Galaijo in one of the clay halls, I was conducted afterward to a more private audience in one of these corridors; and here, while delivering my present,* I had a fair opportunity of surveying the exterior of this interesting man.

Mohammed Galaijo, at the time of my visit, was a man of about seventy years of age, of an extremely pleasant and almost European expression of countenance, and of middle stature. He was dressed very simply, in a light-blue tobe, with a white shawl wound round his face. Galaijo, son of Hambodéjo, son of Páte, son of Hámed Yella, succeeded his father—probably the very chief who treated Mungo Park so hospitably during his stay in Másina—in the year of the Hejra 1231. He was then the most powerful chief of Másina, or Melle, which, since the overthrow of the Songhay empire by Múlay Hámed el Dhćhebí, the Emperor of Morocco, had been left to itself, and was consequently split into several petty kingdoms, the three other powerful chiefs of that country being the A′rdo Másina, the A′rdo Fíttogel, and Gél Hamma Mána. But just at the time when Galaijo became ruler, the great religious movement of the Fúlbe of Góber began, under the Reformer 'Othmán, and, instigated by their example, and fired with religious zeal, a chief went forth from them in order to spread Islám among that section of the Fúlbe which was established along the upper course of the Niger. This man was Mohammed or Hámed Lebbo, who, arriving in the country of Másina in the beginning of the year 1233 of the Hejra, at the head of a small band, formed first an alliance with Galaijo, who himself had embraced Islám; and thus, closely allied, they spread their conquests over the neighboring country. But, after having

* The present consisted of a red cap, half a piece of muslin, and some smaller articles.

succeeded in establishing a strong power, Mohammed Lebbo demanded homage and allegiance from his ally Galaijo, under the pretext of his having brought the ensign, or túta, of Islám from Sifáwa, the place mentioned on a former occasion, where the Reformer 'Othmán dan Fódiye resided at the time, together with his brother 'Abd Alláhi. Upon this, Galaijo, feeling little inclined to cede the dominion of the country over which his claims had been established from ancient times, entered into a violent struggle with the new-comer; but after an unsuccessful resistance, carried on for three years, he was obliged to give up his former residence, Konári, and, with the rest of his partisans, to seek a new home farther eastward. Here he was received with open arms by the ruler of Gando, who was not at all pleased with the independent bearing of Lebbo and his son A'hmedu, by whom he was succeeded—those people, being borne away by a pure reformatory view of their religion, and elated by their victory, going so far as to dispatch a message to their kinsmen in Sókoto and Gando, to the effect that, if they would not reduce the number of their wives to two, and renounce their wide effeminate dress, they would pay them a hostile visit; and it is on this account that, even at the present time, there is no amicable relation whatever subsisting between the courts of Sókoto and Gando on the one hand, and that of Hamda-Allahi on the other.

The chief of Gando therefore granted Galaijo an extensive although not very fertile district in his territories, where he has now been settled for almost thirty years. Thus we find, in this region, a small court of its own, and a whole community bearing no resemblance whatever to the customs of the people around them, but having faithfully preserved the manners and institutions of their native country, Másina; for, while all the neighboring Fúlbe are rather a slender race of men, with expressive and sharply-cut features, who make it a rule to dress in white colors, we find here quite the reverse: a set of sturdy men, with round, open countenances, and long black curly hair, all uniformly clad in light blue tobes, and almost all of them armed with muskets. I was utterly surprised at the noble bearing of several of the courtiers, but especially that of the vizier and the commander-in-chief or lámido konno, both of whom reminded me of Europeans. The old chief, even at the present time, keeps up a continual intercourse with Timbúktu, where his eldest son was at the time studying, and which place he did not leave until some time after my arrival. Indeed, the town of Konári is still said to belong to Galaijo.

Taking into consideration the peculiar character of this little colony, and the benevolent disposition and venerable character of the chief in particular, I thought it worth my while to enter into more intimate relations with him, and, in consequence, the following day presented him with a heláli bernús, which he admired very much, and was as grateful for as his reduced fortune allowed him to be; for, besides giving me a present of a heifer and a great number of fowls, he provided me also with corn, of which there was a great dearth in the place. The market was very small and insignificant, consisting merely of seven stalls or shops, where scarcely a single sheep or ox was to be seen. The bitter species of ground-nuts, or gángala, and salt, formed almost the sole articles for sale. Butter and sour milk were plentiful.

The whole of this country belongs to Gurma—a name which, however, does not seem to owe its origin to the native inhabitants, but probably was given to it by the Songhay, who, while still settled on the north side of the river, applied this term to the region on the opposite or southern side, identical with the name Ari-bínda. The country, at least the northern portions of it, had gradually been conquered and colonized by the Songhay, who, as we shall see on my home journey, have preserved in this quarter a portion of their national strength and independence, while in the recent rising of the Fúlbe the chief places along the high road had been occupied by the latter; but after the first impulse of the religious movement had passed by, the settlements of this conquering race had greatly decayed, so that the communication along this important high road from the west, at the period of my journey, was almost entirely interrupted, nay, the native independent chief of Bójjo had totally destroyed the considerable settlement of Martebógo which commanded the road; for, from the very beginning, the conquerors had only succeeded in establishing themselves along the high road, leaving the independence of the chiefs in the interior almost undisturbed. The most powerful of these native chiefs of Gurma are those of Belánga, Bótu, Bosúgu, Bójjo, Machakwáli, Nándu, and Mayánga.* Of these the chief of Belánga seems to be at present the most powerful, while next to him ranks that of Bójjo; but in former times Bótu seems to have been the chief place in the country, which is the reason why it is still called by the Háusa people "fáda-n-Gurma," "the palace or royal

* For a list of the other places in Gurma, and some itineraries establishing their position, as well as the more important places in Mósi, see Appendix V.

residence of Gurma." The name Gurma, however, as I have said, seems not to be the indigenous name either of the country or of the people, while the language of the natives bears a certain affinity to that of the neighboring tribes, the Mósi or Móre, and Tombo.

However, the original inhabitants of Gurma are not the only enemies of the Fúlbe, but, besides the former, there are also the Songhay, who have emigrated into the country since the time of their predominance along the Niger; and some of these communities are the most inveterate enemies of the present conquerors, especially the inhabitants of Lárba, or Láraba, a place which we had to pass on our farther march. Besides the latter place, the most important settlements of the Songhay in this district are said to be the following: Téra (the residence of Hamma-Kása), Darghol, Garmúwa, Fámbita, close to the river; and not far from it, to the west, Garú (probably identical with the neighboring town of Sínder of that name), Kasáni, Kókoro, and Fóni.* We shall come into contact with some of these Songhay settlements on our return journey along the Niger, and I shall then say more about them.

It was on account of the Lárba that I was induced to remain a day longer at Champagóre than had been originally my intention, the chief begging me most urgently to wait till some other people who were going to Yágha might join me; and while staying here, we were so fortunate as to have a tolerable shower of rain, which greatly refreshed this parched country and again raised the hopes of the inhabitants. The whole depression between the hill on which we were encamped and the town became filled with water; and I was greatly delighted at the arrival of the proprietor of the farm where we had established ourselves, an energetic weather-beaten Púllo, who came to inspect the labors of the fields, and who was not a little surprised at finding us quietly established in his homely dwelling.

Tuesday, June 28th. Our road lay through a hilly country, well wooded and intersected by a number of small water-courses; and in some favored localities a good crop of corn was seen standing in the fields. Cattle also seemed not to be wanting, which accounted for the circumstance of the residence of Galaijo being so well provided with milk. We also met a great number of women on their way to the market of Champagóre with their supplies of

* As smaller places of the Songhay in this district, the following were mentioned to me: Fonekówa, Díbbilo, Léde, Dúmba, and Bási.

sour milk. But, besides the small dry water-courses just mentioned, we had also to cross a very rapid torrent, which is called Górebi, and is said to come from the direction of Kulféla, a very important market-place in the interior of Mósi, and which caused us considerable delay. Before we entered Champaláwel, also, where we took up our quarters half an hour before noon, we had to cross a considerable sheet of water, three feet and a half in depth, and about thirty yards broad, about the relation of which to the neighboring water-courses I am not quite certain.

Champaláwel is the residence of the governor of the Tórobe; but it was at that time in the utmost state of decay, and almost deserted, the slight remains of the ramparts being almost hidden in a dense forest; for since the decease of Mo'azu (a celebrated chieftain mentioned also in other accounts), who died about twenty years ago, the power of the Fúlbe in this place has greatly declined. The present governor, a younger brother of that energetic chieftain, himself tolerably advanced in years, proved to be a very illiberal and unamiable man, and he would not even assign me quarters on my arrival, so that I had the greatest trouble in taking possession of a miserable little hut on my own account, while good shelter was very essential, as a great quantity of rain fell in the afternoon. However, all was changed when, toward evening, a cousin of the present governor, of the name of 'Othmán, arrived, and I then received a present of two sheep. I also had the great and unexpected pleasure of meeting here an Arab, of the name of Mohammed el Wákhshi, a near relative of my friend Bú-Bakr el Wákhshi, the Ghadámsi merchant whom I have mentioned repeatedly in the preceding part of my narrative. This man was then on his return from Gonja, the northern tributary province of Asanti, the Gúro caravan having been induced, by the state of the country, to abandon its direct road from Yendi to Komba on the Niger, in favor of a northerly and very circuitous road by way of Yágha.* But I was disappointed in the hope of

* The principal stations of this interesting route, at a very slow rate, are the following, starting from Yendi:

1 day. Kaña, still on the great high road to Komba.
5 days. Natóngo, a village inhabited by Dagómba.
5 " Wólawóla, a large place inhabited partly by pagans, partly by Mohammedans, and dependent on Yendi.
10 " Béri, a large place belonging to Mósi.
3 " Another Mósi place, the residence of a powerful officer of the chief of Wóghodoghó, to whom these native travelers give the title of Yeríma.

corresponding with Europe by means of this man. The letter which I gave to him, and which I had already written in Say, never reached its destination, for El Wákhshi succumbed to disease in crossing the province of Núpe in the height of the rainy season, before reaching Kanó.

Wednesday, June 29th. On leaving this desolate residence of the chief of the Tórobe, reduced to an entangled thicket, we passed the encampment, or zángo, of the Gúro caravan, which, as is generally the case, consisted of small round huts, erected for the occasion with branches and rank grass. The caravan consisted of about one hundred individuals, with a couple of hundred of asses, which form the usual beasts of burden of these native travelers. Scarcely a mile beyond the town we had again to cross a river which, bordered by the richest vegetation, and by abundance of rank grass, runs at this spot from S.E. to N.W., with a depth of about three feet, and at times, when a great deal of rain has fallen, forming a far more considerable volume of water.

The country which we then entered was hilly, tolerably well cultivated, and thickly inhabited. It was adorned here and there with the baobab-tree, and a fine leafy tree called here "harúna." But we made only a short march, being induced, on account of the danger of the road before us, to take up our quarters in a farming village, situated in a very rich tract of country, behind a flat-topped cone, at the distance of a little more than four miles from Champaláwel. Notwithstanding the fertility of the district, no corn was to be obtained here at present, the last year's harvest having failed entirely, so that the people were obliged to supply their own wants at Bosebángo. This scarcity is increased generally in districts where only one species of corn is grown, all the produce here being reduced to millet; while, where various grains are raised, which ripen at different seasons, even in these countries, dearth can not prevail to such an extent and for so long a time. All the inhabitants, including even the head man, belonged to the native Gurma race. All the cattle-breeding is in the hands of the Fúlbe, who regard "the cow as the most useful animal in creation," "negge ngombúri déya fó náfa;" and, there being no such people in the neighborhood, no milk was to be obtained. The

1 day. Sálugu, a market-place, residence of a governor.
1 " Belússa, a large place of Mósi, to be mentioned also in other itineraries.
7 days. Libtúgu, a small Gurma village.
1 day. Yágha.

dwelling where I was lodged, with its numerous compartments and court-yards, presented quite a labyrinth of itself. Three servants of Galaijo, all armed with muskets, had attached themselves to my troop, and I supplied each of them here with ball cartridges, in case of any attack on the road.

Thursday, June 30th. We had a long day's march before us, through the unsafe wilderness which separates the reduced dominion of the chief of the Tórobe from the territory of Yágha. It was a fine morning, and tolerably clear. Corn-fields now and then interrupted the dense growth of talha-trees and prickly underwood, while occasionally a baobab or a tamarind-tree gave greater variety to the scenery. About four miles and a half from our starting-point, we passed, on the right of the path, some peculiarly constructed smelting-furnaces, about six feet high, and a foot and a half in diameter at the base. The proceeding is very simple and unsophisticated. On the ironstone is placed a large quantity of wood-ashes till the metal begins to melt, and is then, by means of three channels at the bottom of the furnace, received in the basin.

Close behind these smelting-furnaces, which happened to be the first I had seen in Negroland, though there are plenty of them in some districts, we passed the site of a former encampment, or zango, of native traders, or fatáki, in a spot clothed with the finest *Poa*, and adorned with large, wide-spreading trees. Ascending then a little, we passed the village of Bangapélle on our left, situated at the eastern foot of an eminence, and then kept along the northern base of the latter, while on our right a dense forest spread out, broken by a rocky ridge. The whole wilderness through which our way led was in general very dry, and did not possess any fresh pasture-grounds, although about two miles beyond Bangapélle we passed a considerable pond of water, with numerous traces of the elephant; but gradually the country became more rocky, granite prevailing. We encamped, at length, on the site of a former hamlet, called Kófe, situated on a rising rocky ground, close to a depression, with water, and clothed with a fine pasture interspersed with flowers, in whose sweet blossom numerous butterflies were indulging. Here again the footprints of the elephant

were extremely numerous; but by far more interesting, and of much higher importance to me, were the traces of the rhinoceros, an animal which at present seems to be wanting entirely in the regions between the Niger on the west and the Shárí toward the east. Our rest at this place was greatly disturbed; for after an alarm in the evening, which, fortunately for us, proved to be false, we were kept awake the whole night by a terrible thunder-storm, which broke out with great violence, and rendered our situation, in the midst of a low, swampy ground, very uncomfortable indeed.

Friday, July 1*st.* In consequence of the storm we started rather late. Close behind our encampment we had to cross a very swampy ground, which we might have passed more easily the day before. We were therefore greatly cheered when the boggy ground was succeeded by sandy soil, which became intersected by several small water-courses, affording a channel to the watery element; but, after a march of about six miles, it was again succeeded by a considerable pond, which we had to avoid by a long circuitous road. Here, also, the ground was marked by numerous footprints of the elephant, while monkey-bread or baobab trees were in great abundance.

In the afternoon the whole aspect of the country changed, the surface becoming rugged, and broken by small rocky ridges; and here the danger increased on account of the vicinity of the town of Lárba, the inhabitants of which, as I have mentioned before, are the inveterate enemies of the Fúlbe. Only a few days before they had robbed and murdered some people of the governor of the Tórobe. But, well-armed as we were, all the people round about being aware that an attack upon us would not be an easy affair, we proceeded without any accident; and having twice made a considerable descent, we reached, a little after three o'clock, the village of Bosebángo, which is surrounded by a strong stockade. It is inhabited by the Karábe, who, although kinsmen of the inhabitants of Lárba, fear and respect in some degree the authority of the Fúlbe; however, we soon convinced ourselves that the character of their allegiance is very precarious. The mayor of the village, being a man of advanced age, dressed in a ragged shirt, lodged me in his own quarters, which seemed to contain a very remarkable household, the most interesting objects being his two wives, very stout females, richly ornamented with copper rings on their arms and legs, and with strings of beads round their necks, but having, besides, another ornament, at which I was more

surprised, viz., a thin plate of tin in the under lip, like that worn by the Marghí; but I was astonished at not finding the nose-ring, which, from what I had heard, I had concluded that all the Songhay were in the habit of wearing. Altogether, these fashionably-dressed women, with their dirty old partner, would have formed a highly interesting subject for illustrating the customs of these people.

Having rested a while, for I felt greatly exhausted after my sickly state in Say, I roved a little about the place (which lies at the foot of a well-wooded eminence), and collected several specimens of minerals, which, in the course of my journey, were thrown away by my people. Gneiss and mica slate were predominant, and beautiful varieties of granite occasionally appeared.

Having observed from this point that the River Sírba runs only at a short distance from the place, we endeavored in the evening to arrange with the inhabitants to assist us in crossing this sheet of water, where there are no boats. While speaking with the natives about this river, I was surprised to hear from them that they consider the water unwholesome, and more particularly so for horses, while even the herbage which grows close to the border is regarded as extremely deleterious to the cattle; but the people themselves supply their own wants entirely from the river. They do not carry the water in single pitchers on their heads, which is the general custom in Negroland, but use a simple pair of yokes, from which a couple of nets are suspended, in each of which a pitcher is carried, in much the same way as in Germany.

The chief treated my party very hospitably. While in the neighborhood of Bangapélle there seemed to be great scarcity of corn, here it appeared to be in abundance. We spent our evening comfortably, although it was necessary to take great care of the horses, as a number of horse-stealers were hovering about the place.

Saturday, July 2d. A few hundred yards beyond the village we came to the River Sírba, which here forms a bend from N.W. to N.E., between banks about twenty feet high, and caused us not a little anxiety, as it was nearly seventy yards wide, and not less than twelve feet in depth in the middle. We had, moreover, to cross it merely on bundles of reeds, which we had to tie together ourselves. At length, after much controversy, we succeeded in arranging with the natives, for 2000 shells, to assist us in crossing. While the large bundles which were to constitute our frail ferry

were being tied together, the head man of the village and a great number of the natives were sitting on the high banks of the river, which form a sort of amphitheatre, in order to enjoy the spectacle. There was something very peculiar about the inhabitants of this place. The men were formed into interesting groups, with features full of expression, but approaching somewhat to effeminacy, their hair being plaited in long tresses, which hung down over their cheeks, and in some cases reached their shoulders. Their dress consisted of short blue shirts, and long wide trowsers of the same color. Almost all of them had small pipes in their mouths, which they smoked incessantly. The women were of rather short stature, and of not very symmetrical forms, with naked legs and breasts. Their necks and ears were richly ornamented with strings of beads; but they also were destitute of the nose-ring, which I had supposed common to this tribe.

The men were expert swimmers, and carried the small articles across the river in large calabashes; but we ourselves and the heavier luggage had to cross on the rafts of reeds, and in about two hours we succeeded in getting safely over the water with our whole troop. A little after twelve o'clock we left the opposite bank, being joined by two horsemen of the Sýllebáwa, who, at no great distance from this spot, have a large settlement called Dútuwel; but we had great difficulty in making our way through the swampy plain, intersected by several small water-courses, which descended in deep ravines from a small rocky chain toward the north. After a march of about eight miles we pitched our tents a little beyond the site of a former encampment of the native traders, where the ground was tolerably free from trees; and I enjoyed our resting-place extremely, for, having been exposed to the sun during the heat of the day, I felt greatly fatigued.

Sunday, July 3d. We continued our march through the forest, which here had a very fresh appearance, and soon passed a cone on our right, on the offshoots of which, as would appear from the quantities of stones scattered about, a hamlet appears to have been situated in former times. Besides gneiss, large pieces of a fine species of marble were lying about in every direction. Rank grass, now and then adorned with blue *Cruciferæ*, filled up the intervals between the dense growth of trees (but there were none of large size, and less of the bush called "tsáda" than I had seen the previous day), besides a few isolated monkey-bread-trees. I observed also that the people were here digging up the same root

which I had noticed on my journey to A'damáwa. The foot-prints of the elephant and the buffalo were very numerous; and a little farther on we fell in with a large herd of the latter species, indulging in the luxuriant herbage of the pasture-grounds, which here grows without any use to man.

Having then gone round a considerable pond of water in the midst of the forest, we entered upon more undulating ground, adorned with larger trees, where, besides the monkey-bread-tree, the dorówa was predominant; and a little beyond an eminence, at the foot of which the village of Bundóre had been situated in former times, we reached the modern village of that name, which is surrounded with a stockade. A dyeing-place, containing from eight to ten pits, besides a large basin for making up the mixture, presented some signs of industry and civilization; at a short distance from our quarters, also, a blacksmith was living. This village belongs to the territory of Yágha, and the huts presented a peculiar style of architecture, being built almost entirely of stalks and matting. The latter, which constitutes the walls, is plastered with clay, and reaches an altitude of nine feet. The roof is not formed of slender boughs and branches, but of large poles.

Not being able to obtain any corn that evening, I was obliged to stay here the following day. No millet is cultivated in this place, all the corn consisting of sorghum. The people would not take any thing but shells, and refused cotton strips. Sixty of the former bought a full measure of a common drinking-bowl, or "gerra," of corn; and for 1500 shells we procured a lean sheep.

Tuesday, July 5th. The country which we traversed on leaving Bundóre was well adorned with trees, especially the tamarind, and bore evident signs of extensive cultivation, even indigo and cotton being observed by the side of a pond; but the forest soon became so dense that our progress was very difficult, and the ámúda, a *Liliacea* which I have mentioned before, was so plentiful in some places, that it formed, as it were, a rich carpet, exhibiting quite an unwonted and cheerful aspect, for in general this quarter of Africa is rather poor in flowers. We had just passed a very dense jungle of tall reed-grass interspersed with blue and yellow flowers, when a thunder-storm, which had hovered over us all the morning, broke out, and soon changed the whole forest into one mighty sheet of water, when we had to cross three powerful torrents, all running toward the southeast, and probably discharging themselves into the Sírba.

Completely drenched, and almost swamped by the water, we reached the village of Denga, but had the greatest difficulty in entering it, on account of the dense forest with which it was surrounded. At length we succeeded in penetrating this mass of thorny bushes, and, having obtained quarters, were able to dry our clothes; but the damp was excessive, and the second-best of my servants, the young Shúwa lad 'Abd Alláhi, was this very day attacked by the Guinea-worm, which laid him up during the whole of the remainder of my journey, and at times rendered him the most disagreeable person in the world.

The hut which was assigned to myself was well built, but it was so completely obstructed by numbers of corn-jars of clay that scarcely any room was left for my own use. Our diet, however, was not so bad, and besides sour milk, which constitutes one of the most wholesome articles of food for a European traveler in these regions during the rainy season, we obtained also a couple of fowls.

Wednesday, July 6th. Our road, on leaving Denga, led through underwood, which was gradually succeeded by dense forest, the view being bounded toward the right by heights. Among the trees of the forest there was soon conspicuous that large beautiful tree, a species of acacia, which the inhabitants of Sháwi and Mákari call korgam, and from which they build most of their boats, while a kind of vegetable butter is made from its core. It grew here to an altitude of certainly not less than eighty feet, with a wide-spreading crown, but not very dense foliage. It is here called "mur," at least by the Arabs; its native Songhay name I did not learn till some time subsequently.

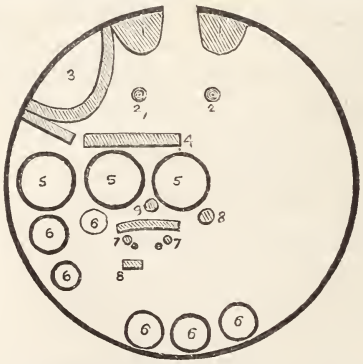
Among the underwood, the most distinguished was the bush here called "kírche," with its small, white, edible fruit, which is extremely pleasant when taken in small quantities, but, from its very sweet taste, soon becomes unpalatable; there was, besides, the "mekhét," as it is called by the Arabs, the fruit of which is much liked by the natives, but it was not yet ripe. The wilderness was interrupted by a village of considerable size, called Gongúngo, surrounded by a living fence of bushes, and exhibiting a good deal of cultivation, principally *Zea Maïs*, while a single dúm palm attracted our attention. Here the sun broke through the clouds, spreading life over, and enhancing the cheerful aspect of, the landscape.

Forest again succeeded, intersected by a small rivulet which

had inundated the district to some extent; and about two miles beyond Gongúngo we had to cross swampy meadow-grounds, where my Háusa Púllo, a native of Zabérma, whom I had taken into my service in Champagóre, called my attention to a plant named here "yángara-bubíki," which is said to keep flies from open wounds, especially from those of the camel; it probably contains a sort of slight poison. Having crossed a short tract of rugged ground, where granite, gneiss, and sandstone protruded through the surface, we entered a more populous district, with several villages right and left, but presenting great difficulties to the passage of the camels, as it consisted of red clay soaked with water, which formed several large ponds, and, being recently traversed by a numerous herd of cattle, was extremely muddy.

Thus leaving two villages on one side, we reached, a little before noon, the clay wall of the town of Sebba, which, though the residence of the lord of Yágha, has nothing in its appearance to indicate the capital of even a small province. The governor was sitting in front of his house, close to the mosque, in the midst of a large congregation of people, and was reading and interpreting to them some passages from the Kurán. Having sent two of my servants in advance, I soon obtained quarters, and was lodged in an excellent hut, which I shall here describe.

The hut measured about twenty feet in diameter, the walls be-



1. Jodórde, a clay seat of semicircular shape, raised about a foot, on each side of the door.
2. Lýggere, two round shallow holes in the floor, measuring about eight inches in diameter, to place the dishes during dinner, in order to prevent them from being upset.
3. Kosóndi, a half-oval-shaped place, surrounded by a slight clay rampart, about two and a half feet high, for containing luggage, etc.
4. Hurgal, a sort of clay bank, about six feet in length, and about a foot in height, and rather narrow.
5. Three "benbel," or large-sized clay jars, for containing corn.
6. Six smaller "benbel," called "mabbirgel benbel."
7. Hobinirde, the cooking-place, consisting of four stones, or rather clay mounds, protected against any gust of wind by a slight wall toward the side of the door, while its privacy is already sufficiently guaranteed by the large clay jars.
8. Two movable seats, or jodórde, one of round, the other of an oblong shape, both made of wood.
9. Kekimákka, or middle pole, for supporting the roof of the hut.

ing ten feet high to the beginning of the roof, but consisting merely of matting, which was coated with clay. The roof was supported by a pole in the middle. The hut was full of larger or smaller vessels of clay, and was apparently intended for a considerable household. The wood-cut above will give a full idea of the comfort which an African household in this region possesses.

Besides the immovable articles, if we exclude the two smaller seats of wood which were movable, only very few utensils had been left in the hut by the industrious landlady, the couch, and even the dishes having been taken away. But suspended from the roof was the "pílgure," or basket for smaller luggage, which contained at the time, besides the komcha, the pittórke, or small stick for weaving, and the fabáru, a small leather portfolio for writing. The accompanying view, though it exhibits the hut rather in an inverted manner, will give the reader a fair idea of its character.

The clay being excellently polished, and the hut of recent construction, left a very pleasant impression; but, as is so often the case in human life, all this finery covered nothing but misery, and I discovered the next day, to my utter amazement, that this beautiful hut was one entire nest of ants, which had in one day made great havoc with the whole of my luggage.

In the afternoon I went to pay my respects to the governor, who is not without power, so that I thought it better to sacrifice to him a bernús of inferior quality, besides some smaller articles. He was a fine-grown man, with large features, which at once indicated his origin from the black stock of the Fúlbe or the Tórobe.

Sitting at the door of his palace, he received me kindly, and promised me that I should have no difficulty in my farther progress. Considering the scarcity of provisions he treated me hospitably on the whole, sending me the next day a young heifer, besides a great many dishes of prepared food.

The name of the principality is Yágha,* dating from the time which preceded the conquest of the Fúlbe; but the governor's private name is Sájo ben Ibrahíma.

Notwithstanding the power of the ruler, the place is in a miserable condition, and resembles rather a wilderness than a town; but it is extremely picturesque, having a thick covert of beautiful trees nourished by a large sheet of water. The place contains scarcely 200 huts, and nothing like a market is to be found. The difficulty of our obtaining supplies was the greater, as, contrary to our expectation and the information we had received, nothing but shells had currency in the place; and it was with a great deal of trouble that, by means of the cotton strips with which we had provided ourselves, we obtained a small supply of butter and corn, four dr'a being reckoned here the same as in Gando, while in the town of Say there was thirty per cent. profit upon the cotton strips. The most abundant article I found here was milk, which was the best I had ever yet tasted in Negroland, and it gave me a fair, but rather exaggerated idea of what I might expect to find among the Fúlbe farther west. We also bought a small quantity of corn from the women, in exchange for some looking-glasses and cloves. All the corn here consists of sorghum; and seventy shells, at the time, would just buy sufficient corn for a horse for one day, which is a very high price indeed for Negroland.

Notwithstanding the poor character of the place, I was obliged to stay here two whole days, exclusive of the day of my arrival, in order to give the camels some rest, as they were suffering greatly from the effects of the rainy season, and on account of the holiday of the "fotr," which fell on the 8th. If I had known the character of the province of Libtáko better, I should have deemed it prudent to make even a longer stay here: and I would advise any future traveler to do so, taking care, however, to have a sufficient

* The places belonging to the province of Yágha are the following: Denga, Gongúngo, Gesángu, Sínsirga, Nótu, Dóri (surnamed Dembíni, in order to distinguish it from Dóri or Dóre in Libtáko), Sebba, Namantúgu, Kankanfógu, Hóga, Humóre, Kábo.

supply of shells with him, which will enable him to make himself quite comfortable in Yágha.

Music having announced the arrival of the important and joyful day soon after midnight, almost the whole of the men went out in the morning in order to say their prayers at about a mile's distance from the town. All the Fúlbe were dressed in snow-white shirts, as a symbol of the purity of their creed; but some of them wore dark-blue trowsers. There were about forty horses with the party, which probably was all that the townspeople could muster.

Having had to sustain here a slight religious attack from the kádhi, who wanted to represent me as a sorcerer, I thought it prudent to make a small present to each of the holiday people, as a kind of séddega, or alms. The holiday also disturbed me in compiling a small vocabulary of the Gurma language, called by the Fúlbe Gurman-kóbe, which I had begun, but was obliged to leave unfinished.

CHAPTER LXI.

PROVINCE OF LIBTA'KO.—SOUTHEASTERN LIMIT OF THE RANGE OF THE COMMERCE OF TIMBU'KTU.

Saturday, July 9th. We left Sebba, the capital of the wilderness —bírni-n-dáji, as I called it,—passing through a district where forest and cultivated ground alternated. The slaves were busy in the fields rooting up the weeds from among the crops; but, after a march of about four miles, we had to cross a very considerable water, which is here called Yáli, and about whose course I am not able to give distinct information. It is said to come from Mósi, and to join the river Sírba not far from Bosebángo; but the latter statement is incredible. The water being not less than four feet and a half in depth, with a breadth of at least four hundred yards, most of our luggage became wetted.

The country then assumed a more rocky appearance — mica slate, granite, and gneiss alternating, the granite sometimes appearing in large boulders. The vegetation also assumed here a more varied aspect, besides tamarind-trees, mádachi and kadé predominating; and altogether the forest exhibited a fresh and pleasant character, especially as the sun had at length broken through the

clouds which had obscured its rays during the first part of the day. After a march altogether of about eleven miles, we reached the village of Namantúgu, which still belongs to the province of Yágha, the mayor of which we had met a short time before on the road as he was going to look after his cattle.

The village is of some importance, and consists of several groups which cover an extensive tract of ground, lying straggling about in the fields; but the huts themselves are very narrow, and the one which was assigned to myself was so small that there was scarcely room to breathe. Nothing is more unhealthy for a European than these abodes of stench and filth; but during the rainy season he is often obliged to seek shelter in these dirty dwellings, especially if he has valuable property in his possession.

Namantúgu, which seems to have been of considerable importance in the history of the Songhay empire,* was a rather eventful place for my whole subsequent proceedings, as I here met an Arab from the west, in whose company I was safely to enter the town of Timbúktu. He called himself Sheikho, though this was not originally his proper name; and, in order not to cause any mistake, I will in future call him (from his father and the name of his birth-place) Weled A'mmer Waláti. He was certainly a very remarkable fellow; and I shall have frequent occasion in the farther course of my journey to advert to his doings. Being originally a native of Waláta, he had emigrated to Timbúktu, whence he had roved about a great deal among the Tawárek as well as among the Fúlbe, and was at present on his way from Belánga, the residence of one of the principal chiefs of Gurma. He had a good quantity of the broad gábagá, or cotton strips, of Mósi with him, which form the staple currency in the whole tract of country from Libtáko to Timbúktu, ten dr'a being reckoned equal to one hundred shells. Besides Arabic, he spoke Fulfúlde, Songhay, Mósi, and Bámbara fluently, and Temáshight, or the language of the Tawárek, almost as well, and altogether was one of the cleverest men whom I met on my journey, in spite of the trouble he caused me and the tricks he played me. He was a handsome man, of middle size and of rather slender growth, and with very fine expressive features. His dress consisted of a long black gown, with a black shawl wound round his head; and his whole appearance, as he was moving along at a solemn thoughtful pace, frequently reminded me of the servants of the Inquisition.

* See the Chronological Tables at the end of this volume.

However, his real character at the time of our first meeting was of course unknown to me, and I was delighted at having found such a man, as he held out to me the fairest prospects of reaching Timbúktu. But although I convinced myself that this man would be of great service to me, yet I did not make a bargain with him immediately, but we agreed that I should arrange with him in Dóre, when he would be able to settle his own business.

The village of Namantúgu is almost exclusively inhabited by Fúlbe, all of whom were clad in the purest white, even the little children wearing round their heads a large turban of white cotton strips; but this was perhaps in consequence of their festival having been held the previous day. A great deal of rain had fallen hereabouts; and cotton appeared to be cultivated to a considerable extent.

Sunday, July 10th. Our road on leaving Namantúgu led through a deep clayey soil covered with rank vegetation, which was only now and then interrupted by a little cultivation. A wealthy family of Fúlbe, father, mother, son, and daughter, all mounted on horseback, and accompanied by servants and by a numerous herd of cattle, were pursuing the same path; and their company was rather agreeable to us, as after a march of about five miles, we had to cross a large sheet of water in the midst of the forest, through which they showed us the way. It is delightful for a traveler to meet with these nomadic settlers, after the disgust he has felt at the degraded character of their countrymen in Wurno. We had here entered a region full of water, the soil presenting very little inclination to afford it the means of flowing off. Farther on also, where we passed the site of a former dwelling-place, we had to cross several channels of running water, and encamped at length, after a march of about seventeen miles, in the midst of the forest close beyond another water-course; for we were not aware that about two miles farther on there was a far more favorable place for encamping, viz., the site of the former town of Tumpénga.

The site of this place we passed early the next morning. Before the time of the rising of the Jihádi, the town had been inhabited by Fúlbe and pagans indiscriminately, when, owing to the religious ferment caused by that reformer, a bloody feud broke out between the Mohammedan and pagan inhabitants. The latter were vanquished and fled to Nába, the powerful Gurma domain at some distance toward the south, while the former founded the town of Dóre. Two dyeing-places bore testimony to the fact that

a certain degree of industry had formerly prevailed in this place, which, like so many other human abodes in Christian and Mohammedan countries has been reduced to desolation in consequence of religious disputes.

Beyond this place granite protruded in large boulders, while monkey-bread-trees were in great abundance; but gradually the country became more open, the trees being scanty and the soil hard and barren. This did not, however, last long, and farther on we had to cross a considerable sheet of water surrounded by fine pasture-grounds; then followed another very barren and open tract, till, after a march of almost twenty miles, we reached the village of Kória, situated beyond a broad sandy water-course, at present dry. The scarcity of herbage was here so great that I was obliged to send two of my people back to a considerable distance in order to procure a little grass for the horses. The head man of the village received us very inhospitably, refusing us quarters in such a peremptory manner, that it was only by force I could procure an open yard where to pitch my tent. However, he soon changed his behavior entirely. It so happened that a thunder-storm, with the blackest clouds, which in the opinion of every one portended a heavy fall of rain, twice passed over our heads without bringing these famished people a single drop; whereupon all of them assured the inhospitable mayor that it was a divine punishment for his niggardly and unrighteous conduct toward me. Frightened, therefore, by such signs, he carried his hospitality so far as even to make me a present of a young heifer. But the first advances toward a friendly intercourse were made by an old woman, the mistress of the piece of ground where we had encamped, she bringing me, as a token of good-will, a dish of well-cooked paste, which probably constituted her whole supper.

Considering the parched character of the whole neighborhood, I was surprised to find a few dúm palms at the border of the channel, while the whole neighborhood was almost destitute of trees.

Tuesday, July 12th. A short march of a little less than six miles, in company with the son of the old governor, brought us from here to Dóre. The country through which we passed bore at the time the character of extreme drought and barrenness; and numerous flocks of gazelles (quite an unusual aspect to me in the populous districts of Negroland through which I had passed) were roving about over this immense plain, which was scarcely broken by a single tree, with the exception of a few stunted monkey-bread-

trees. In the distance, toward the south, two small eminences bounded the horizon.

The remnant of a large herd of cattle, in a most emaciated condition, was scattered in the barren fields, licking the soil, which is here full of natron. The seed had already been sown, but the crops had scarcely started forth from the ground, and were languishing for want of rain. Huts were occasionally seen for the first mile or two, but being exposed to the full force of the sun, without affording the least shade, they presented rather a dismal aspect. But this immense plain, which at the present season was only very slightly broken, about half way, by a shallow strip of green bordered by projecting granite boulders, supplies abundant food for a fine breed of horses, for which Libtáko is remarkable.

Dóre is the chief place of the province of Libtáko; but its appearance caused us the utmost disappointment, presenting as it did unmistakable signs of misery and decay, the wall by which it had been formerly surrounded being nothing but a disgusting heap of rubbish, while the whole place exhibited the utmost neglect. But through the kind interference of a messenger of Galaijo, who was most opportunely here at the time, I was lodged in an excellent and spacious hut, measuring probably not less than thirty-five feet in diameter, and presenting a remarkable contrast to the little dirty nook which formed my quarters in Namantúgu. The place is said to abound in thieves, which is not astonishing, as it is not only the rendezvous for all the natives from the different tribes which dwell in the immediate neighborhood, but even several Bórnu people have settled here since the inroad of Wádáy.

Dóre is principally a great place of resort for the Arabs of A'zawád, the district to the north of Timbúktu, who bring to this market the salt of Taödénni in great quantities, and occasionally even reside here for a long time; but they generally come direct from A'zawád without touching at Timbúktu, proceeding by way of Gágho (the ancient capital of the Songhay empire, and once the great gold-market of the western part of Negroland), or still more direct, by Tósaye, the point where the river greatly contracts before it changes from an easterly to a southeasterly course. Some of them are very wealthy people, one individual having as many as forty camels with him. Among other important information, I received from them the news that Hámed Weled Habíb, the sheikh of A'rawán, who, from the account of Caillié,* is generally

* Caillié, "Travels to Timbuctoo," vol. ii. p. 82. (English version.)

regarded in Europe as the chief murderer of Major Laing, had died a short time before, after a reign of nearly forty years; and I regarded this piece of news as a very auspicious omen for the success of my undertaking.

These Arabs left on the 17th, a circumstance not quite indifferent to me, as I was led to expect that they might carry the news of my arrival not only into the heart of the desert, but also to Timbúktu, and thus augment the difficulties of my journey. There were, however, also a good many individuals who wanted to pass themselves off for Arabs without having any claim to such a descent. Besides the Arabs, the Wángaráwa, or Eastern Mandingoes, especially from Miniána and Wássulo, the inhabitants of Mósi, and the people of G'aó, Gágho, or Gógó, frequent this market-place in considerable numbers; and it is principally the Wángaráwa who impart to this town its importance, supplying it with a small quantity of white Kóla nuts, for which the consumption here seems not to be very great, besides wod'a (shells), or "chéde," as the Fúlbe call them, which are evidently imported from the coast of Sierra Leone, or, more probably, from the river Nuñez,* but they were entirely wanting at the time. The people of Mósi bring chiefly their fine donkeys, which are greatly sought after: and a numerous body of people of the sheikh A'hmedu, of Hamda-Alláhi, had left a few days before with a number of asses which they had bought here. Besides asses, the people of Mósi supply this market with gábagá, or "tári," as the Arabs near Timbúktu call them, cotton being extremely cheap in their country, so that in the great market-places of that country, especially in Kulféla, an indigo-colored shirt is not worth more than from 700 to 800 shells.

The inhabitants of the ancient capital of the Songhay empire, and the people thereabouts, on the banks of the Niger, bring chiefly butter and corn to market; and it was highly interesting to me to be here brought into direct communication with that place, which, although once the most celebrated and renowned in all Negroland, yet has become so completely obliterated, that its geographical position has given rise to the most contrary opinions among the learned geographers of our age.

* I may as well state in this place, that both in Dóre and in Timbúktu bargains are made according to the full hundred, or the míye sala-míye, while in all the markets of Bámbara a fictitious hundred, the míye 'ajemíye, being in reality eighty, forms the standard.

Shells formed the currency of the market, and these it was very difficult to obtain. In order to supply my wants I was obliged to sell my túrkedís for 2500 to 3000 shells each, while in the town of Say they had realized 4000, and, as I afterward found, fetched the same price in Timbúktu. Sometimes I was not able to dispose either of my túrkedís or my tobes, even at the lowest price; while others, that I had at length succeeded in selling, were returned to me as defective. I was at considerable expense for my large household, my three horses alone ('Alí providing for the other two) costing me every day 400 shells for the corn with which I was forced to feed them exclusively.

Almost all the corn which is brought into the market consists of negro millet, or *Pennisetum typhoïdeum*, while Indian millet, or sorghum, is found only in very small quantities; and I was repeatedly prevented from buying, because I was not possessed of what the people wanted. Thus when, on the 13th, a caravan of Tawárek serfs with oxen arrived bringing corn from Gógó, they refused to accept any thing I could offer them, viz., shirts, zenne, and gábagá; and the day before I started there was no corn at all to be got, as no Tárki had arrived. Not the smallest particle of rice was to be obtained; and I could not but deem myself fortunate in being able to procure a small supply of vegetable paste of dodówa, which made my food of millet a little more endurable. This formed my usual supper. In the morning I usually breakfasted on tíggera, or cold paste, with sour milk; the latter being excellent and very cheap, and almost the only article which was to be found in abundance.

But, besides the great difficulty I had in supplying my wants during my residence in the place, I had still more trouble in obtaining the currency of the country through which I had to pass on my journey to Timbúktu; this is the "faráwel," or "feruwál," as it is called by the Arabs, a long narrow strip of cotton cloth sewn together from a number of pieces, and supposed to measure thirty-two dr'a, though in reality the measure does not exceed thirty. The price of each feruwál is generally 300 shells; but during my stay it rose to 400.

The market is held on the border of the village, on the bleak open ground which extends to the south; but there were very rarely more than 500 people, and in general scarcely as many as 200 assembled. But it is not to be denied that, taking into account the manner of living in these regions, a good deal of busi-

ness is transacted in this place; and, on account of the many strangers who visit it, ready-cooked pudding, tíggera, and sour milk are offered for sale throughout the whole day. Besides salt, cotton strips, dyed cloth, Kóla nuts, corn, and asses, some copper manufactured chiefly into large drinking-vessels is also brought into the market by the people of Mósi. However, I do not think they manufacture the copper vessels themselves, but bring them from Asanti. Copper is worn by the inhabitants by way of ornament, to a large extent; and I was greatly amused on observing that some of the young girls wore in the long plaits of their hair a very remarkable ornament made of that metal, representing a warrior on horseback with a drawn sword in his hand and a pipe in his mouth; for, with the Songhay people, smoking, although forbidden by the present ruler of the western part of the former territory of their empire, the fanatical prince of Hamda-Alláhi, is, next to dancing, the chief enjoyment of their existence. Whether these small horsemen worn in the hair of the young damsels form an ornament without meaning, or are intended as auspicious omens as to their future husbands, I can not say; and I must apologize to the reader for not being able in this part of my journey, which was more beset by dangers, to enter fully into the private life of the people.

Altogether, Dóre, or, as it is generally called by the name of the whole province, Libtáko, appeared to me an extremely dry and uncomfortable place. However, this seemed to be rather exceptional, owing to the extraordinary drought prevailing that year; and it was not until the evening of the 17th of this month (July), that we had a moderate fall of rain, when nature as well as man appeared a little refreshed. The name which the Tawárek, as well as the Arabs of A'zawád, give to this place, namely Wéndu, or Wínde, seems to imply quite another character, as the word means pond or lake; but, in reality, a very extensive sheet of water is annually formed close to the western side of the town, although during my stay the extensive depression was dry; and I even have ground to suppose that this sheet of water is very often, through a very considerable backwater, directly connected with the Niger.

The political state of the country, however, was at the present moment worse than its material condition. The disorder and anarchy were such as to make it appear as if there were no government at all. There were so many different factions that one par-

alyzed the other, and there is no doubt that the present misery was the immediate consequence of such a state of anarchy. There was a titular governor of the place called I'brahíma; but his mild disposition and his advanced age had left him scarcely any power at all, and I had to make my peace with all parties as well as I could. The most energetic and influential among the aspirants to power seemed to be a relative of the governor, of the name of Hámed 'Aísa. Then there was an elder but weaker brother of his, of the name of Bélko, and farther, a man of the name of El Jeládi, who troubled me greatly, begging me to write him a charm, by the secret influence of which I might procure him the government of the place.

Libtáko is situated between many different tribes, with the seats of the Tawárek close to the north, from whence these restless people are continually pushing on; and this situation necessarily imbues the inhabitants with a warlike spirit. In former times, especially, they were renowned for their valor, and distinguished, moreover, by the breed of their horses; but at the present moment, owing to the severe drought which had prevailed for so long a time, all the horses had been sent to a great distance, where they were likely to find better pastures. At present, there being so many factions and no strong government whatever, and the supremacy exercised by their liege lord in Gando being a perfect nullity, no certain line of policy can be pursued, and they are one day on good terms with the Tawárek, while the next day some serious fighting takes place; and thus it happened that on the 16th a party of these people, who supplied the market with the article which all the people were in want of, were plundered of the whole of their property. Even with the inhabitants of the province of Yágha, so nearly related to themselves by origin and interest, there were serious dissensions; and during my stay in the place the latter drove away all the cattle belonging to the village of Kória. The province comprises a considerable number of villages,* and, if well governed, would be of great importance, es-

* The names of the small towns and villages forming this province are as follows: Dóre, Kória, Katínga, Wéndu, Dáni, Dángadé, Sélgo, Jámga, Mámmashé, Báfadé, Pékul, Bámde, Babírke, Toródi, Pulé, Gámbetí, Bedíngel, three villages of the name of Debére, Bámura, Fadambáka, Gébu, Kóla, Bombúfa, Kácheré, Kénde, Lérbu, Buré, Benbenjángo, Kollangel-páttidé, Nélba, Beresángo, Fúlgu, Bílli, Chompángu (probably identical with Kampángu), U'regáudi, Gurmáre, U'relangáwu, Táka, Kilínke, Yákutá, U'riltáso, U'ro-Bellábe, Bangatáke, Tobijágha, Dankándi, Begontígi, Kúri.

pecially as forming the western province of the empire of Gando where it borders upon that of Másina, or Hamda-Alláhi.

I was peculiarly situated with regard to my new companion El Waláti, who was the sole reason of my making so long a stay in this place, while my exhausted camels, instead of having, as it was asserted, a fair opportunity of recruiting their strength for the remainder of the journey, were growing weaker every day from want of good feeding. The clever Arab, who represented himself as a very important person in Timbúktu and as an intimate friend of the Sheikh El Bakáy, under whose especial protection I intended to place myself, at times had the power of raising my spirits by the interesting information which he was able to give me. Now and then, for instance, he described the great mercantile importance of Sansándi, or dwelt upon the great authority enjoyed by the chief, whose fame had inspired me with so much confidence in my undertaking this journey to the west, and through whose influence the former mercantile importance of Timbúktu had not only been entirely restored, but a new interest had accrued to it as being the seat of a religious chief of high authority, who exercised an influence not very unlike that of the Pope of Rome over a very large tract of country, and extending even over the pagan tribes around, into the very heart of Mósi, that country which, as we shall see more distinctly farther on, from a remote age has been the champion of paganism against Islám. But, on other occasions, the conduct of my companion was so little straightforward as to fill me with serious fears. Nevertheless, I here entered into an agreement with him, giving him a fine black tobe and a black shawl, and stipulating to reward him on my safe arrival in Timbúktu with a present of twenty dollars and a white heláli bernús, besides buying him here a horse for the price of another tobe, three túrkedí, and a black shawl. On the whole, at that time, I was too much imposed upon by his fascinating manners to become fully aware of his intriguing character; and perhaps it was well that it was so, or I might not have trusted myself into his hands. However, by degrees, I became heartily tired of the long delay which he, together with 'Alí el A'geren, forced upon me. I had long prepared every thing for my outset, and on the 20th I finished a letter, which I addressed to her majesty's consul at Tripoli, and inclosed it under cover to my friend 'Abd el Káder dan Taffa, in Sókoto, and decided on intrusting it to the care of Dahóme, the man who had accompanied me from Gando, and who

was to return home from this place, beyond which he enjoyed no authority; but, unfortunately, he took so little care of the parcel on his journey, when he had to cross a great many swollen rivers, that the outer envelope was destroyed entirely, so that the learned Púllo, not knowing what to make of a letter in a writing which he did not understand, left it with the bearer, with whom I found it on my return to Gando, in the middle of the following year. He had worn it as a sort of charm in his cap, while I expected that it had long reached Europe and informed my friends of my latest proceedings.

CHAPTER LXII.

UNSETTLED PROVINCES OBSTRUCTED BY NATURE AND INFESTED BY MAN.—ARIBI'NDA.—HO'MBORI.

Thursday, July 21*st.* At length I set out on the last and most dangerous stage of my journey to Timbúktu, thinking at the time that I should be able to reach that celebrated place in about twenty days; but I underrated the distance, such a very different position having been assigned to that mysterious place by geographers; and I had no idea of the difficulties which attended this journey, at least for a Christian, and the delays which would be caused me by the character of the new companion whom I had attached to me.

On leaving the turbulent town of Dóre, a great many armed people accompanied me, much against my inclination, and their conduct was so suspicious that we were obliged to make a halt and send them about their business, for the inhabitants of this place, not long before, had robbed and killed in a similar manner a wealthy sheríf, whom they pretended to escort on his way from Sansándi. Just in crossing the shallow concavity where every year a very extensive sheet of water is formed, which often assumes the dimensions of an immense lake, and even now was covered with fine fresh turf, we met a large caravan of Mósi traders from Bússumo, their asses heavily laden with immense bundles of tári, or cotton strips, and with Kóla nuts. Farther on, where a little cultivation of cotton appeared, the monkey-bread or baobab tree became predominant. Altogether, the whole province seemed to be in a miserable state; and the village Dánandé,

which we passed after a march of about seven miles, bore evident traces of having suffered from the effects of war. The monotony of the country was pleasingly broken by a small rivulet, which we crossed a few yards beyond the village, and which was bordered by some very fine trees of the "mur" kind, which I have mentioned on a former occasion as affording excellent timber for boat-building. The baobab-trees, also, were here greatly distinguished, both by their size and their fine foliage.

We took up our quarters this day in Wúlu, a village situated beyond a large sheet of water, or, as it is here called, "wéndu," overgrown by the finest trees. The place is inhabited by Tawárek slaves, who are *trilingues*, speaking Temáshight as well as Songhay and Fulfúlde; but their huts were very miserable indeed, and of musquitoes there was no end, and we had likewise great difficulty in finding a supply of corn. The hut in which I took up my quarters had been recently built, and, on the whole, was not so bad, but so choke-full of simple furniture, such as large jars, pots, dishes, saddles, provision-bags, and numerous other articles, that I could scarcely find room for myself, while the proprietor, when he returned from the fields and found a stranger quartered in the midst of all his treasures, felt so anxious that he did not stir from the door. However, the west side of the village being bordered by a large sheet of water, or tebki, richly adorned with trees and herbage, I did not remain long in my close quarters, but hastened toward this green open spot, which was delicious in the extreme, but gave birth to a legion of musquitoes.

We felt the inconvenience of this little hamlet the more as we were obliged to stay here the following day, for we received a credible report that El Khatír, the most powerful of the neighboring Tawárek chiefs, intended making a foray against this place, and the inhabitants were in a state of the utmost alarm. But a thunder-storm which broke out the next morning, accompanied with a considerable quantity of rain, relieved us, most providentially, of all danger from this quarter, swelling the many water-courses which intersect this region to such a degree that they became impassable to the enemy. On the west side of the hamlet where we were encamped there is a considerable suburb of Fúlbe cattle-breeders, and in the evening a great many of them paid me a visit.

Saturday, July 23d. We had here entered a district which was very different from that which we had hitherto traversed in the

province of Libtáko; and the nature of which caused us great delay and very serious difficulties, on account of the many rivers and swamps which we had to cross. During the first part of our day's march we had the Wéndu of Wúlu for a long time on our right, but having crossed without much difficulty one considerable branch of it we came to another water with a strong current, which caused us a long delay, as it was at the time about 400 yards across, and not less than four and a half feet deep in the channel. The water at this spot has a southerly course; but it is difficult to say what greater river it joins.* For several miles the upper course of this same water, as it seemed, was seen at a short distance on our right. Large wide-spreading "mur," tamarind, and monkey-bread trees every where appeared, and we could see the footsteps of a great number of elephants. The country on our left was undulating, and consisted of sandy soil clothed almost exclusively with the kálgo, with its ash-colored leaves and its long red pods; but as soon as the river receded the character of the landscape also changed, the surface becoming rather level, and exhibiting more small brushwood, while numerous water-pools spread out, overgrown with kréb, or the edible *Poa*, and with molukhía. The district was full of buffaloes; but it was also much infested by a dangerous species of fly, which greatly tormented our animals, and which is very rarely met with in the eastern part of Negroland. We encamped, after a march of about sixteen miles, in the midst of the forest, near the site of the former encampment of a Tawárek horde, where kréb was springing up in the most luxuriant abundance, affording the richest pasture to the horses and a cheerful sight to ourselves; but we had here to sustain a very heavy rain, which lasted for several hours. Fortunately, it was not accompanied by much wind, so that my frail tent offered sufficient resistance; but the encampment was far from comfortable.

The rain had at length ceased; but we had scarcely resigned ourselves to sleep, when a troop of pilgrims passing by at this unusual hour of the night roused us at once. Fortunately, the ground which we had to traverse farther on was of a rocky nature, else it would have been almost impossible to proceed after the last night's rain; but after a march of about fourteen miles we came to a very considerable sheet of water, which we crossed with extreme difficulty, and encamped close beyond in a state of

* I shall reserve a few farther observations on this subject till my return journey along the Niger.

entire exhaustion. The channel of the torrent itself, which had spread its inundation to a great distance, was so considerable, being at the deepest spot five feet and a half, that it almost swamped me on my horse, besides wetting all my luggage. The place where we had encamped was a narrow open spot in the forest; but the ground was full of ants, and we were also greatly troubled by innumerable swarms of small flies which penetrated into all our clothes. Fortunately we had no rain, so that I was able to stay outside, as the heat in the tent was scarcely endurable. This day, also, we observed numerous footprints of elephants.

Monday, July 25th. We rose with the hope that we might arrive at an early hour in Aribínda, or rather the chief place of that district, although we were aware that we should have to cross another considerable sheet of water; but we were sadly disappointed, for, after a march of about three miles through a more rugged district with black and red granite and a great quantity of gneiss, we reached the wide inundations of a river called Búggoma by my companions, which we endeavored in vain to cross. Seeing that we should not succeed here, we struck off into the forest in a southwesterly direction, in order to ford it higher up, when suddenly we fell in with two men who were pasturing a couple of asses; but, although we made signs to them that we were their friends, they would not hear us, and beating their shields cried out lustily to their companions, who all on a sudden rushed out in every direction from behind the bushes, and in a moment surrounded us. There were from 150 to 200 people, all tall slender men, half naked, with nothing but a poor ragged cloth round their loins, and another rag still poorer round their heads, and each armed with a couple of spears and a ragged shield, which they brandished over their heads with warlike gesticulations. The affair seemed rather serious, and here it was fortunate that I had such a clever companion as the Waláti with me; for, while I was pointing my gun, he begged me to ride quietly in advance straight upon those people, and at the same time cried out to them that I was a sherif, and a friend of the Sheikh El Bakáy, to whom I was carrying a number of books from the east. All of a sudden they dropped their spears and thronged around me, requesting me to give them my blessing; and the circumstances under which I was placed obliged me to comply with this slight request, although it was by no means a pleasant matter to lay my hands on all these dirty heads.

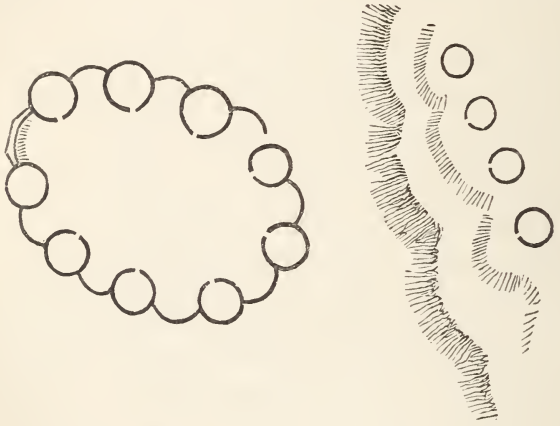
On the whole it was very fortunate that we met with these people; for without their aid and information we should scarcely have been able to cross the water which intersected our track, at least without a most serious loss to our luggage. People in Europe have no idea what it is to travel during the rainy season in these regions; else they would not wonder that poor Dr. Vogel, in going at that time of the year from Yákoba to Záriya, lost most of his instruments and all his collections in crossing the rivers.

They were poor people from G'aó, or Gógó, and the neighborhood, a mixture, as I thought at the time, of Songhay and Tawárek, but speaking only the language of the former; but I found afterward that they belonged to the tribe of the Gabéro, of whom I shall speak in the following volume. They had visited the market of Aribínda, and were at present on their way to Dóre and Libtáko, carrying as merchandise on a couple of asses and bull oxen nothing but cotton strips, or "tári," rice, and a few mats, of which latter article they brought me three as a present. Having received my blessing, and the tumult having quieted down, they conducted us to a place where they declared the water to be fordable. But the boggy ground inspired us with but little confidence; and it really caused us an immense deal of trouble. My people were obliged to carry all the luggage, even the heaviest, across the swamp, which was half a mile in breadth, the camels being scarcely able to make their way, even unloaded; and I myself had the misfortune to fall under my horse in the midst of the swamp, almost as badly as had happened to me on a former occasion on my journey to Kánem. I was firmly convinced that my horse would not be able to carry me over, and that it would be the safest way to cross the bog on foot; but I allowed myself to be swayed by the Waláti, who thought that my dignity, in presence of those native travelers, absolutely required me to remain on horseback. It was on this occasion that all my journals got wet through in a most miserable way, and we had the greatest difficulty in extricating my horse from the bog, in which it was lying for some minutes as if dead.

It was almost three o'clock in the afternoon when we again set out from the opposite side of the swamp; but we had first to return along the water in a northeasterly direction, in order to regain the direct track. We then proceeded at an expeditious rate, in order to arrive at Aribínda before nightfall. A short distance before we reached our destination, the whole character of the

country changed, granite mounds rising on our right and left to considerable altitude, and leaving only a narrow passage through which to proceed, the beautifully sweeping slope of the eminence on our right being pleasantly adorned with bushes and enlivened by goats.

Having left another village at the foot of the granite range, we took up our quarters in the lamórde or residence of the chief of Aribínda, which is likewise situated at the foot of the granitic ridge, part of the huts being built on the slope, and part in the



plain, the latter forming a group by itself, which, with its projecting and receding walls, formed a sort of defense, as represented in the accompanying wood-cut. Here we obtained quarters without delay, two of my people having gone in advance; but they were narrow, dirty, and uncomfortable, and appeared to us the more miserable as a great deal of rain fell during our stay here. The inhabitants belong chiefly to the Songhay race, but there are also a great many Tawárek, or rather Tawárek half-castes, who live here peaceably, though in general the Tawárek and the inhabitants of these districts are engaged in almost uninterrupted warfare with each other, the former always pushing more and more in advance and threatening to overrun the whole of this region of Negroland. The people supply themselves with water from the holes in the rocks, where it collects, their supply for the dry season being deposited in a cistern of large size. The soil in the valley, which here widens into a considerable plain, is very fertile, and does not require much rain; and the corn was here a little cheaper than in Libtáko, one hundred shells, or rather the equiv-

alent of that sum, for shells had no currency in the place, being sufficient for the daily allowance of one horse. I also observed with pleasure a very fine herd of cattle. Aribínda* seems formerly to have been an important place, or rather province, and the most considerable at one time of all the districts on the south side of the river, so that the Songhay of Gógó designated it Háribínda, "the place beyond the water," which name, in a wider sense, is given to the whole country on the south of the I'sa, or so-called Niger, as an equivalent to Gurma.

I had been very anxious to conceal the more valuable articles of my property from the prying eyes of my clever but greedy Arab companion; but the following day, as I was obliged to dry some of my luggage, which had been completely soaked, he got a peep at some fine bernúses which I had with me, and, in order to satisfy his covetousness, I thought it prudent to make him here a handsome present. Altogether my luggage suffered severely from the many water-courses which we had to cross at this stage of my journey, as well as from the excessive dampness of the weather. I also made some presents to the governor, but was rather astonished when, on setting out, he begged from me the very tobe which I was then wearing.

Wednesday, July 27th. The country which we had to traverse was diversified by small granitic ranges and detached cones, but it also afforded many localities for swampy grounds, very difficult to be crossed. In some places beans were cultivated besides millet. We encamped at length, after a march of about fifteen miles, in the midst of the forest, on the site of a former village, which was richly overgrown with the most succulent herbage, very grateful both to horse and camel.

Thursday, July 28th. We had had some summer lightning in the evening, followed by slight rain during the night; but about half past six o'clock in the morning a very heavy thunder-storm broke out, accompanied by violent rain, which lasted till noon, and rendered us extremely uncomfortable. My friend El Waláti, being of a weak and nervous temperament, was, as usual on such occasions, laid up with fever. In consequence of the state of the weather it was not till past three o'clock in the afternoon that we at length set out on our watery march, and after a stretch of about ten miles, having passed a very extensive and deep water, reached

* There are only three more villages at present belonging to the district of Aribínda, their names being as follows: Hóre, U'ri, and Wángaré.

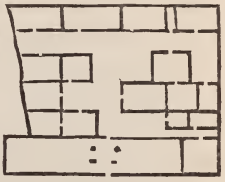
the Songhay village of Fíliyo, and with extreme difficulty obtained most indifferent and damp quarters in the dark. The whole village is built of clay, with elevated tower-like entrances not unlike the granaries in Champagóre. It consists of several detached groups, which are separated by corn-fields, where the crops were standing moderately high. The inhabitants belong exclusively to the Songhay race, with the exception of a few Fúlbe, who, however, have themselves almost changed their national character; and, although the village is externally subjected to the Púllo governor of Gilgóji, or Jilgódi, nevertheless the people have a very independent demeanor, and hold in detestation the conquering tribe of the Fúlbe; even their carriage bears evident testimony to a certain feeling of liberty; and there is no end of smoking. The women wear a profusion of ornaments, while all of them are, besides, distinguished by a copper ring round the wrist.

Having arrived so late the preceding evening that the horses had even remained without food, I was obliged to stay here the next day in order to purchase a supply of corn, which I effected with the farráwel I had obtained in Libtáko, consisting of eight pieces called "kória," or "farda," sewn together. All the grain hereabouts consists of Negro millet, or, as the Songhay call it, "héni." The governor of the place, who had treated me inhospitably the first evening, on being remonstrated with for his miserly conduct, gave me very generous treatment.

Saturday, July 30th. On leaving the place, I was exceedingly struck with its castle-like appearance, as well as with the fine crops of corn which surrounded it on all sides, while a rich growth of trees embellished the district to the south. It was a fine morning, and, a heavy dew having fallen, the drops of wet slipping down from the corn glistened in the rays of the morning sun, while, the monkey-bread-trees being just in full blossom, the white bell-like flowers, hanging down from the colossal branches, gave a remarkable relief to the scenery. It was through such a country that our path kept along, on a rising ground, when, after a march of about fourteen miles, and leaving a couple of hamlets built of matting, like the dwellings of the inhabitants of Gógó, on one side, we reached the Songhay town of Tínge, built likewise in the shape of a "kasr," and situated on the summit of a small hill.

The houses in this village have not an elevated tower-like shape like those of Fíliyo, nor do they contain an upper story. They have flat roofs. The walls consist of sun-dried clay, which is form-

ed in regular lumps, like stones, and is placed in uniform layers, with loose clay between. Such being the mode of construction, the whole of the houses have rather a miserable appearance from without, and more particularly so at the time of our arrival, in the hot hour of noon, when the destructive effect of the rainy season became more apparent in the midday sun. But the interior of the dwellings is not so bad, and some of them are very large and spacious, as the accompanying ground-plan of the quarters where I was lodged will serve to show. These consisted of a very spacious ante-chamber, or segífa, forty feet long by ten feet wide, and as many in height, I myself taking up the part to the right of the entrance, and my people that on the left, a sort of light wall being formed with matting. From this ante-chamber we could pass into an irregular court-yard, which gave access to a number of apartments where several families were living.



The inhabitants of this place are Songhay who have vindicated their liberty, up to the present time, successfully against the restless and steadily advancing Fúlbe, although in independence they are far behind their noble brethren in Dárgol and those other places lower down the Niger. The indigenous name of their family is Beleéde, or, as they are called by the Fúlbe, Kurminkóbe, and they are said to have come from Zíshia, near Téra. The nobler among them do not disfigure their features at all by tattooing, or "kórto," while some of them make an incision under the left eye, from the nose toward the cheek-bone, and the common people three separate incisions—three cuts on the temple, three in the middle of the cheek, and three at the lower part of the face. All of them wear clothing, the greater part of them being dressed in indigo-dyed shirts. Their weapons consist almost entirely of spears. Swords are very rare; nor are the bow and arrow, which constitute the principal weapons of the people of Dárgol, usual among them. The exèrtions of the natives of these places in defending their independence are greatly favored by the discord and dissensions which prevail among the Fúlbe, Mahamúdu, one of the Fúlbe chiefs of Dalla, having, in consequence of his disputes with the Sheikh A'hmedu, taken refuge with the pagan natives of Mósi, from whence he makes continual predatory expeditions against the territory of his countrymen the Fúlbe. The inhabitants of Tínge, therefore, males as well as females, enjoy their lib-

erty and independence in smoking the whole day long, and dancing every evening when it is not raining, an amusement which already, in the eleventh century, the Andalusian geographer El Bekri did not fail to remark as characteristic of these people,* while their less happy brethren in Timbúktu and Jimbálla have been deprived of these, their favorite and innocent amusements, by the austere laws of their fanatical oppressors.

The natives are industrious, both in cultivating the ground and in weaving; and these habits seemed to be favored by Providence, so that, while all the neighboring districts were suffering from dearth and famine, in this village corn was plentiful, especially negro millet, or "héni." Indian millet, "sába" or "háme," was rather scarce. But the corn was still in seed, and not pounded, so that we were obliged to stay here again a day in order to have a supply prepared for us. We bought our corn in the beginning for the farráwel which we had brought from Libtáko, but after a little while the inhabitants refused to accept of this cotton, which is not so good as their own manufacture. The cotton which I had brought from Gando was much better than theirs, but it did not please them on account of the narrowness of the strips. My English darning-needles were, however, very acceptable, as being exceedingly well adapted for the coarse texture of their woolen shawls and blankets. Fifty of them fetched here a price equal to the value of a Spanish dollar; but the small common needles were regarded by them with the utmost contempt.

I employed my time, as far as the rainy weather would allow me, in taking a walk through the country; and I was not a little surprised when I found that the ground hereabouts, particularly toward the west, was very rocky, the corn being sown in the intervening patches of arable soil. On a rising spot a few hundred yards from the village, there was a group of matting huts, which constituted a small weaving manufactory. At the foot of the hill on which the village was situated there was a deep pond covered with *Pistia Stratiotes*, like the ponds in the interior of Kanó; and it was from here that I was particularly struck by the fort-like appearance of the village, with its receding and projecting angles, and its half-circular bastion-like walls in other places, as represented in the accompanying wood-cut; while in the distance the mountain groups formed an interesting background. However,

* El Bekri, "Description de l'Afrique," Arabe texte, published by Macguckin de Slane, p. 183.

we had here such a heavy fall of rain that I was obliged to sacrifice another day, as the roads were rendered totally impassable. The rain which fell in the afternoon of the last day of July was of such violence that a fourth part of the houses in the town suffered more or less; and in one dwelling, which was totally destroyed, eleven goats were killed, while the inmates themselves had only just time to escape. It was discovered that just life enough remained in these poor animals in order to enable their owners to perform the essential ceremony of cutting their throats, for they also have a touch of Islám.

In the beginning of this my journey to the west I had been very anxious to move on as fast as possible, in order to avoid the worst part of the rainy season; but, seeing that all was in vain, I had become in a certain degree indifferent to the loss of time; but when the first of August broke upon me in this village I became deeply concerned, and wrote in my journal: "May the Almighty bless this month, and lighten the difficulties which stand in my way, that before its close I may safely reach the place of my destination!"

It was most interesting to observe from the top of the hill the uninterrupted sheet of water which, after the immense quantity of rain that had fallen, was spreading out over the low grounds in the plain; and the people themselves whose dwellings had suffered so much, and which were just about to undergo the necessary repairs, were standing gazing with delight upon the deluge which

promised to them a very rich crop. My clever Arab from the west lay almost dead with fever; but the head man of the town, whose name was A'bu-Bakr, a man of very stately appearance, was of rather a communicative disposition, so that with his assistance I was able to make considerable progress in my knowledge of the Songhay language; and, if I had been able to go on in this way, I might soon have mastered the language; but unfortunately my situation became too unsettled in the sequel to allow of a quiet course of study; to say nothing of the fact that the extremely poor character of the language itself completely damped my enthusiasm.

I here first discovered the error of Caillié in giving to the people of Timbúktu the name of "Kissúr," or, as he writes, "Kissour," which is evidently nothing but a mistake, "ki-só'ri," or rather "ki-songhi," "ki-songhay," meaning the language of the Songhay. I here also became aware of the fact that this idiom is originally monosyllabic, while I observed likewise that the language spoken in A'gades, of which I had made a vocabulary, though evidently a dialect of the same idiom, had been affected to a great extent by the influence of the Temáshight, or Berber.

Tuesday, August 2d. We at length set out to pursue our journey, which now became full of danger, as we had to traverse the province of Dalla, which is ruled by a governor in direct subjection to the fanatical chief of Másina residing in Hamda-Alláhi, who would never allow a Christian to visit his territory. I was therefore obliged to assume the character of an Arab. Just at that time a change in the government of this district had taken place, a young inexperienced lad having succeeded to the former ruler.

Fortunately, there had been no rain the afternoon of the preceding day, so that the country had dried up a little from the inundation of the last of July, and the weather was fine and genial. Thus cheerfully proceeding on our road, we met several people on their way to the town with fowls and milk; for during our stay in Tínge the communication with the neighboring places had been entirely interrupted by the heavy rains. A'bu-Bakr escorted me to some distance, when he left me with a hearty wish for the success of my undertaking, and begged me urgently to be on my guard. In taking here quite a northerly direction we now entered a province where the population of the Fúlbe entirely prevails, and this day we had passed several encampments of Fúlbe cattle-breeders on our route, consisting of oblong oval-shaped huts,

constructed of matting. Cattle seemed to abound; but the cultivation of the ground was rather scanty, and the character of the country uniform, and without any interesting features, the trees consisting almost exclusively of talha and homéd. We had also to cross a river, at present about 200 yards wide and two feet deep, which the preceding day had evidently been impassable and had carried away several head of cattle, a fact we learned from a Púllo neatherd whom we passed on our road, as he was cheerfully stalking before his cattle, and leading them along merely by the sound of his voice.

Thus, after a march of about thirteen miles, having crossed a swamp and left a larger sheet of water on our left, we reached a miserable hamlet called Déshi, belonging still to the district of Kséne (which comprises Fíliyo), and consisting of several groups of half-decayed clay dwellings inhabited by poor Songhay people, who appeared to be greatly oppressed.

It was with some difficulty that we here obtained quarters; and we had the misfortune of falling into a dispute with the landlord, on account of the many dogs which beset his house, and would not cede their place to us. This was a certain proof that the natives were not far advanced in Islám, as the Mohammedans in general are averse to the company of this unclean animal, and the Fúlbe very rarely make use of dogs even for watching their numerous herds of cattle. Most of these dogs were of black color, and almost all the fowls were of black and white color. I here also observed that the native women carried the water in a pair of buckets slung across the shoulder, as I had remarked already in other Songhay places; but here also they did not wear nose-rings.

The country around was well cultivated, and produced especially sorghum; but the harvest of the preceding year had not been a favorable one, as was the case almost all over the country, so that dearth was prevailing.

We here met with a party of native traders from Hómbori, with oxen laden with salt, who gave us some useful information with regard to the road before us. It had been a point of great dispute with us whether or not we should visit that town, one of the most ancient settlements in Negroland, probably already mentioned as an independent place by El Bekrí,* and forming the

* El Bekrí, ed. de Slane, 1857, texte arabe, p. 179; comp. Cooley, the Negroland of the Arabs, p. 39, n. 73.—There can be but little doubt that by this مدينة انبارة Hómbori is meant; for although El Bekrí made a gross mistake in stating that this

seat of a governor in the palmy days of the Songhay empire, the Hómbori-koy, and where even now a considerable market is held; but after mature consideration we had thought it better to leave it on one side, as on account of the considerable intercourse of people in that place, and the many Arabs who frequent it, the danger of my true character being there discovered was the greater.

Notwithstanding our determination not to touch at Hómbori, on setting out the following day, after an almost sleepless night, owing to the number of musquitoes, we preserved an entirely northerly direction. There was a good deal of cultivation round the village, consisting of Indian and negro millet, the crops being almost ripe. But I here met again that great annoyance to the husbandman, the black worm "hálowes," my old acquaintance in Bagírmi, which I had not seen in the whole intervening country, and which causes an immense deal of damage to the crops. The ground was rocky in many places; but this did not prevent the growth of the monkey-bread-tree, which is often seen shooting forth from between the very rocks. Farther on I also observed a little cultivation of beans, while the black worm was succeeded by large heaps of the small red worm which I had first observed on the banks of the river Sírba, and which seems to be a terrible nuisance to many of these districts. Gradually the road became more swampy, while we obtained a distant view of the detached mountains of Hómbori.

About three o'clock in the afternoon, five of our party, riding a little in advance of the camels, approached the town of Kúbo, when, being observed by some of the inhabitants, our appearance created a great alarm in the place, the people thinking that a hostile troop was approaching; but as soon as they beheld our laden camels their fears ceased, and they gave us quarters. Kúbo is the first place of the district called Tóndi, or el Hajri (meaning the mountainous or stony district), while Fíliyo and Déshi belong to the district called Kséne; but in a political respect Kúbo belongs now to the province of Dalla, which at present is governed by the son of Módi Bóle; it is two days and a half distant from the town of Hómbori,* and is a place of some importance. The

place was situated west of Ghána, while in reality it was east, yet on the other hand, it is very remarkable that the distance of nine days between Ambára and Kúkia, or Kúgha, agrees exactly with that between Hómbori and the latter place.

* A person starting from Kúbo sleeps the first night in the forest, halting about 'aser; the second day, before noon, he reaches Tónderú, probably so called from

houses are usually well built, and consist of clay, the greater part of them including a tolerably large court-yard. Our house also was spacious; but on account of my heavy luggage I was obliged to take up my quarters in the open segífa, or ante-chamber, which was greatly exposed to musquitoes. In front of my quarters there was a handsome square of tolerably regular shape, and toward the north a considerable tank spread out, along which led the path into the fields: for, the whole place being situated in a depression of the ground, all the moisture of the neighbourhood collects here.

The village is surrounded by a light stockade of two rows of bushes, and round about the place there are several ponds of water. Turtles are very common here, and the soil swarms with ants. The place was tolerably well provided with corn, and I bought here twenty mudd for one hundred dr'a of Gando cotton strips, equal in reality to nine hundred shells, but the mudd of Kúbo is smaller than that of Tínge, being about two thirds of its size, and in the form of a round dish, while that of Tínge is like a pitcher. The daily allowance of corn for a horse cost about one hundred shells.

A very heavy thunder-storm, accompanied with violent rain, broke out in the evening; and the clayey soil of the country which we had to traverse obliged me to stay here the following day. The delay caused me great disappointment, as the spreading of the news of my journey could not fail to increase its difficulties, and the more so as we heard here the unpleasant tidings that the Governor of Dalla himself was near, and that most probably we should fall in with him.

Meanwhile I was applied to by our host and a cousin of his to decide a dispute between them as to the chieftainship of their village; but of course I referred them to their own liege lord, and they started off to join him near the village of Dúna; but their absence did not expose us to inhospitality, as we were very lavishly treated with numerous dishes of Indian corn, which, however, were rendered less palatable by the use of the dodówa-bosso, or the adulterated dodówa; we also received a good supply of milk. I even bought a few fowls, though they were rather dear, selling for one hundred shells each—a price here reckoned equal to two darning-needles.

being situated on or at the foot of a mountain; and the third day, about nine o'clock in the morning, he arrives at Hómbori.

Friday, August 5th. There had been another heavy rain in the afternoon of the preceding day, but, fortunately, it had not been of sufficient duration to render the roads impassable. There was a great deal of indecision with my companion El Waláti as to the route which we should pursue; and while it almost seemed from our northerly direction as if up to this moment he had intended to take me to Hómbori, notwithstanding his former protestations against such a proceeding, he now pretended it was necessary that we should go to Dúna, and we accordingly changed our course to the west, or rather W.S.W., steering about like a vessel with contrary winds. There can be no doubt that all this time the crafty Arab himself was hesitating as to the course which he should take, and this was evidently the reason of his great delay, as he probably thought that he might have a chance of getting rid of me, and taking possession of my property; but we did not become aware of this treacherous conduct till we arrived at the place of our destination, when we learned how providentially we had escaped all his wiles.

At the western end of the village of Kúbo there is a suburb of Fúlbe cattle-breeders, consisting of about sixty large huts of reed. As soon as we had left this place behind us, we were quite horror-struck at observing all the paths full of those small red worms which I have mentioned before, marching in unbroken lines toward the village; even my servants were quite surprised at such a spectacle, having never before seen any thing like it, and they gave vent to their feelings of astonishment, and, at the same time, of commiseration for the natives, in reiterated exclamations of "Wolla, wolla!" I am not acquainted with the reason of this curious phenomenon, but it seems peculiar to this region. Yet the ground was not quite barren, and was even sprinkled with violets here and there, the surface being undulating, not unlike the sandy downs of Kánem, the parallel of which country, namely about 15° of northern latitude, we had here reached.

Proceeding thus we reached, after a march of about four miles, a higher point, from whence we had a view over a wide expanse of underwood, broken only now and then by a baobab-tree, while toward the north some of the detached cones of the Hómbori range gave to the landscape a very singular feature, the isolated eminences of the range (if range it can be called) starting up from the plain in the most peculiar forms, as the accompanying wood-cut will show.

We passed the site of a former place, but at present there were only nomadic encampments of Fúlbe cattle-breeders, with herds of cattle and flocks of sheep, and only little cultivation was to be seen. The dwellings in a hamlet which we passed a little farther on were of a very irregular description, corresponding to the corn-stacks which we had left on one side a little before, as represented in the accompanying wood-cut. All the children here, even those of the

Fúlbe, were quite naked. My companion, El Waláti, wanted to obtain quarters in this place; but fortunately the huts proved too bad, and we moved on, another hamlet, which we passed a little farther on, being of a still worse description.

On passing several parties of Fúlbe travelers on our road, I was surprised at the change in the form of compliments, the mode of saluting having been the last few days "baráijo," but to-day we met some parties who saluted us with the well-known compliment "fófo," a word which, although probably of western origin, has been even admitted into the Háusa language, with the meaning of general well-wishing. Thus we proceeded cheerfully onward, having crossed a very difficult boggy ground, where I almost lost one of my camels, till, a little after two o'clock in the afternoon, we reached the poor village of Dúna, consisting of three detached groups of huts, one of which, with its high tower-like granaries

with a pointed roof of thatch, presented a very remarkable spectacle. As for myself, I obtained quarters in an isolated hut of rather indifferent description.

The first news which I learned here, and which was far from being agreeable, was that the governor of Dalla with his camp was at a short distance, and in the very road which we had to pursue the following day; and as, in consequence, it would have been highly imprudent to endeavor to pass him unnoticed, I determined to send two of my men to him with a present, while I pursued my journey with the rest of my people. But as this governor was a vassal of the chief of Hamda-Alláhi, who, if he had heard that I was a Christian, would probably have thrown great difficulties in my way, and perhaps not allowed me to proceed at all, I was not without great anxiety, and passed a sleepless night; and the crowd of people who had come out from the camp on the news of a distinguished stranger having arrived, and who completely surrounded me on my setting out, was far from agreeable. At length we started, traversing a district of red sandy soil, and overgrown with scanty herbage, while a considerable extent of ground was under cultivation, without, however, promising a rich harvest, the crops being rather thin and of poor quality; and we had only proceeded a short distance when we observed such enormous quantities of the red worm as we had never seen before, not

even near Kúbo, forming large heaps, from which long and unbroken lines were seen moving eastward.

After a march of two miles, we reached the half-decayed and deserted village called Nyanga Segga, where the governor of Dalla was encamped. But, as if he had expected my coming, he and all his people had mounted. I had sent El Waláti and 'Alí to present my compliments to him; but when I was pursuing the right track, all the horsemen came up to me requesting me to give them my blessing; and they so urgently entreated me at the same time to pay my respects personally to their chief, that I could not resist their request. But it almost seemed as if El Waláti had in some way or other compromised himself by his ambiguous conduct; and when I approached the emír, who was very simply dressed, the former quite forgot the part which he had to play, and casting a wild look at me, requested me to withdraw in such a manner as greatly to increase the danger of my situation. Deeming it better not to enter into a dispute with this man under such circumstances, I retreated as soon as I had complimented the chief, pursuing my track, but I was followed by several horsemen who were rather troublesome than otherwise.

The governor of Dalla is said to be more powerful than even that of Gilgóji, with whom he is in an almost continual state of feud, as is the case with nearly all these petty chiefs, although they are all the vassals of one and the same liege lord. This man, however, was to become of remarkable interest to me; for I was soon to meet him again under very altered circumstances, when, from being an object of fear to myself he was obliged to sue for my protection, as will be seen in the sequel.

The country hereabout presented a sandy level mostly clad with acacias, and especially with a kind called érria. About eight miles beyond Nyanga Segga the ground became swampy; and after a march of about two miles more we reached the fields of Mundóro, or rather their site, for in the present desolate state of the country they were not under cultivation at the time. Here the soil consisted of deep white sand adorned with large baobab-trees, while parallel on our right at the distance of about 500 yards a range of sand-hills stretched along, overtopped in the distance by an imposing cone belonging to the Hómbori mountains. Thus reaching at last cultivated ground, where the crops, however, were still very scanty and in a neglected state, we entered a little after two o'clock the deserted village of Mundóro, which till recently had been a

considerable town, consisting of a small kasr-like place, of dwellings built of clay and with very pointed thatched roofs, similar to those represented above, and an open suburb of spacious cottages, consisting of thatch-work of a very peculiar shape as represented in the accompanying wood-cut. With the exception of about a doz-

en people the place was quite deserted, the former chief, Mahamúdu, having fallen into disgrace with the governor of Dalla, and sought refuge with the inhabitants of Mósi, from whence he carried on a continual series of expeditions against his kinsmen. Fortunately, we were accompanied by a trooper of the governor of Dalla, who took great care in supplying us with necessaries. All the huts were very spacious, but the thatching was not of very accurate workmanship, and the humidity which entered my hut in the course of the night, when we experienced a violent thunder-storm with very heavy rain, was considerable; but keeping up a large fire during the whole of the night I felt tolerably comfortable, although the greater part of my hut was under water.

Sunday, August 7th. Taking now a N.N.W. course, we again approached nearer the mountains of Hómbori, which for several days we had already observed in the distance on our right; but after leaving Kúbo, owing to our curious zigzag traveling, we had again turned off from them entirely; and when we left the village of Mundóro it seemed even as if we were almost to retrace our steps, for we followed a direction a little E. from N. while ascending through cultivated ground, till after a march of three miles we reached the highest point of this tract, which presented to us a highly interesting view of the mountains, or rather the detached eminences of the Hómbori range (which is represented on page 229), isolated cones starting forth from the plain in the most grotesque and fanciful forms.

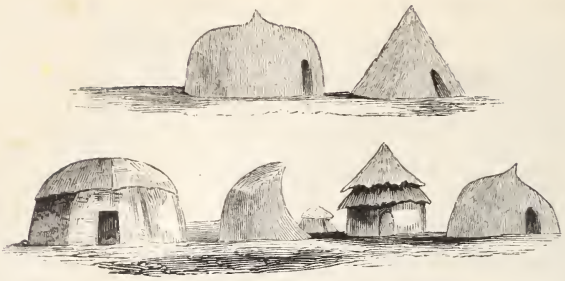
Here we began to descend through an undulating sandy tract where the acacia predominated, only interrupted now and then by a single baobab-tree. Having passed a pond of stagnant water

SONGHAY VILLAGE.

we gradually began to turn a little westward from N., the country improving till we reached the fields of I'sayé, or I'sé, a place of some importance, consisting, as the villages in this neighborhood generally do, of a nucleus of clay houses remarkable only on account of its peculiar tower-like granaries, and a suburb of cottages of thatch-work, but of the most varied shape, several of which are represented in the wood-cut on the following page; and here we took up our quarters. As for myself, I obtained a large, excellent hut, with however this great defect — that the lower part of the thatching was so thin and frail that a heavy shower would have swamped the whole, but for a small channel which was carried all round the inner part of the wall.

I felt greatly exhausted in consequence of the constant humidity to which I was exposed, and was neither able to enjoy the hospitable treatment which was shown me, nor even to get rest at night, although I changed my couch repeatedly in order to obtain some repose. But as we remained here the following day, I had sufficient leisure to become fully acquainted with the distinguishing features of this place; and I made a sketch (which has been represented in the plate opposite) of the village, together with an extensive pond from which the natives at this season of the year get their supply of water, and the picturesque castellated mountains of Hómbori in the background.

The place is populous, and inhabited by Songhay and Fúlbe conjointly, the latter of whom belong to the tribe called Jéllobe, and are in possession of large herds of cat-



tle and numerous flocks, while the native Songhay seem to be poor and rather badly off. As strict Mohammedans they have the custom of wearing silver rings on their little finger, which they fancy obtains favor for them when saying their prayers. A good deal of industry was apparent; but corn was very dear, although cheaper than it was said to be farther on where no corn was to be obtained except in Núggera; and I was glad to buy a small quantity of grain, the mudd for four dr'a of very broad cotton strips, while sixteen dr'a of Gando cotton strips were esteemed equal to ten dr'a of their own. Cowries, or "chéde," had no currency here, except for buying sour milk, of which there was a good supply. On account of the numerous pools which surround the place, it was infested by musquitoes, which deprived me of what was most valuable to me—a good night's rest.

Tuesday, August 9th. There were two roads before us through the unsettled country to the north, where at present there are no towns, but only temporary encampments of the Tawárek or Imóshagh, who are now in possession of the country adjacent to the banks of the great river to a considerable extent—one road leading in a more northerly direction to Láro, and the other in a northwesterly one to Bóne; and although the guide whom we had taken with us from Mundóro assured us that we should not find in Bóne either quarters or hospitality, my friend El Waláti for some reason or other preferred the latter route, and we had to make rather a long day's journey in the weakened state to which we ourselves and our animals were reduced. But the march was highly interesting, on account of the peculiar nature and the picturesque shape of the several detached cones of the Hómbori mountains, through the midst of which our way led. It would have been impossible, from the information which I had gathered from the natives, to form a correct idea of the character of the chain, which I had thought far more elevated and continuous: the high-

est elevation which some of the cones reach does not appear to be more than 800 feet above the plain.

In the beginning the appearance of the country was more uniform, while the mountains, covered by the rising ground on our right, looked like mere hills, our track itself lying through a more level country, sometimes covered with underwood, and at others presenting a bleak open ground, or "néga;" but the interest of this scenery increased considerably when we reached the western foot of a broader mound which had already attracted our attention the day before. On a sloping ground, consisting of rubbish and boulders, there rose a wall of steep cliffs like an artificial fortification, forming, as it seemed, a spacious terrace on the top, where

there are said to be three hamlets, inhabited by a spirited race of natives, who, in this rocky retreat, vindicate their independence against the overbearing intrusions of the Fúlbe. We even observed on the slope under the steep cliffs, where there are several caverns, some people pasturing their sheep, while fields of negro corn and karás, or *Corchorus olitorius*, testified to the fact that the natives sometimes descend even into the very plain to satisfy their most necessary wants. After passing this mound, and following a more northwesterly direction, we approached another mound, rising from the plain like an isolated cone, and, with its steep, nar-

row, and rugged crest, looking exactly like the ruin of a castle of the Middle Ages. Leaving this mound, together with the path leading to the Songhay town of Láro on our right, we approached the southern foot of another castellated mound, which stretched out to a greater length, but offered in its rugged and precipitous cliffs exactly the spectacle of crenellated walls and towers. Where the foot of the mound juts out into the path on the top of the offshoots, the inhabitants of the mountain had erected a small chapel, or rather a place for pagan worship, which presented a very peculiar appearance. Here we entered a sort of broad defile, formed between this castellated mound and another cone toward the west, which, although of considerable elevation, was not so rugged, and exhibited a less picturesque appearance.

Greatly fatigued by our long march, especially as a cool breeze in the morning was followed by an oppressive heat in the noonday hours, we reached, at about five o'clock in the afternoon, the Fúlbe village of Bóne, situated at the foot of the eastern mound; but, although I had sent two of my people in advance, we were unable to obtain quarters, and after some unavailing dispute we were obliged to encamp outside in the open grassy vale between the two mountains; for the inhabitants of this village, who are exclusively Fúlbe, do not like strangers to enter their dwellings,

MOUNTAINS OF HÚMBORI.

at least not for a night's quarters. They however treated us in the evening with a good supply of milk, while they also informed us that a large encampment of that section of the Tawárek which is called Iregenáten was at a few miles' distance. El Waláti supposed, or rather pretended to suppose, that they were the clan of a powerful chief of the name of Somki, and assured me that it would be necessary to make this chief a handsome present, in order that under his protection we might proceed safely from camp to camp till we reached the banks of the Niger; for, although we might have traveled by a more southerly road turning from this point westward to Núggera, it seemed more prudent to endeavor to get out of the range of the dominion of the Fúlbe, in order not to be at the mercy of the chief of Hamda-Alláhi, who certainly could not but be hostile to my intention of reaching Timbúktu. And it seems not to be out of place to mention here that this very Núggera, a hamlet of some note, as being the residence of learning and holiness, was the point from which the founder of the dynasty of Hamda-Alláhi started.

CHAPTER LXIII.

IMO'SHAGH OR TAWA'REK ENCAMPMENTS SOUTH OF THE NIGER. —LAKES AND BACKWATERS OF THE GREAT RIVER.

Wednesday, August 10th. In conformity with our project, I myself, with El Waláti and two of my people on horseback, leaving my luggage behind with the rest of my servants, started in the morning for the camp of the Tawárek, having provided a very handsome present, consisting of a large Núpe tobe, a red cap, a túrkedí, and three fine "háf" or "lithám," altogether worth about 20,000 shells. However, we had only proceeded about a mile when we met a few Tawárek serfs, who informed us that it was not Somki, but another chief who had moved his encampment to this place; and, from what I observed, I concluded that El Waláti had been well aware of this before, but wanted only to extort from me a large present. Once in the hands of this crafty Arab, I had to use great discretion in order to prevent him from betraying me altogether, and I was obliged to bear silently any little trick which he might play me in order to enrich himself, as long as I proceeded onward and approached the object of my arduous

undertaking. We therefore moved on, and, soon leaving the mountains behind us, after a march of about eight miles through a plain covered with dense underwood, reached the encampment of the Tawárek.

This was a very important stage of my journey. Having with the greatest difficulty and danger crossed the wide open country of the other more easterly tribes of the Tawárek on the setting out of our expedition, and heartily glad to have got rid of them, I here once more entered their territory, and delivered myself up into their hands without enjoying the protection of a single powerful chief, and guided solely by the advice of that crafty man whose only purpose was to get from me as much as possible. The encampment consisted of leather tents of larger or smaller size, but it evidently belonged to a chief without great power, as seemed to be apparent from the total absence of camels and horses. However, I immediately conceived a favorable impression of the muscular strength and dexterity of these people; for when we approached the tent of the chief, who was sitting inside upon his couch of reeds, he with a single jerk jumped out and suddenly stood upright before us. Of course the tent was open in front, but, nevertheless, it appeared to me a great gymnastic feat, especially taking into account the lowness of the entrance, as in jumping out he had to stoop at the same time. Without delay a smaller tent was placed at our disposal, and we made ourselves comfortable.

The tents, "éhe" (pl. éhénnan), consist of a large round piece of leather formed of a great number of smaller sheep-skins cut in quadrangular pieces and sewed together, while the borders of the whole are left purposely very irregular, in order to pass the stalks which describe the outward circle of the tent through the projecting corners. These skins are spanned over three pairs of poles, the middle pair of considerable elevation, the remaining two not so high, and one of them, on the right of the entrance, being forked, as represented in the following wood-cut, although, as far as I have become aware, the middle poles are not always the same, in some tents both joining at the top, in others seeming to stand apart. The whole character of these tents will be still better understood from the plate representing the Tawárek encampment at Amalélle in a subsequent part of this volume.

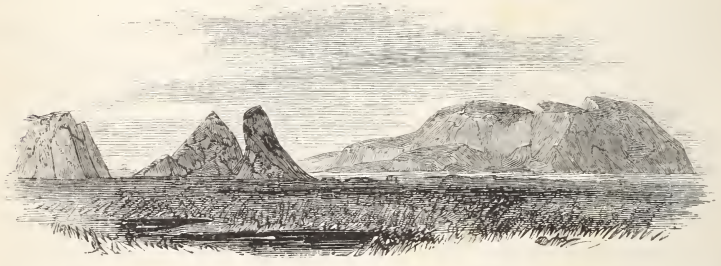
In such a tent there are generally two couches, or divans, called "teshégit," made of a fine species of reed, and raised about a foot

from the ground; for these people generally choose the most swampy places for their encampments, and after a thunder-storm are sometimes to be found in the midst of a lake. They are also not wanting in comforts; and on every couch there is a leather pillow, "adafór," which certainly seems very essential, as it would be most uncomfortable to rest the elbow on the uneven and hard surface of these reed couches. Almost all the furniture of these simple people, besides a few wooden bowls for eating and drinking, consists of leather bags of excellent workmanship and sometimes very tastefully ornamented, as will be shown farther on in the volume. In these they stow away their clothes as well as their provisions, and during the night they surround the whole tent with very neat mattings of a fine species of reed, so that a tent of this description forms quite a comfortable dwelling.

Although our host was evidently not one of the first-rate chiefs, he, as well as his kinsfolk and friends who came to visit us, had a very noble and prepossessing appearance, being rather broad-shouldered, stout, and well knit, with a pleasing expression of countenance and a fair skin, though there were a few among them who, with their coarse features and their dark skin, bore testimony to the deterioration of the Berber blood. We had scarcely made ourselves comfortable, when we were treated with large quantities of fresh and sour milk, while a fat sheep was slaugh-

tered and prepared for our supper, but without any additional food, these people living almost entirely on meat and milk.

Of course I had to make a handsome present to my new friends, consisting of a fine black tobe, a túrkedí, and a black harám; but I doubt very much whether my friend El Waláti gave them these articles as a present from me, or whether he sold them as his own. However, be this as it may, I wanted not only their protection, but their assistance, too, as my camels were so weakened by the continual humidity to which they were exposed, that they were not fit to carry my luggage any farther. But, besides, as we had to pass the seats of these lawless tribes, we had to grope our way as well as possible from one encampment to the other, so that we wanted guides; and it was therefore arranged that, hiring a couple of pack-oxen at this place, we should join this tribe the following morning, when they would take us on our way to the chief, Somki. The mountainous district, in the direction of Núggera, had the following appearance at its termination.



On returning from this encampment to Bóne, being misled by by a man who professed to know the district, which for the most part consists of swampy ground, we fell into a dangerous bog, and made our way with great difficulty. We were also visited by a very heavy thunder-storm in the evening, which swamped the whole country, killed one of my camels, and rendered our night's rest very uncomfortable. In consequence of this violent rain our road the next day, on our way to the Tawárek, was very bad, and we had great difficulty in avoiding the swamps; but I was rewarded by the picturesque aspect of the scenery, a rich cascade rushing down over the steep cliffs of the mountain from a height of about two hundred feet, and forming at the bottom a powerful torrent, which swept along through a fine border of vegetation in the direction of Bóne. The poor independent inhabitants of that mountain had left their stone cottages and caves on the slope of

the steep cliffs, and were busy, after the fertilizing rain, with the labors of the field in their limited grounds, clearing them of the weeds. The crops promised well, and had a healthy appearance. When we disturbed these poor people in their labors, they retired behind the safeguard of their Cyclopean rocks, and stared at us with great curiosity, the unusual appearance of our whole train causing them a great deal of dismay; and it was in vain that we endeavored by our gestures to persuade them to continue their labors, as they did not understand us, while we were greatly pleased to observe that, although pagans, they were decently clad with neat aprons of cotton round their loins.

Having at length joined our friends of yesterday, we pitched our linen tents, which greatly attracted their attention, at some distance from their leather dwellings, and were soon beset by numbers of the fair sex, some of whom were distinguished by their plumpness, especially by that peculiar feature called "tebúllodén," which I mentioned on a former occasion; but I was forced to frighten these fair visitors away, as, in consequence of the last day's thunder-storm, I felt very unwell, and was obliged to have recourse to an emetic. As for the men, their dress consisted throughout of a short shirt with short open sleeves, made of a coarse kind of broad cotton strips, only a few young lads, sons of the chief, wearing also here in the encampment blue-dyed shirts, with a patch of red cloth to adorn the large breast-pocket. Their head-dress was likewise very poor, consisting not of a whole shawl, harám or tesílgemist, but of single cotton strips of various colors, blue, red, white, and of the mixed kind called "shaharíye," sewed together, only a few of them being able to add a strip of red cloth: for, altogether, these Tawárek are very fond of a variety of colors, a feature already observed by that most excellent geographer El Bekrí,* and never leave the manufactured shirts of Núpe and Háusa as they receive them, with the exception of a few of the greatest chiefs, who pride themselves in possessing a whole shirt of that kind. Owing to the swampy character of the neighborhood, which produced countless hosts of musquitoes, and to the number of hyenas, which frightened the cattle repeatedly, I passed a restless and sleepless night.

Friday, August 12th. I was now in the hands of the Tawárek, and my crafty Arab companion was enabled to take full advantage of my dangerous situation. For, on the one hand, it had be-

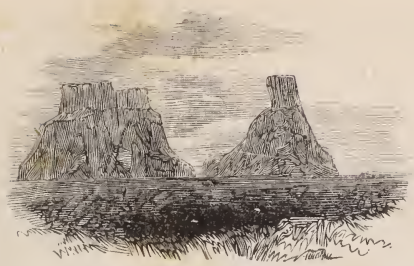
* El Bekrí's "Description de l'Afrique Septentrionale," p. 118.

come necessary to represent me to these simple people as a great sheríf, and thus to excite their hospitable feelings, while at the same time he instigated me to reward their treatment in a generous manner, but nevertheless sold my presents to them as his own property. It required a great deal of patience and forbearance on my part to bear up against the numerous delays in this part of our journey, and to endure the many tricks played upon me by the treachery of my companion, in order to prevent at least his proceeding to open violence. In this encampment he bartered the horse which I had bought for him at Libtáko, for seven fat and powerful bulls, which, in Timbúktu, probably might fetch from 8000 to 10,000 shells each. This business being at length settled, and the whole encampment breaking up, we proceeded onward. The men were mostly mounted on horses of a small unsightly breed, but well adapted to bear fatigue, while the women were sitting astride on their household furniture, which was packed on oxen and asses.

Proceeding thus slowly onward, our friends encamped about a mile from their former resting-place, or "ámazágh," close beyond an extensive meadow-water which caused the young herbage to spring up all around, and full of holes, thus creating frequent delay.

Continuing, then, our journey alone, and ascending higher ground, where a little cultivation was being carried on by the slaves of the nomadic tribe which at present have taken possession of these grounds, and passing another encampment, we reached, after a march of about eight miles, the camp where we were to make another halt. It was situated in an open tract of ground called Imeggélelé, adorned only by a few stunted talha-trees, while at some distance to the south a flat vale spread out, clothed with a greater profusion of vegetation, and affording rich pasture to numerous flocks of sheep and goats. The whole tract forms a sort of irregular valley, bordered toward the north by a hilly chain of slight elevation, and toward the west by a cluster of flat-topped cones.

The camp was governed by three different chiefs, called Sítina, Jáwi, and Feréféré, the latter being a man of a very powerful frame. Several small presents were necessary to satisfy them all. Besides, as the two pack-oxen which I had hired the day before were to return from this place, I had to buy here two animals myself; and I had great difficulty, in the course of the following



day, in concluding a bargain: but I at length succeeded in buying one bull, with a tobe worth here 6000 shells, and a túrkedí of inferior quality worth 2000; and a second one, with three háf worth 4000, together with a túrkedí worth 3500. This was not, however, their real value, but the price fixed by El Waláti, who had himself a profit of at least fifty per cent. He also was the sole cause of my being detained here so long, as he wanted to sell the mare which he had brought with him from Bulánga; for horses constitute the chief article of trade with these people, and small Fúlbe traders, or rather Jawámbe or Zoghorán, visit them continually, bringing horses from Sofára and the country of Búrgu, where the best animal fetches not more than about 30,000 shells, and bartering them with these people for cattle, and the first evening of our arrival a numerous troop of these native traders arrived. It was here that I observed, for the first time, some of the Tawárek clad entirely in shirts made of leather, which they are skillful in preparing.

Sunday, August 14th. The bargaining being at length concluded, we got ourselves in readiness to pursue our journey, when a violent thunder-storm, gathering from the north, kept us back till nearly noon. We at length set out; but the recently-bought animals were so intractable that we only moved on at a very slow pace. We had first to retrace our steps a little to the eastward, in order to cross the hilly chain which separated us from the sandy downs along the Niger; and had then to descend a very steep sandy slope, which brought us into an irregular valley, with the mountains of Dalla forming a conspicuous object toward the west. Having then turned round a mountain spur, which stretched out into the plain on our right, we reached the encampment of Bélé, a powerful chief of the degraded tribe of the Haw-n-ádak. His exterior had nothing of that noble appearance which so eminently distinguishes the higher class of these wild tribes, as he was of

unwieldy corpulency, and of a rather short figure, resembling the famous South-African chief, Nangóro, visited by Messrs. Galton and Andersson. He received us, however, very hospitably, and proved to be rather an intelligent man; but, fortunately, he had not sufficient cleverness to discover that I was a Christian, although, from the very first moment when he beheld my luggage, he arrived at the firm conclusion that I was not what my companions represented me to be, namely, a sherif from the far east; but he had made up his mind, on account of the little knowledge which I possessed of his language, and which I had not quite kept back before him, that I was a merchant, either from Ghadámes or Morocco, and it was quite amusing to me to hear him argue this point, while he affirmed with the greatest obstinacy, and with an oath, that I was a Shillúh—a Berber from the north, and wanted to represent myself as a sherif, in order to pass through his tribe with less trouble and expense. He, as well as his people, became, by degrees, rather troublesome; but they treated us well, sending us two prepared sheep, and large dishes of rice boiled in an abundance of butter, but without salt. The chief himself is said to consume every day a sheep, and the supply of milk from seven cows, in this respect reminding us of the Emperor Vitellius.

Monday, August 15th. I presented to the chief a first-rate túrkedí, two black shawls, and a red cap; but as my fine horse excited his cupidity, we had some difficulty in getting away, and matters appeared for some time rather serious. But having at length proceeded on our journey, after little more than a mile, we ascended from the rich grassy plain upon an undulating tract of deep sandy soil, richly clothed with mimosa and herbage, and broken now and then by a depression or cavity covered with the richest species of grass, called "banga." Numerous flocks of sheep were pasturing here, and a servant of Bélé, who accompanied us, felt no compunction in seizing the fattest specimen and slaughtering it. After a march of about eight miles, the poisonous euphorbia became very common; but we looked in vain for water, as we had taken no supply with us, and it was not till after a long march over the sandy downs that we reached a pool of stagnant and dirty water. A little more than two miles beyond, we came to another encampment of Tawárek. Here, fortunately, I found better rest than at Bélé's, only a few people being present at the time. The chief, too, being of rather a subordinate character, raised his pretensions less high.

On account of their degraded character, and their low condition in the scale of Tawárek society, these people were not even allowed to wear swords, which is the emblem of the free and noble Amóshagh, but, besides their spears, they are only armed with a long "télak," or knife, worn at the left arm. All the Tawárek hereabouts wear short narrow shirts, and short and tightly-fitting trowsers; and almost all of them wear round the lower and upper part of their face a shawl composed of strips of different colors and materials, as I have stated above; only the chief himself uses a black tobe and a shawl of the same color.

These various tribes pasture their cattle quite differently from each other. Most of the Tawárek, like the Fúlbe in general, drive them out early in the morning, and fetch them home when the heat of the day commences, in order to milk them, after which the cattle are again driven out till evening; but the people of this as well as of the last day's encampment pasture their cattle during the night, and fetch them home early in the morning for milking. We had a fine cool breeze in the evening, which refreshed me extremely while lying in front of my tent; but in the night a heavy thunder-storm broke out, followed by a moderate quantity of rain.

August 16*th*. It was almost noon when we started, for as long as my friend El Waláti had something to sell there was no chance of traveling; and, in order to diminish my dissatisfaction, it was pretended that one of my pack-oxen was lost. Here my companion bartered his young camel for sixty sheep, and the bargain being at length concluded we were allowed to proceed on our journey. But before setting out I had to give my blessing to the whole population of the encampment, male as well as female. Among the latter I discovered a few pretty young women, particularly one, who, together with her baby, formed a most pleasing spectacle, her beauty being enhanced by her extreme shyness in approaching me; but their dress was very poor indeed, consisting of coarse cotton stuff, which was wrapped round the body and brought down over the head. All the boys under twelve years of age have the left side of their head entirely shaven, while from the crop on the right side a long curl hangs down.

At length we were again on the road; but our march, through a rather level tract of country, was only of short duration, and after a little more than six miles, having crossed a basin where a large sheet of water had collected, we again took up our quarters in another encampment the chief of which was stated to possess

authority, so that I had once more to give presents to the value of nearly 10,000 shells, besides a túrkedí and "háf" to be given to the man belonging to Bélé, who had served us as a guide. I had likewise to send a present to a Tárki chief at some distance, in order to take every precaution recommended to me by my companion to insure my safety, although I felt certain that he himself applied the greater portion to his own use. It was thus that my supplies rapidly disappeared, and I had a fair prospect, if this state of things should continue for any length of time, of arriving in Timbúktu greatly lightened. We were however hospitably treated by our hosts, and were even regaled witht he uncommon luxury of a large dish of "megáta," a sort of maccaroni, prepared from wheat with a rich seasoning of butter, and famous since the time of El Bekrí. As a proof that we were approaching Timbúktu, I may mention that the people of this encampment were extremely anxious to get a sip of tea, which they called the water of Simsim, from the celebrated well of that name in Mekka. Another of my camels being knocked up, I here exchanged it for four bulls, one of which was fit for carrying burdens, being equal in value to two or three of the others; but I had afterward a keen dispute on account of this bargain, the camel having subsequently died.

August 17*th*. On setting out from this encampment, we kept at first a little more westward, thus leaving the district of Banséna, which formerly seems to have been of some importance, to the north, in order to avoid the encampment of I'so, a brother of Somki, who had sent a messenger the preceding day in order to invite us to pay him a visit. The district through which we passed is called Mínta, and is rich in iron-stone, while ruins of former smelting-places are seen in different localities; but it was extremely barren, extensive tracts of bleak native soil, called "néga" or "hamraye," fatiguing the eye under a hot African sun. Farther on the soil became swampy, and bore frequent footprints of the elephant: but after a march of little more than three miles, while we again returned into a northerly direction, we entered an undulating sandy tract clothed with bushes, and two miles and a half beyond again encamped on the site of a Tawárek ámazágh. Here, after having made some presents, we were well treated, two sheep being slaughtered for us; but we passed a most uncomfortable night, on account of the vast number of musquitoes which infested the place.

Thursday, August 18th. We at length made a tolerable day's march in order to reach the small town of Bámbara, which forms the southernmost of the fixed settlements of the Songhay along the creeks and backwaters of the river in this part of the country. The district through which we passed in the beginning of our march formed a tolerable level, thickly overgrown with bushes and the feathery bristle, which gradually attained such a height as to reach the rider on horseback. At times also the poisonous euphorbia predominated, and after a march of about nine miles our old friend the háj'ilíj, or *Balanites ægyptiaca*, which I did not remember to have seen since leaving Fógha, began to appear. But far more cheerful than the sight of the tree was the view of a large sheet of water, which appeared on our right about three miles farther on, and which excited in me the first idea of the size and richness of the upper course of the Niger; it is here called Dó; but in its farther course northward, where the eye could not reach the border, it bears the particular name of Siléddu, and, at least at certain seasons of the year, is in direct connection with the river.

Having then passed a small tract of cultivated ground and emerged from the undulating country, we obtained a sight of the town of Bámbara, situated a little in front of a chain of hills, as represented in the accompanying wood-cut. In an hour more we

reached the place, and at the instigation of our Arab companion fired a salute with our pistols, whereupon the principal individuals made their appearance, and we obtained quarters without further delay. The town or village consists partly of low clay buildings, partly of huts, but the inhabitants appear to dwell almost exclusively in the latter, using the clay dwellings, which generally consist of low, oblong, and flat-roofed buildings, as storerooms or magazines for depositing their treasures; that is to say, their long rolls of cotton strips, "leppi," or "tári." The dwelling also which was assigned to me consisted of a rather low dirty hut,

which was any thing but well ventilated, and proved almost insupportable during the hot hours of the day. But the clay soil in the court-yard was too hard for pitching my tent, and besides, it was not advisable to expose myself in this manner to the gaze of inquisitive and curious observers. The inhabitants of this place, almost all of whom are Fúlbe, and on account of their large features evidently belong to the section of the Toróde or Tórobe, are ill-famed as "dhálemín," or evil-doers. However, they are a warlike set, and had succeeded a few months before in driving back the Awelímmiden, who had made a foray on a large scale against the place. But Bámbara is important in an economical respect, for the inhabitants, besides possessing numerous cattle, cultivate a large extent of ground; even many of the people of Timbúktu have fields here, the transport of the grain being easy and cheap by means of the immense inland navigation which is formed by the many back-waters and branches of the Niger. But the neighborhood of the place is very barren, and at that time especially, when no rain had fallen for some time, looked extremely dry, so that the camels had to be driven to a great distance to find pasturage. Some Tawárek half-castes are also settled in the place, and they kept up dancing every evening till a very late hour.

Bámbara is called Hudári by the Tawárek or Imóshagh, and Sukurára by the people of the kingdom of Bámbara, the Bámanón, or, as they are called by the inhabitants of Timbúktu, Benáber. Why the name Bámbara has attached to this place in particular I can not say, but probably the reason was that the people of Bámbara, who some seventy years ago conquered all this country to the south of the river, retained dominion of this town for a longer time than of any other place in the neighborhood. There is no doubt that the Fúlbe, or Fullán, as well as the Songhay and Arabs, call the place only by the latter name.

I had to stay in Bámbara several days, not at all for my own comfort, as I continually ran the risk of being recognized and identified, having been known as a Christian at the short distance of a few days' journey from here. Nothing but the scanty intercourse which is kept up in this region made such a sudden change of character possible, for as yet I had nobody to protect me. But my friend El Waláti, whose relation with the inhabitants of this place was of a peculiar character, derived the sole benefit from our stay. He had married here, four years previously, a rich

wife, and had absconded with all her property: besides having seriously offended the powerful Tárki chief Somki. Having thus made himself so obnoxious to them, he would not have been able to enter the place again, if he had not found an opportunity of enriching himself at my expense and enjoying the protection of my company. However, it was only by degrees that I became acquainted with all these circumstances, while I had to bear silently all the intrigues of this man, my only object being to reach safely in his company the town of Timbúktu; but it was evident enough that he was continually wavering, whether it was not more profitable for him to deliver me into the hands of the Fúlbe, as he knew well that in the town of Dár-e'-Salám, which was only thirty miles distant, there was a powerful governor, under the ruler of Másina, and himself a son of Mohammed Lebbo, who, at the first intelligence of my real character, would have cut short all my proceedings, and, in the most favorable case, would have sent me direct to his liege lord and nephew in Hamda-Alláhi.

I had to make here some considerable presents to a number of people. There was first our host Jóbbo, who had given us quarters, and who treated us very hospitably; then, the son of the chief or emír, who was absent in Hamda-Alláhi; next, three kinsmen of the latter, who were represented to me as dhálemín; and lastly, three Arabs from Timbúktu, who were staying here at the time, and whose friendly disposition I had to secure for some reason or other. One of the latter was a very amiable young man, of the name of Mohammed el Amín, son of the learned kádhi Mústapha, and it was he, in particular, who gave me some information with regard to my friend El Waláti, who, on his part, endeavored to obtain the favor of this young man, by persuading me to make him a good present, and to commission him to take charge of my horse through the dangerous and watery tract of country from Sarayámo to Kábara. As for the second of these Arabs, he belonged to the small tribe of the Ansár, or, as they are generally called, Lansár, that most respected Arab tribe which, on account of its intimate connection with Mohammed, enjoyed every where and at all times great influence, but which is at present reduced to a very small fraction. He was a follower of Hammádi, the rival of the Sheikh El Bakáy in Timbúktu, and seemed to be of such a hostile disposition toward my friend, that the latter represented him to me as shamefully exiled from that town, and as totally disgraced. Besides these presents to the inhabit-

ants of the place, I had also to reward the various people who had accompanied us from the Tawárek encampments in order to show us the road, or rather to drive the sheep and cattle belonging to El Waláti. But, in return for all these presents, I was at least treated hospitably, and, for these countries, even sumptuously; and I was glad to find that the rice here, which constituted the chief article of food, was of excellent quality.

While we were staying in this place I received a visit from two Tawárek chiefs, who, owing to our slow progress, had heard of me, and came in order to obtain from me my blessing, but more particularly some presents. The chief of them was a very respectable-looking man, of the name of Mohammed, or Hemáhemé, with large open features, such as are never seen among the Kélowí, and of a tall stately figure. They behaved very friendly toward me, and one of them even embraced me very cordially; but the scale of their religious erudition was not very considerable, and I was greatly amused when El Waláti, in order to get back from them his tobacco-pouch, which they had secretly abstracted from him, suddenly seized one of my books, which happened to be "Lander's Journey," and, on threatening them with it as if it were the Kurán, the pouch was restored without delay.

I had been questioned repeatedly on my journey respecting the Méhedí, who was expected soon to appear; but these people here were uncommonly anxious to know something concerning him, and could scarcely be prevented from identifying me with this expected prophet, who was to come from the East.

They were scarcely gone when a messenger arrived from the great chief Somki, whose name had already filled my imagination for so long a time; and, at El Waláti's most urgent request, who did not fail to enhance the importance of this man as much as he was able, I prepared a considerable present, worth altogether 33,000 shells, which my friend was to take to him on the following day.

Now, it would not have been at all necessary to have come into any contact with this chief, as the direct road to Timbúktu led straight from here, without touching at Sarayámo, near which place Somki had formed his encampment; but my friend represented the direct road from here to Timbúktu as leading along the encampments of several powerful chiefs, whom it would be more prudent to avoid; and perhaps he was right, not so much from the reason stated as on account of the water-communication

between Sarayámo and Timbúktu offering a great advantage. In conformity with these circumstances, on the third day of our stay here, El Waláti at length set out for the encampment of Somki, in order to obtain his protection to enable me to pass safely through his territory; and I sent along with him my faithful servant, Mohammed el Gatróni, whom I had just cured of a severe attack of dysentery, although I could not expect that he would be able to control the proceedings of the crafty Arab, as he did not understand the language of the Tawárek. They did not return until the third day, and gave me in the mean time full leisure to study a little more accurately the relations of this place.

CHAPTER LXIV.

THE NET-WORK OF CREEKS, BACKWATERS, AND LAKES BELONGING TO THE NIGER.—SARAYA'MO.—NAVIGATION TO KA'BARA.

On my first arrival at the town of Bámbara, I had not been at all aware that it formed a most important point of my journey, it being for me, as proceeding from the southeast, what that celebrated creek three days west from Timbúktu was to the traveler from the north during the Middle Ages, and which on this account has received the name of "Rás el má." The town of Bámbara is situated on a branch or rather a dead backwater of the river, forming a very shallow bottom of considerable breadth, but a very irregular border, and containing at that time but little water, so that the communication with the river was interrupted; but about twenty days later in the season, for about four or five months every year, during the highest state of the inundation, the boats proceed from here directly, either to Díre by way of Gálaye and Káñima, or to Timbúktu by way of Délego and Sarayámo, thus opening a considerable export of corn toward that dependent market-place, which again has to supply the whole of the nomadic tribes of A'zawád, and the neighboring districts.

This shallow water is bordered on the west side by the hilly chain which I have mentioned before, and beyond there is another branch, which joins it toward the south. Such being the state of the water at present, there was no great activity, and two canoes only were lying here under repair, each of them being provided with two low chambers, or cabins, vaulted in with reeds and bushes,

as I shall describe farther on. Of course, when this basin is full of water, and navigated by numbers of canoes, the place must present quite another appearance, while at the time of my visit its shallow swampy state could not but increase the dullness of the whole neighborhood, which had not yet been fertilized by the rainy season. I was assured by the inhabitants that only one plentiful shower had as yet fallen. This was the reason that, instigated by the absurd rumor which had preceded me that my favor with the Almighty was so great that it had some influence upon the fall of rain, all the inhabitants, although Mohammedans, assembled on the second day of El Waláti's absence, and, headed by the emír, came to me in procession, and solicited my interference in their behalf for a good shower of rain. I succeeded this time in eluding their solicitations for a direct prayer, satisfying them by expressing my fervent hope that the Almighty would have mercy upon them. But I was so favored, that there was really a moderate shower in the evening, which did a great deal of good to the ground, although the air did not become much cooler, for it was excessively hot all this time, and sometimes almost insupportable in my narrow dirty hut. I remember in particular one miserable night which I spent here, when, not being able to obtain a wink of sleep, I wandered about all night, and felt totally exhausted in the morning. Notwithstanding the swarms of musquitoes, I afterward preferred sleeping outside my hut, in order to inhale the slight refreshing breeze which used to spring up during the night. Unfortunately I had, to the best of my belief, long before broken my last thermometer, and was therefore unable, or rather believed myself unable, to measure the heat with accuracy, but it could certainly not be inferior to the greatest rate we had experienced in Kúkawa. The whole country round about the village is very bleak, consisting chiefly of black argillaceous soil, such as is common in the neighborhood of large sheets of water, and scarcely a single tree offers its foliage as a shelter from the rays of the sun.

I had also sufficient leisure to pay full attention to the trading relations of the inhabitants, which, at this time of the year, are rather poor; for although a daily market is held, it is on a very small scale, and, besides sour milk and salt, very little is to be found. Even Indian corn is not brought regularly into the market, although so much agriculture is going on in the neighborhood, and I had to buy my supply from strangers who by chance

were passing through the place, while for one of my oxen I got only as much as forty s'aa, or measures of corn: of rice, on the contrary, which is extensively cultivated in the neighborhood, the natives, even at this season, appeared to possess a sufficient supply. The standard currency consists of "tári," that is to say, cotton strips two hands wide, of which, unfortunately, I did not possess the smallest quantity; it is only in purchasing sweet or sour milk that the inhabitants accept shells. Every thing that is sold in the market is measured and inspected by an officer, who does not bear the same title by which he is known in the eastern countries of the Fúlbe, viz., "lámido-lúmu," but is here called "emíro-fóba."

A good deal of entertainment was afforded me by the daily turning out and bringing in of the several divisions of the five herds of cattle which the place possessed. Three herds returned early in the morning from their pasture-grounds, where they had been left during the night, in order to be milked; and the two remaining ones were then turned out, in order to return during the heat of the day. But notwithstanding the considerable number of cattle which the place possessed, the drought was so great that there was only a small supply of milk at the time.

At length, on the evening of the third day after their setting out, my two companions, whom I had sent to Somki, returned, and El Waláti would fain have made me believe that that chief had at first most obstinately refused to receive the presents, and had peremptorily demanded that I should make him, in addition, a present of one of the horses; but the fact was, that he had persisted in representing that those presents did not come from me, but had employed them in order to make his own peace with that powerful chief, and to conclude some bargain with him. After all this, he had the insolence to propose that I also should go to that chief, in order to surrender to him some more of my property as his own; but I could not prevent it, and my only object was necessarily to get over my difficult situation as well as possible.

Thursday, August 25th. Having, after the return of my friend from his important embassy, still been obliged to stay another day in this miserable place, and having had the misfortune to lose my best ox of burden, which El Waláti had sold to the Tawárek who came along with us, pretending that it had been stolen, I at length set out on my journey to Sarayámo. But just as we were about to start, a circumstance happened which might have proved fatal to my farther proceedings; for, at the moment of departure, there

arrived an Arab, a native of Tisít, who, besides having visited St. Louis, had made the pilgrimage to Mekka, and knew something about Europeans as well as about the Arabs of the East; and as I asked a great many questions about the ancient and celebrated town of Bíru, and the modern Waláta, he began to make some stricter inquiries concerning my native home, and the places from whence I had gathered my information; for not having found any one on his journey toward the East who knew any thing about the seats of these Western Arabs, while the general name of Shingíti is given to all of them, he was not a little astonished to find that I knew so much about his countrymen. However, my whole appearance inspired him with such confidence, that he continued to take great interest in me. He had already, the previous evening, sent me a fat sheep as a present, and he now accompanied me for a while, mounted on a beautiful white mare; but, as his company prevented my laying down the route with accuracy, I persuaded him not to give himself any farther trouble.

Having crossed a small water-course, we soon reached a larger one, which formed a running stream, carrying the surplus of the shallow creek of Bámbara toward a larger sheet, which, at the distance of a mile, we saw expand on our right. The surface of the country was undulating, with granite cropping out here and there, and with a good supply of stunted mimosa, besides the poisonous euphorbia; but, about two miles beyond the open water, we descended into a more level tract, covered with nothing but dry and short herbage, and abundance of the obnoxious feathery bristle; but this is very favorable ground for the cattle, for they are not less fond of this bristle than their masters themselves are of the seed, called "úzak," which from the most ancient times* has constituted one of their chief articles of food. We passed, also, the sites of several former Tawárek encampments.

Having then entered a district where more dúm-bush appeared, we ascended a sandy ridge, from whence we beheld in front of us an extensive sheet of water, stretching out to a distance of several miles, its surface agitated by a strong breeze, and with tall reeds forming its border. It is called Nyéngay by the Fúlbe, and Isse-énga by the Tawárek, and is in connection with the branches of Bámbara and Káñima, winding along from here by way of

* See El Bekrí's "Description of Africa," ed. de Slane, p. 181.

وعيشهم من اللحم واللبن ومن حب تنبته الرض من غير اعتمال

Gálaye to the latter place, and from thence by way of Délego to Sarayámo, and thus opening an uninterrupted navigable canal, at least during the highest state of the inundation; but it is said to be dreaded by the boatmen of the frail native craft, who never dare to cross it in a storm. It seemed, in a southwesterly direction, from six to eight miles across, but toward the northwest it became contracted in such a manner that at the narrowest place only two canoes can sail abreast; after which it turned away, and could not be farther surveyed from this point.

Having followed the border of this fine and imposing sheet of water, where numbers of people were catching fish, for about a mile and a half, we ascended the sandy downs on our right, and soon reached the encampment of Mohammed, the chief of the Kél-e'-súk, who a few days previously had paid me a visit in Bámbara. Here I had to give away several more of my effects, but we were treated most hospitably, and even sumptuously, and besides two enormous bowls full of rice and meat, swimming in an immense quantity of butter, a whole ox was slaughtered for us. The site of the encampment was very beautiful, and I walked for a long time about the downs, which were adorned with a rich profusion of trees of the acacia kind, and offered an interesting prospect over the lake; but the ensuing night was most miserably spent on account of the numerous swarms of musquitoes which infested the encampment.

August 26th. We were very early in motion, but a heavy thunder-storm, which gathered from the southeast, delayed our departure, although, taking into account the slow rate at which I was here obliged to travel, it was a matter of total indifference whether we started early or late, as I was quite in the hands of my friend the Waláti, who stopped wherever he had any business to transact, and did not set out again until he had concluded his bargain. The rain-clouds then taking a more northerly direction, we at length set out, pursuing our track over the hilly country, and while we lost sight of the Lake of Nyéngay on our left, soon discovered on our right another but smaller sheet of water called Gérru. The Nyéngay is said to be full of water all the year round; but the Gérru becomes dry in summer, when the inhabitants of Sarayámo repair hither in order to cultivate their rice-fields, the rice ripening with the rising waters, and being cut shortly before the river attains the highest state of inundation.

Having left these interesting sheets of water behind us, we

traversed a district more richly adorned with acacias, and crossed a valley where the siwák, or *Capparis sodata* (a bush which I scarcely remembered to have seen since my return from Kánem), was growing in great exuberance, besides numbers of gerredh, or the useful *Acacia nilotica*, but we searched in vain for water. The country also which we traversed from here onward was chiefly clothed with the *Capparis* and the *Mimosa nilotica*, besides a good deal of dúm-bush; but, farther on, we emerged from this undulating tract into an open swampy ground, at present tolerably dry and covered with rich herbage, while we left on our right the site of the formerly important town Sáma-koira,* which once lorded it over a considerable territory till it was destroyed by the Tawárek, when the remnant of its population escaped toward Bamba and Ghágo.

In these open swampy meadow-grounds, girt by a dense belt of gerredh, where no Arab would think of pitching his tent, was the encampment of the chief Somki, with his family and his followers (the tents of the kind I have described being just pitched), and his numerous herds of cattle grazing right and left, besides about twenty camels. We found the chief reclining on his "teshégit" or divan of reeds, and as soon as he beheld us he rose and saluted El Waláti and me. He was a man of middle stature and of tolerably stout proportions, his white beard, which looked forth from under the lithám, giving him a highly respectable appearance. He, however, did not show us any signs of hospitality, which vexed me the more, as, besides the considerable presents which I had sent to him a few days before, I had now again to make him another one, consisting of two túrkedís and a háf; but I soon found that he was not aware of the former presents having been sent by me.

Being an intelligent man, who had had dealings with a great many people, he had some slight suspicion that I was not what my companions represented me to be. While I was sitting in my tent reading attentively a passage referring to these regions in the excellent little book of Mr. Cooley on the Negroland of the Arabs, which has rendered me very great assistance in directing my inquiries in these countries, he made his appearance very ab-

* This is the name which the Songhay give to the place, "koira" meaning "town" in the Songhay-kiní; while the Wangaráwa and the Bámbara call it Sáma-kanda, "kanda" meaning "country" or "district" in the Wákoré; and the Fúlbe, on account of the "swamp" which is formed here, Winde Sáme.

ruptly, and seemed rather surprised at finding me reading characters which he well knew were not Arabic; but, nevertheless, he suppressed his suspicions. Perhaps in consequence of the intrigues of El Waláti, he laid claims to the horse which I myself rode. The eagerness of the women hereabout to obtain tobacco was very remarkable, and they pestered my servants during a great part of the night.

Saturday, August 27th. We set out on our last day's journey by land, in order to reach the place where we were to embark on the river. Having emerged from the low swampy ground, we entered again sandy downs, principally clothed with háṣkanít, damankádda, and bú-rékkeba or *Panicum colonum*, and, having left on one side a smaller channel, we reached the branch of Fatta, which extends almost as far as Sarayámo, running parallel to several other creeks, called after the villages Kásba, Haibóngo, and Benesénga, which intersect the district named Bóddu.

The water at first formed a narrow irregular channel of about 200 yards wide, very much resembling an artificial canal, as is the case with a great many of these backwaters, but gradually it began to widen, affording excellent soil for the cultivation of rice. Between this channel and the river there are several other branches, which appear to join the creek which I navigated from Sarayámo. Altogether, in this level part of the Niger, the river appears to spread out in a labyrinth of channels and water-courses. As for the rice which was grown here exclusively, it appeared to have been just sown with the assistance of the dew, which suffices for its growth till the river rises and spreads its inundation.

Here we passed a small village inhabited by a Tárki, or, rather Kél-e'-súki, of the name of Mohammed Bonyámi, who has settled here with his property, and who, while we passed by, came out of his hut, and, astonished at my unusual appearance, and delighted at seeing a stranger from such a distance, entreated me in the kindest manner to stay with him a short time, so that I had in consequence great difficulty in pursuing my march. He was a very decent and venerable-looking old man, of short, stout figure, and with benevolent features, but his dress was of the simplest kind, consisting of a white tobe and a black shawl. A good many horses were pasturing hereabout, but not, as it would seem, to the advantage of the rice-grounds, as they fed mostly on the young shoots. Having then left this water-course at some distance on our right, we reached three miles farther on the town of Saray-

ámo, the chief place in the province of Kíso. A great many people being here collected at the news of our arrival, we fired a salute with our pistols, and after a little search, owing to the very low entrances of most of the huts which would not admit my luggage, obtained tolerable quarters.

The town of Sarayámo is formed by an inner city, kasr or "koira," consisting of clay dwellings, very narrow and uncomfortable; and a large suburb on the east side formed of huts of large size, but all of them with very low doors. The court-yard where I was quartered was situated at the western border of this eastern suburb, on a sloping ground, descending toward a small ravine which separates the suburb from the kasr, and contained at the time a small quantity of dirty water. This situation had the disadvantage that, from the opposite slope, every thing that was done in my court-yard could be observed, and there were a great many curious people, especially among the rising generation, who obtruded not a little on my privacy.

I had scarcely made myself comfortable, when I received a great number of visits; and it was not long before Mohammed Bonyámi arrived, mounted on a white mare. As El Waláti had persuaded me to take only one horse to Timbúktu, I sent two of my animals with this man to remain with him until my leaving that place, while I also intrusted to his care my five camels, to be taken to a brother of his.

While I was conversing with these people, my friend the Háj Búda arrived also, with whom I continued to pass for a Syrian sheríf, although he thought it strange that I would not say my prayers with him in the court-yard.

Sunday, August 28th. Having enjoyed a good night's rest, tolerably free from musquitoes, as I had shut my hut at an early hour, I took a walk down to the river, the morning being, as usual, cool and fresh, and a slight breeze having sprung up. The bank on which the town stands was, at present, from twenty-five to thirty feet above the level of the river; but this elevation is of course greatly diminished by the rising of the inundation, the river reaching generally to the very border of the village. That branch which is not in direct connection with the water of Fatta, along which our last day's march had lain, had no current, and was about 200 yards in breadth. The communication by water along these shallow backwaters of the immense Niger just opening (for in the dry season the connection is interrupted), only one

sea-worthy boat was lying here at the time, neither conspicuous for its size, nor for its comfortable arrangement, and with two cabins of matting, one in the prow, and one in the stern, while another boat, measuring forty feet by eight, was just repairing. All the craft are built of planks, sowed or tied together in a very bungling manner.

I learned, on this occasion, that it is only at this season of the year that people go from here to Timbúktu, which lies almost exactly north from this place, by an eastern winding; while later in the season they follow a westerly branch. A labyrinth of creeks, backwaters, and channels, is in this manner spread over the whole of this country, of which people had no previous idea.

I had scarcely returned to my quarters when the governor, or emír, of the place came to pay me a visit. This man, whose name was 'Othmán, was a cheerful kind of person. He stands in direct subjection to the chief of Hamda-Alláhi, without being dependent upon any other governor; and his province comprises some other places in the neighborhood, such as Fatta, Horeséna, and Kabéka. Having made strict inquiries with regard to the present state of affairs in Stambúl, and having asked the news respecting the countries of the East in general, he left me, but returned again in the course of the afternoon, accompanied by the chief persons in the town, in order to solicit my aid in procuring rain. After a long conversation about the rainy season, the quantity of rain which falls in different countries, and the tropical regions especially,* I felt myself obliged to say before them the "fat-há," or opening prayer of the Kurán; and, to their great amusement and delight, concluded the Arabic prayer with a form in their own language—"Alla hokki ndíam"—which, although meaning originally "God may give water," has become quite a complimentary phrase, so that the original meaning has been almost lost, few people only being conscious of it. It so happened that the ensuing night a heavy thunder-storm gathered from the east, bringing a considerable quantity of rain, which even found its way into my badly-thatched hut. This apparent efficacy of my prayer induced the inhabitants to return the following day, to solicit from me a repetition of my performance; but I succeeded in evading their request by exhorting them to patience. But, on the other hand, I was obliged, in addition to a strong dose of emetic, to give

* On this occasion I learned from the Háj of Tisít, who was present, that in his desert town there are in general three falls of rain every year.

the governor my blessing, as he was going to the capital, and was rather afraid of his liege lord the young prince A'hmedu, while at the same time his overbearing neighbors, the Tawárek, inspired him with a great deal of fear. In the sequel, he was very well received in the capital, and therefore could not complain of the inefficacy of my inspiration; but, nevertheless, not having had the slightest suspicion that I was not what I represented myself to be, he was much shocked when he afterward learned that I was a Christian, to the great amusement of the Sheikh el Bakáy, who wrote to him repeatedly to the effect that he ought to be well pleased that so wicked a person as a Christian had procured him, not only rain, but even a good reception from his superior.

The town is tolerably flourishing, and the Fúlbe inhabitants, at least, possess a great number of horses. We counted, one evening, ninety returning from the pasture-grounds, while a good many more remained outside at a greater distance. The Fúlbe here belong to the following tribes: Urománge, Rilámbe, Oromanábe, Koirábe, Feroibe, Balámbe, Orohábe, and U'rube. The whole population of the place may amount to about 5000; but there did not appear to be many manufacturers; even the native cloth, so well woven by the Songhay, is not manufactured here.

The situation of the town at this navigable branch, however, produces some activity, although no regular market appears to be held; and the second day of my stay here, a large boat arrived from Timbúktu, with eighteen rás (a piece weighing about sixty pounds) of salt, a large parcel of tobacco, and a great number of passengers. Shells have currency here, and I bought rice for fourteen hundred shells and a túrkedí, at the rate of forty shells for each s'aa, or measure. Rice constitutes the chief article of food, although on the west side of the town some negro corn is cultivated. Milk is plentiful.

The town of Dár-e'-salám, or Dári, the residence of 'Abd-e'-rahmán, the son of Mohammed Lebbo, lying on the bank of the river itself, is at a distance of thirteen hours on horseback from here, equal to about thirty miles, by way of Taíba.

Having succeeded in hiring the boat which had come from Timbúktu for the exclusive use of my own party, for 10,000 shells, I prepared my luggage, which, although now greatly reduced from the respectable bulk which it presented when setting out from Kátsena, was still sufficient to inspire me with the hope that I might succeed in securing the friendship of the more influ-

ential chiefs of these regions, and in the evening of the last day of August I went on board of my small craft, and passed there a very comfortable night. The river, during the time of my residence in the place, had risen considerably, and soon promised to open the communication by the western branch.

Thursday, September 1st. After a good deal of delay, we at length began our voyage about a quarter before eight in the morning; and I felt my spirits greatly cheered when I found myself floating on this river, or backwater, which was to carry me all the way to the harbor of Timbúktu. The river near the town forms a fine open sheet, widening to about 300 yards; but farther on, as we were winding along in a northeasterly direction, it was greatly obstructed with rank grass, or rather býrgu, which very often covered the water entirely, so that the boat seemed to glide along a grassy plain. It was quite out of the question to use oars. We were therefore reduced to the necessity of proceeding with poles, generally moving at the rate of two miles and a third an hour, but very often less. Besides the býrgu, which constitutes the chief fodder for horse and cattle in all the districts along the Niger, and which even furnishes man with the sweet beverage called "mén-shu" and a sort of honey called "kartu," white water-lilies, or *Nymphœa Lotus*, were in great quantities; and between the latter, the water-plant "serranfúsa," which, being about ten inches long, floats on the water without having its roots fixed in the ground. But, after a voyage of about three miles, we emerged from the reedy water of Sarayámo into a more open branch, said to be that of Bámbara, which here joined it. According to some of my informants, this water is identical with the Gérru, which I have mentioned on a former occasion. Here the eastern bank became quite free from reed-grass, while a herd of gazelles was to be seen near the shore; the western bank, meanwhile, being adorned with numerous dúm-palms, gáwo, and tamarind-trees, or, as they are called here, busúsu; while farther on, the ascending ground was covered with "tunfáfia" (*Asclepias gigantea*), "retem" (or broom), and "damankádda." But after a while, when rank grass again began to prevail, this arm also became greatly obstructed, being separated by the grass into several branches. The water being only from five to seven feet deep, we proceeded rather slowly onward, winding along in a northerly direction, at times diverging more to the west, at others more to the east; till about an hour after noon we reached the small town of Fatta,

situated on the eastern shore, and surrounded by extensive rice-grounds, where the people were busy with the labors of the field.

The river here changes its direction to the west, being probably joined by another branch, which, however, I did not see, and we began steering in that direction, soothing our disappointment at not moving directly toward the object of our voyage with the animated songs of our boatmen, who accompanied the movement of their oars with a barbarous, but not unmelodious account of the deeds of the great A'skia. A great many herds of cattle were to be seen on the left or southern side of the river, and gave life to the scenery. Our living also was not so bad, a couple of fine fishes, which we had succeeded in buying from some fishermen, having been prepared over the fire, and affording us an excellent dinner.

The farther we proceeded onward the more the channel widened, becoming free from reeds, although occasionally adorned by a floating layer of water-lilies. However, beyond the village of Gurijígge, or Guridígge, the current became so strong that, in order to avoid it, we chose rather to enter the reeds, which broke the force of the water. It is natural that, as this is not a river of itself fed by its own sources, but merely a backwater caused by the overflow of the great river, the current in general must come from the latter, and proceed inland.

Having kept for some time along the reed-grass of the southern shore in a winding direction, we again emerged into open water, where the poles of our boatmen, which measured about eighteen feet in length, found no bottom; and we kept steadily on, although occasionally quite alarmed by our southwesterly direction, which threatened to carry us rather to Hamda-Alláhi than to Timbúktu; till at length, a few miles on this side of the town of Goilo, we changed our direction to W.N.W., and passing some floating reed islands, seemed to be in a fair direction to reach the chief object of our journey. But a storm that had been gathering induced us with the approach of night to moor the boat in a wide grassy creek of the eastern shore, in order to shelter ourselves from the strong wind, which easily upsets this light craft. Four fishing-boats were lying not far from us, and with their lights gave us a feeling of society; but the numerous swarms of musquitoes molested us not a little, and the barking of an animal in the water greatly excited my curiosity. On inquiry, I learned that it proceeded from the young alligators, or rather zangway.

These boats have no means of approaching the shallow shore.

Hence it is necessary for the passengers, two or three times a day, to wade through deep water backward and forward. This, coupled with the great quantity of water continually filling the bottom of these boats, is the reason why all the people who travel along the Niger are subject to rheumatism. The governor of Sáy, as I have already mentioned, in consequence of his voyage up the river to Gágho, had become quite lame.

Friday, September 2d. It was a quarter to seven o'clock in the morning when we left the sea of reeds in which we had moored our vessel, which, in the absence of an anchor, is done by fixing a pole on each side of the prow, and one at the stern of the boat. We began our day's voyage by slowly gliding along the river, by the strength of a local current, which ran at the rate of about two miles an hour; but soon our boatmen began to make use of their oars, and we advanced with more rapidity. The open channel was here quite close to the eastern shore, the uniform level of which was broken by a hilly eminence covered with fine fields of millet, when we saw upon our left a smaller arm of the considerable channel running from the southwest. This, on inquiry, I found was in connection with that very water-course which, at a later season, forms the general high road of those people who go from Sarayámo to Timbúktu. Even at this season of the year this branch is preferred by those who come from the north. Having passed this branch we halted awhile at the western shore, where, at a short distance inland, there is a small village called Koito, surrounded by fine trees.

After a short delay we set out again on our zigzag voyage, while one of our boatmen, his harpoon in hand, proceeded on a fishing expedition. From a wide open water we soon got into a narrow channel, while the grassy expanse spread out on each side to a great extent; and, making our way with great difficulty, we emerged into a wide open branch, much more considerable than the one along which our course had lain, it being the principal trunk of the westerly water-course of Sarayámo. As soon as we had entered it, some large specimens of the alligator tribe afforded proofs of a more extensive sheet of water, while the current, which at first was running against us, was so considerable that we advanced rather slowly. The whole breadth of the river or channel, forming one large unbroken sheet of water, was certainly not less than from 600 to 700 yards, while the depth in the midst of the channel, at least as far I had an opportunity of judging from the

poles of our boatmen, measured fourteen feet and a half, and at times even as much as eighteen, and probably more. The banks were enlivened by men and horses, and we passed an encampment of herdsmen with their cattle. The western shore especially was adorned with a profusion of dúm-palms, besides fine tamarind-trees, sarkakáya, and others of unknown species. Thus repeatedly delayed by shifting sands obstructing the channel of the river, we moved on in a tolerably direct northerly course till we reached the village of Menesengay, situated on sandy downs about twenty feet high, beyond a deep gulf of the westerly shore. The low grassy ground on the eastern side formed the place of resort for numbers of pelicans, and the lower ground emerging at present only three feet out of the water, was enlivened by numbers of water-birds, which were looking out greedily for their prey.

Here we again changed our course, following a great many windings, but proceeding generally in an easterly direction. But now the water-course began to exhibit more and more the character of a noble river, bordered by strongly marked banks, clad with fine timber, chiefly tamarind and kaña trees, and occasionally enlivened by cattle. Our voyage was very delightful, gliding, as we were, smoothly along the surface of the water, and keeping mostly in the middle of the noble stream, our boatmen only changing their course once to touch at the northern shore, in order to procure for a few shells the luxury of some kola-nuts, of which even these poor people were by no means insensible. At length, having passed between the villages of Haibóngu on the northern, and Dára-kaina on the southern shore, we again exchanged our southeasterly direction for a more northerly one, proceeding along a very broad water-course; but, after a while, the open water was broken by a broad grassy island, which left only a small channel on the west side, while that on the east was of tolerable width. Meanwhile the evening was approaching, and we met with several delays, once in order to buy some fish, and another time on account of our boatmen having lost their harpoon, with which they occasionally endeavored to catch some large species of fish which were swimming alongside our boat. They were very dexterous in diving, although it required some time for them to ascertain the spot where the slender instrument had been fixed in the bottom. This harpoon was exactly similar to the double spear used by some divisions of the Batta, one of the tribes of A'damáwa, such as the Bágelé, and even by some of the inhabitants of Bórnu.

We had now entered a splendid reach of the river, which, almost free from reeds, extended in an easterly direction, and we glided pleasantly along the smooth water at a short distance from the northern bank, which was thickly clad with trees; till at length, darkness setting in, we struck right across the whole breadth of the river, which now, in the quiet of the evening, spread out its smooth unrippled surface like a beautiful mirror, and which at this place was certainly not less than 1000 yards broad, straight for the evening fires of the village Banáy, which was situated on the opposite bank, and we moored our vessel at the northeasterly bend of the gulf round which the town is situated. Most of our party slept on shore, while others made themselves as comfortable as possible in the boat, and on the top of the matting which formed the cabins.

Here we awoke the next morning with a beautiful clear sky, and quietly enjoyed for a few hours the fine river scenery, bordered by a rich belt of vegetation, while our boatmen endeavored to replace one of their poles, which they had broken, by a new one, and after some time succeeded in getting one which measured twenty-one feet. The town or village itself is inhabited by Songhay and Fúlbe, the latter being in possession of numerous flocks and herds. The cattle being just collected on the sandy beach near the river, were milked soon after sunrise, and furnished me with a draught of that delicious beverage, which must always constitute one of the greatest luxuries to a European traveler in these countries.

The chief part of the village extended along the bay to the south, at the point where we had moored our boat; but there was a suburb of detached huts, chiefly inhabited by Tawárek, and this part of the shore was beautifully adorned with large trees. When we at length continued our voyage, we observed also a great many dúm-palms, which served to farther embellish the country, while kadéña, or tóso, seemed to form the staple produce of the inhabitants, and thickly lined the shores. The scenery was the more interesting, as, besides boys who were playing in the water, a numerous herd of cattle were just swimming across the river, which to animals not accustomed to such a task, would have been rather a difficult undertaking; and, even as it was, the people who accompanied them in boats had some difficulty in inducing them to continue their fatiguing trip when they once began to feel exhausted, especially as they were accompanied by their young

calves. However, in these regions along the Niger, with its numerous channels, backwaters, and swamps, man as well as beast must be accustomed to swimming. I took great pains to discover whether there was any current here, but I did not succeed in ascertaining the fact; and altogether, in this net-work of creeks and backwaters, the current seems to be very uncertain, going in on one side and out on the other, notwithstanding that we were now approaching the trunk of the river, following in general a northerly direction with a slight westerly deviation. The gradually sloping bank was here covered with the dense rich bush called bógina by the Songhay.

But at present these shores, once animated with the bustle of many larger and smaller villages of the native Songhay, were buried in silence and solitude, a turbulent period of almost 200 years having succeeded to the epoch when the great Songhay king, Mohammed el Háj A'skia, held the whole of these regions under his powerful sway. No less than four dwelling-places* along this tract of the river had been destroyed on one and the same day by the father of Galáijo, the prince whom we had met on our journey a short distance from Sáy. A solitary antelope, with her young, was the only living being in the present state of desolation that we observed during several hours' navigation, but the banks were occasionally lined with fine trees. Besides the tamarind-tree, a tree called bógi appeared in great quantities; it bears a yellow fruit about the size of a pear, having four or five large kernels, and which, on account of its pleasant acid taste, afforded us a very refreshing treat.

Having met with a short delay, in consequence of a thunder-storm which brought us but little rain, we observed the island of Kóra, which lies at the mouth of this channel, and the main river ahead of us, the water increasing in breadth, while one arm branches off round the southwestern part of the island, presenting here the appearance of an inland sea. But we had scarcely caught a glimpse of the great river itself, when a second and heavier thunder-storm, which had long been gathering, threatened to break forth, and obliged us to seek shelter in the grassy eastern shore of the main. We had scarcely fastened the boat, when the rain came down in torrents, and lasted, with great violence, for nearly two hours, so that my berth was entirely swamped, and I remained in a most uncomfortable state during the whole night.

* These places are Bango, Ujínne, Gakoira, and another one.

Sunday, September 4th. The weather having cleared up, we set out at an early hour, following a northeasterly direction through an open water not obstructed by reeds, but soon halted again for prayer near the green bushy shore; while from the opposite side of the island of Kóra, the lowing of cattle, cackling of fowls, and the voices of men were distinctly to be heard, the island being still tolerably well inhabited, and the people being said to possess even a good number of horses. It was of considerable interest to me here to fall into the course pursued by that very meritorious French traveler, Réné Caillié, on his toilsome and dangerous journey through the whole western part of the Continent of Africa, from Sierra Leone to Morocco; and it is an agreeable duty for me to confirm the general accuracy of his account. Following close upon the track of the enterprising and intelligent, but unfortunate Major Laing, who had been assassinated two years previously on his desperate journey from Timbúktu, Caillié naturally excited against himself the jealousy of the English, to whom it could not but seem extraordinary that a poor unprotected adventurer like himself should succeed in an enterprise where one of the most courageous and noble-minded officers of their army had succumbed.

Gliding slowly along the channel, which here was about 600 yards in width, and gradually exchanging the eastern shore for the middle of the stream, we observed after a few miles' advance the first river-horses, or banga, that we had as yet seen in the Niger, carrying their heads out of the water like two immense boxes, and rather frightening our boatmen, who did not seem to relish a *tête-à-tête* with these animals, till I sent a ball after them.

Passing then the site of the former town of Gakoira, near which the people were busy with the labors of the rice-fields, and having again landed on the opposite shore, which was covered with numerous kalgo-trees, in order that the lazy boatmen might get their breakfast with comfort and ease, we had to follow a large bend of the river where the town of Danga is situated on the right, beyond a swampy low ground. This is probably the same town so repeatedly mentioned in the interesting records of Bábá A'hmed, especially as the residence of the Púllo chief, Sambo Lámido, who at the period of the ruin of the Songhay empire was the chief instrument in achieving that destruction. We then crossed from here to the other side, and passed the town of Sanyáre on a projecting headland, which at times appears to be changed into an

island, and containing, besides a good number of reed huts, even a few clay dwellings. Here our people indulged in the hope of procuring some tobacco, but were sadly disappointed, the natives being too much afraid of their fanatical master, the Shékho A'hmedu ben A'hmedu.

Having left this village behind us, we entered a fine northerly reach belonging to the branch which was finally to carry us into the great river itself, and left the town of Sanyáre beyond the shallow sand-bank, conspicuous on account of a group of majestic tamarind-trees. Here the inhabitants wanted to barter some sour milk for negro corn, which to them, with their ordinary diet of rice, seemed to be a luxury. Having lost some time, we at length had the broad sheet of the Niger before us; and here, at the point of junction, there started forth from the easterly shore a group of solitary trees, which appeared to form the usual nocturnal place of resort for all the water-fowl in the neighborhood, the trunk as well as the branches of the trees being overlaid with a white crust, formed by the droppings of these visitors, which with animated cries were collecting together toward the close of the evening. Having here left the shore, which at present formed a low and bare headland, but which in the course of a month would be entirely under water, we at once entered the middle of that magnificent river, the I'sa, or Máyo Balléo, running here from W. 35° S. to E. 35° N., which has excited the lively curiosity of Europeans for so many years. It was at this spot about a mile across, and by its magnitude and solemn magnificence in the new moon which was rising in front of us, and with the summer lightning at times breaking through the evening sky, inspired my servants with real awe and almost fright; while we were squatting on the shelving roof of our frail boat, and looked with searching eyes along the immense expanse of the river in á northeasterly direction, where the object of our journey was said to lie.

Whether from the excitement of the day, or from the previous night's wetting, when at length we lay to at the ancient Songhay town of Koiretágo, which had once been a place of importance, but had been almost destroyed by the Fúlbe in conjunction with the Tárki chief Somki, I was seized with a severe attack of fever, but in order to take care of my luggage, I was unwilling to go on shore, where I might have lain down on a fine sandy beach, choosing rather to remain on board our frail boat.

THE ISA (NIGER) AT KOROME.

CHAPTER LXV.

ARRIVAL AT KA'BARA.—ENTRANCE INTO TIMBU'KTU.

September 7th, 1853. Thus the day broke which, after so many months' exertion, was to carry me to the harbor of Timbúktu. We started at a tolerably early hour, crossing the broad sheet of the river, first in a northeasterly, then in an almost northerly direction, till finding ourselves opposite the small hamlet Tásakal, mentioned by Caillié,* we began to keep along the windings of the northern bank, which, from its low character, presented a very varying appearance, while a creek, separating from the trunk, entered the low ground. The river, a month or two later in the season, inundates the whole country to a great distance, but the magnificent stream, with the exception of a few fishing-boats, now seemed almost tenantless, the only objects which in the present reduced state of the country animated the scenery, being a number of large boats lying at anchor in front of us near the shore of the village Koróme. But the whole character of the river was of the highest interest to me, as it disclosed some new features for which I had not been prepared; for, while the water on which Koróme was situated formed only by far the smaller branch, the chief river, about three quarters of a mile in breadth, took its direction to the southeast, separated from the former by a group of islands called Day, at the headland of which lies the islet of Tárashám.†

It was with an anxious feeling that I bade farewell to that noble river as it turned away from us, not being sure whether it would fall to my lot to explore its farther course, although it was my firm intention at the time to accomplish this task if possible. Thus we entered the branch of Koróme, keeping along the grass which here grows in the river to a great extent, till we reached the village, consisting of nothing but temporary huts of reed, which, in the course of a few weeks, with the rising of the waters, were to be removed farther inland. Notwithstanding its frail character, this poor little village was interesting on account of its wharfs, where a number of boats were repairing. The master of

* Caillié's Journey to Timbúktu, vol. ii., p. 30.

† "Tárashám" means a house or dwelling.

our own craft residing here (for all the boatmen on this river are serfs, or nearly in that condition), we were obliged to halt almost an hour and a half; but in order not to excite the curiosity of the people, I thought it prudent to remain in my boat. But even there I was incommoded with a great number of visitors, who were very anxious to know exactly what sort of person I was. It was here that we heard the unsatisfactory news that El Bakáy, whose name as a just and intelligent chief alone had given me confidence to undertake this journey, was absent at the time in Gúndam, whither he had gone in order to settle a dispute which had arisen between the Tawárek and the Berabísh; and as from the very beginning, when I was planning my journey to Timbúktu, I had based the whole confidence of my success upon the noble and trustworthy character which was attributed to the Sheikh El Bakáy by my informants, this piece of information produced a serious effect upon me.

At length we set out again on our interesting voyage, following first a southeasterly, then a northeasterly direction along this branch, which, for the first three miles and a half, retained some importance, being here about 200 yards wide, when the channel divided a second time, the more considerable branch turning off toward Yélluwa and Zegália, and other smaller hamlets situated on the islands of Day, while the water-course which we followed dwindled away to a mere narrow meadow-water, bearing the appearance of an artificial ditch or canal, which, as I now heard, is entirely dry during the dry season, so that it becomes impossible to embark directly at Kábara for places situated higher up or lower down the river. But at that time I had formed the erroneous idea that this canal never became navigable for more than four months in the year, and thence concluded that it would have been impossible for Caillié to have reached Kábara in his boat in the month of April. The navigation of this water became so difficult, that all my people were obliged to leave the boat, which with great difficulty was dragged on by the boatmen, who themselves entered the water and lifted and pushed it along with their hands. But before we reached Kábara, which is situated on the slope of a sandy eminence, the narrow and shallow channel widened to a tolerably large basin of circular shape; and here, in front of the town, seven good-sized boats were lying, giving to the whole place some little life. Later in the season, when the channel becomes navigable for larger boats, the intercourse

KÁBARA.

becomes much more animated. During the palmy days of the Songhay empire, an uninterrupted intercourse took place between Gágho and Timbúktu on the one side, and between Timbúktu and Jenni on the other, and a numerous fleet was always lying here under the orders of an admiral of great power and influence. The basin has such a regular shape that it looks as if it were artificial; but, nevertheless, it may be the work of nature, as Kábara from the most ancient times has been the harbor of Timbúktu, and at times seems even to have been of greater importance than the latter place itself.

A branch of the river turns off to the east, without however reaching the main trunk, so that in general, except when the whole country is inundated, boats from Kábara which are going down the river must first return in a southwesterly direction toward Koróme, in order to reach the main branch. Even at the present time, however, when this whole region is plunged into an abyss of anarchy and misrule, the scene was not entirely wanting in life; for women were filling their pitchers or washing clothes on large stones jutting out from the water, while a number of idle people had collected on the beach to see who the stranger was that had just arrived.

At length we lay to, and sending two of my people on shore in order to obtain quarters, I followed them as soon as possible, when I was informed that they had procured a comfortable dwelling for me. The house where I was lodged was a large and grand building (if we take into account the general relations of this country), standing on the very top of the mound on the slope of which the town is situated. It was of an oblong shape, consisting of very massive clay walls, which were even adorned, in a slight degree, with a rude kind of relief; and it included, besides two ante-rooms, an inner court-yard, with a good many smaller chambers, and an upper story. The interior, with its small stores of every kind, and its assortment of sheep, ducks, fowls, and pigeons, in different departments, resembled Noah's ark, and afforded a cheerful sight of homely comfort which had been preserved here from more ancient and better times, notwithstanding the exactions of Fúlbe and Imóshagh.

Having taken possession of the two ante-rooms for my people and luggage, I endeavored to make myself as comfortable as possible; while the busy landlady, a tall and stout personage, in the absence of her husband, a wealthy Songhay merchant, endeavored

to make herself agreeable, and offered me the various delicacies of her store for sale; but these were extremely scanty, the chief attraction to us, besides a small bowl of milk seasoned with honey, being some onions, of which I myself was not less in want than my people for seasoning our simple food; but fresh ones were not even to be got here, the article sold being a peculiar preparation which is imported from Sansándi, the onions, which are of very small size, being cut into slices and put in water, then pounded in a wooden mortar, dried again, and, by means of some butter, made up into a sort of round ball, which is sold in small pats of an inch and a half in diameter for five shells each: these are called "láwashi" in Fulfúlde, or "gabú" in the Songhay language. Besides this article, so necessary for seasoning the food, I bought a little bulánga, or vegetable butter, in order to light up the dark room where I had taken up my quarters; but the night which I passed here was a very uncomfortable one, on account of the number of musquitoes which infest the whole place.

Thus broke the 6th of September—a very important day for me, as it was to determine the kind of reception I was to meet with in this quarter. But notwithstanding the uncertainty of my prospects, I felt cheerful and full of confidence; and, as I was now again firmly established on dry soil, I went early in the morning to see my horse, which had successfully crossed all the different branches lying between Kábara and Sarayámo; but I was sorry to find him in a very weak and emaciated condition.

While traversing the village I was surprised at the many clay buildings which are to be seen here, amounting to between 150 and 200; however, these are not so much the dwellings of the inhabitants of Kábara themselves, but serve rather as magazines for storing up the merchandise belonging to the people of, and the foreign merchants residing in, Timbúktu and Sansándi. There are two small market-places, one containing about twelve stalls or sheds, where all sorts of articles are sold, the other being used exclusively for meat. Although it was still early in the day, women were already busy boiling rice, which is sold in small portions, or made up into thin cakes boiled with bulánga, and sold for five shells each. Almost all the inhabitants, who may muster about 2000, are Songhay; but the authorities belong to the tribe of the Fúlbe, whose principal wealth consists of cattle, the only exception being the office of the inspector of the harbor —a very ancient office, repeatedly mentioned by A'hmed Bábá—

which at present is in the hands of Múláy Kásim, a sherif whose family is said to have emigrated originally from the Gharb or Morocco, but who has become so Sudánized that he has forgotten all his former knowledge of Arabic. On account of the cattle being driven to a great distance, I found that milk was very scarce and dear. The inhabitants cultivate a little rice, but have some cotton, besides bámia, or *Corchorus olitorius*, and melons of various descriptions.

Having returned to my quarters from my walk through the town, I had to distribute several presents to some people whom El Waláti chose to represent as his brothers and friends. Having then given to himself a new, glittering, black tobe of Núpe manufacture, a new "háf," and the white bernús which I wore myself, I at length prevailed upon him to set out for the town, in order to obtain protection for me; for as yet I was an outlaw in the country, and any ruffian who suspected my character might have slain me, without scarcely any body caring any thing about it; and circumstances seemed to assume a very unfavorable aspect: for there was a great movement among the Tawárek in the neighborhood, when it almost seemed as if some news of my real character had transpired. Not long after my two messengers were gone, a Tárki chief, of the name of Knéha, with tall and stately figure, and of noble expressive features, as far as his shawl around the face allowed them to be seen, but, like the whole tribe of the Kél-hekíkan to which he belongs, bearing a very bad character as a freebooter, made his appearance, armed with spear and sword, and obtruded himself upon me while I was partaking of my simple dish of rice; notwithstanding which, he took his seat at a short distance opposite to me. Not wishing to invite him to a share in my poor frugal repast by the usual "bismillah," I told him, first in Arabic and then in Fulfúlde, that I was dining, and had no leisure to speak with him at present. Whereupon he took his leave, but returned after a short while, and, in a rather peremptory manner, solicited a present from me, being, as he said, a great chief of the country; but as I was not aware of the extent of his power, and being also afraid that others might imitate his example, I told him that I could not give him any thing before I had made due inquiries respecting his real importance from my companion who had just gone to the town. But he was not at all satisfied with my argument; representing himself as a great "dhálem," or evil-doer, and that as such he might do me much harm; till at length, after a very spirited altercation, I got rid of him.

He was scarcely gone, when the whole house was filled with armed men, horse and foot, from Timbúktu, most of them clad in light blue tobes, tightly girt round the waist with a shawl, and dressed in short breeches reaching only to the knee, as if they were going to fight, their head being covered with a straw hat of the peculiar shape of a little hut with regular thatch-work, such as is fashionable among the inhabitants of Másina and of the provinces farther west.. They were armed with spears, besides which some of them wore also a sword: only a few of them had muskets. Entering the house rather abruptly, and squatting down in the ante-chambers and court-yard, just where they could find a place, they stared at me not a little, and began asking of each other who this strange-looking fellow might be, while I was reclining on my two smaller boxes, having my larger ones and my other luggage behind me. I was rather at a loss to account for their intrusion, until I learned, upon inquiry from my landlady, that they were come in order to protect their cattle from the Tawárek, who at the time were passing through the place, and who had driven away some of their property. The very person whom they dreaded was the chief Knéha, who had just left me, though they could not make out his whereabouts. Having refreshed themselves during the hot hours of the day, these people started off; but the alarm about the cattle continued the whole of the afternoon, and not less than 200 armed men came into my apartments in the course of an hour.

My messengers not returning at the appointed time from their errand to the town, I had at length retired to rest in the evening, when shortly before midnight they arrived, together with Sídi A'lawáte, the Sheikh El Bakáy's brother, and several of his followers, who took up their quarters on the terrace of my house in order to be out of the reach of the musquitoes; and after they had been regaled with a good supper, which had been provided beforehand by some of the townspeople, I went to pay my respects to them.

It was an important interview; for, although this was not the person for whom my visit was specially intended, and whose favorable or unfavorable disposition would influence the whole success of my arduous undertaking, yet for the present I was entirely in his hands, and all depended upon the manner in which he received me. Now my two messengers had only disclosed to himself personally that I was a Christian, while at the same time

they had laid great stress upon the circumstance that, although a Christian, I was under the special protection of the Sultan of Stambúl; and Sídi A'lawáte inquired therefore of me, with great earnestness and anxiety, as to the peculiar manner in which I enjoyed the protection of that great Mohammedan sovereign.

Now, it was most unfortunate for me that I had no direct letter from that quarter. Even the firmán, with which we had been provided by the Bashá of Tripoli, had been delivered to the governor for whom it was destined, so that at the time I had nothing with me to show but a firmán, which I had used on my journey in Egypt, and which of course had no especial relation to the case in question. The want of such a general letter of protection from the Sultan of Constantinople, which I had solicited with so much anxiety to be sent after me, was in the sequel the chief cause of my difficult and dangerous position in Timbúktu; for, furnished with such a letter, it would have been easy to have imposed silence upon my adversaries and enemies there, and especially upon the merchants from Morocco, who were instigated by the most selfish jealousy to raise all sorts of intrigues against me.

Having heard my address with attention, although I was not able to establish every point so clearly as I could have wished, the sheikh's brother promised me protection, and desired me to be without any apprehension with regard to my safety; and thus terminated my first interview with this man, who, on the whole, inspired me with a certain degree of confidence, although I was glad to think that he was not the man upon whom I had to rely for my safety. Having then had a farther chat with his telamíd, or pupils, with whom I passed for a Mohammedan, I took leave of the party, and retired to rest in the close apartments of the lower story of the house.

Wednesday, September 7th. After a rather restless night, the day broke when I was at length to enter Timbúktu; but we had a good deal of trouble in performing this last short stage of our journey, deprived as we were of beasts of burden; for the two camels which the people had brought from the town, in order to carry my boxes, proved much too weak, and it was only after a long delay that we were able to procure eleven donkeys for the transport of all my luggage. Meanwhile, the rumor of a traveler of importance having arrived, had spread far and wide, and several inhabitants of the place sent a breakfast both for myself and my protector. Just at the moment when we were at length mount-

ing our horses, it seemed as if the Tárki chief Knéha was to cause me some more trouble, for in the morning he had sent me a vessel of butter, in order thus to acquire a fair claim upon my generosity; and, coming now for his reward, he was greatly disappointed when he heard the present had fallen into the hands of other people.

It was ten o'clock when our cavalcade at length put itself in motion, ascending the sand-hills which rise close behind the village of Kábara, and which, to my great regret, had prevented my obtaining a view of the town from the top of our terrace. The contrast of this desolate scenery with the character of the fertile banks of the river which I had just left behind was remarkable. The whole tract bore decidedly the character of a desert, although the path was thickly lined on both sides with thorny bushes and stunted trees, which were being cleared away in some places, in order to render the path less obstructed and more safe, as the Tawárek never fail to infest it, and at present were particularly dreaded on account of their having killed a few days previously three petty Tawáti traders on their way to A'rawán. It is from the unsafe character of this short road between the harbor and the town, that the spot, about half way between Kábara and Timbúktu, bears the remarkable name of "Ur-immándes," "he does not hear," meaning the place where the cry of the unfortunate victim is not heard from either side.

Having traversed two sunken spots designated by especial names, where, in certain years, when the river rises to an unusual height, as happened in the course of the same winter, the water of the inundation enters, and occasionally forms even a navigable channel; and leaving on one side the talha-tree of the Welí Sálah, covered with innumerable rags of the superstitious natives, who expect to be generously rewarded by their saint with a new shirt, we approached the town; but its dark masses of clay not being illuminated by bright sunshine, for the sky was thickly overcast, and the atmosphere filled with sand, were scarcely to be distinguished from the sand rubbish heaped all round; and there was no opportunity for looking attentively about, as a body of people were coming toward us, in order to pay their compliments to the stranger, and bid him welcome. This was a very important moment, as, if they had felt the slightest suspicion with regard to my character, they might easily have prevented my entering the town at all, and thus even endangered my life.

ARRIVAL AT TIMBÚKTU.

I therefore took the hint of A'lawáte, who recommended me to make a start in advance, in order to anticipate the salute of these people who had come to meet us; and, putting my horse to a gallop, and gun in hand, I galloped up to meet them, when I was received with many saláms. But a circumstance occurred which might have proved fatal, not only to my enterprise, but even to my own personal safety, as there was a man among the group who addressed me in Turkish, which I had almost entirely forgotten; so that I could with difficulty make a suitable answer to his compliment; but, avoiding farther indiscreet questions, I pushed on, in order to get under safe cover.

Having then traversed the rubbish which has accumulated round the ruined clay wall of the town, and left on one side a row of dirty reed huts which encompass the whole of the place, we entered the narrow streets and lanes, or, as the people of Timbúktu say, the tijeráten, which scarcely allowed two horses to proceed abreast. But I was not a little surprised at the populous and wealthy character which this quarter of the town, the Sáne-Gúngu, exhibited, many of the houses rising to the height of two stories, and in their façade evincing even an attempt at architectural adornment. Thus, taking a more westerly turn, and followed by a numerous troop of people, we passed the house of the Sheikh El Bakáy, where I was desired to fire a pistol; but as I had all my arms loaded with ball, I prudently declined to do so, and left it to one of my people to do honor to the house of our host. We thus reached the house on the other side of the street, which was destined for my residence, and I was glad when I found myself safely in my new quarters.

But before describing my residence in this town, I shall make a few general remarks with regard to the history of Songhay and Timbúktu.

CHAPTER LXVI.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE HISTORY OF SONGHAY AND TIMBU'KTU.

PREVIOUSLY to my journey into the region of the Niger, scarcely any data were known with regard to the history of this wide and important tract, except a few isolated facts, elicited with great in-

telligence and research by Mr. Cooley* from El Bekrí, the history of Ebn Khaldún, the obscure and confused report of Leo about the great Ischia, and the barren statement of the conquest of Timbúktu and Gágho, or Gógo, by Múláy A'hmed el Dhéhebi, as mentioned by some historians of Morocco and Spain. But I myself was so successful as to have an opportunity of perusing a complete history of the kingdom of Songhay, from the very dawn of historical records down to the year 1640 of our era; although, unfortunately, circumstances prevented my bringing back a complete copy of this manuscript, which forms a respectable quarto volume, and I was only able, during the few days that I had this manuscript in my hands during my stay in Gandó, to make short extracts of those passages from its contents which I thought of the highest interest in an historical and geographical point of view.

These annals, according to the universal statement of the learned people of Negroland, were written by a distinguished person of the name of A'hmed Bábá, although in the work itself that individual is only spoken of in the third person; and it would seem that additions had been made to the book by another hand; but on this point I can not speak with certainty, as I had not sufficient time to read over the latter portion of the work with the necessary attention and care. As for A'hmed Bábá, we know from other interesting documents which have lately come to light,† that he was a man of great learning, considering the country in which he was born, having composed a good many books or essays, and instructed a considerable number of pupils. Moreover, we learn that he was a man of the highest respectability, so that even after he had been carried away prisoner by the victorious army of Múláy A'hmed el Dhéhebi, his very enemies treated him with the greatest respect, and the inhabitants of Morocco, in general, regarded him with the highest veneration.‡

This character of the author would alone be sufficient to guarantee the trustworthiness of his history, as far as he was able to go back into the past with any degree of accuracy, from the oral

* Cooley, "Negroland of the Arabs."

† Revue Africaine, vol. i., p. 287, "Conquête du Soudan par les Marocains," par le Baron Macguckin de Slane. Journal Asiatique, 1855, "Litérature du Soudan," par M. le Professor Cherbonneau.

‡ This character is most strikingly indicated in those very remarks which M. le Baron de Slane has published in the notice (see preceding note) which was intended to depreciate the merit of A'hmed Bábá as a historian.

traditions of the people or from written documents of an older period: for that the beginning of his annals, like that of every other nation, should be enveloped in a certain degree of mystery and uncertainty is very natural, and our author himself is prudent enough to pass over the earlier part in the most rapid and cursory manner, only mentioning the mere name of each king, except that he states the prominent facts with regard to the founder of each dynasty. Nay, even what he says of the founder of the dynasty of the Zá, allowance being made for the absurd interpretation of names, which is usual with Arabs and Orientals in general, and also the particulars which he gives with regard to Kilun, or Kilnu, founder of the dynasty of the Sonni,* are very characteristic, and certainly true in the main. For there is no doubt that the founder of the first dynasty immigrated from a foreign country—a circumstance which is confirmed by other accounts—and nothing is more probable than that he abolished the most striking features of pagan superstition, namely, the worship of a peculiar kind of fish, which was probably the famous ayú, or *Manatus*, of which I have spoken on a former occasion,† and of whose habitat in the waters of the Niger I shall say more farther on; while 'Alí Killun succeeded in usurping the royal power by liberating his country from the sovereignty of the kings of Melle, who had conquered Songhay about the middle of the fourteenth century. Nor can there be any doubt of the truth of the statement that Zá-Kasí, the fifteenth king of the dynasty of the Zá, about the year 400 of the Hejra, or in the beginning of the eleventh century of our era, embraced Islám, and was the first Mohammedan king of Songhay. No man who studies impartially those very extracts which I have been able to make from the manuscript, in great haste and under the most unfavorable circumstances, and which were translated and published in the journal of the Leipsic Oriental Society‡ by Mr. Ralfs, can deny that they contain a vast amount of valuable information. But the knowledge which Europeans possessed of those countries, before my discoveries, was so limited as to render the greater part of the contents of my extracts, which are intimately related to localities formerly entirely unknown, or in connection with historical facts not better ascertained, difficult of comprehension. But with the light

* According to Leo, this dynasty emigrated from Libya.

† Vol. ii., p. 193.

‡ Journal of the Leipsic Oriental Society, vol. ix., p. 518.

now shed by my journey and my researches over these regions and their inhabitants, I have no hesitation in asserting that the work of A'hmed Bábá will be one of the most important additions which the present age has made to the history of mankind, in a branch which was formerly almost unknown.

A'hmed Bábá, however, limits himself to the records of the political relations of Songhay, and does not enter into any ethnological questions, leaving us entirely in the dark as to the original seats of the tribe; for while in general, on the banks of the Niger, the towns of Tindírma and Díre are supposed to be the orginal seats of the Songhay, A'hmed Bábá apparently restricts the limits of the ancient Songhay to the eastern quarter around Kúkiya, stating distinctly* that the town of Timbúktu was not under the authority of any foreign king before it became subjected to the dominion of Kunkur-Músa, the celebrated King of Melle. Yet from this statement we can not conclude with absolute certainty that the banks of the great river to the southwest of that town were not comprised in the kingdom of Songhay before that period; for Timbúktu, lying on the north side of the river, and being founded by the Tawárek or Imóshagh, was an independent place by itself, and in the beginning not closely connected with the history of the surrounding region. It might easily have happened, therefore, that the Songhay language was not at all spoken in Timbúktu at a former period, without any conclusion being drawn from this circumstance respecting the country to the south and southwest of the river. But although, according to A'hmed Bábá's account, the foundation of the place was entirely due to the Imóshagh, it is probable that, from the very beginning, a portion of the inhabitants of the town belonged to the Songhay nation;† and I rather suppose, therefore, that the original form of the name was the Songhay form Túmbutu, from whence the Imóshagh made Tumbýtku, which was afterward changed by the Arabs into Tumbuktu.‡

* Journal of the Leipsic Oriental Society, vol. ix., p. 525.

† "The palace which was erected in Timbúktu was called 'm'aduk,' or 'm'adugu.' This is evidently a Mandingo word, meaning the 'house of the king;' but it was certainly called so in the language of the conquerors, and not in that of the natives, and A'hmed Bábá understands the former when he says that the building was called by this name in *their* language."—*Journ. of Leipsic Oriental Soc.*, ix., p. 525.

‡ The *u* sound in the first syllable of the name is the only original one, not only in the Songhay, but also in the Arabic form; but it has gradually been changed into an *i*, and almost all the Arabs at the present time pronounce and write Timbuktu, تنبكت. The town was probably so called, because it was built originally

But the series of chronological facts which we learn from A'hmed Bábá, or from other sources, I shall give in a tabular form in the Appendix. Here I will only draw the reader's attention to a few of the most striking facts, and make some general remarks on the character of that history.

It is very remarkable, that while Islám in the two larger westerly kingdoms which flourished previously to that of Songhay—I mean Ghána, or Ghánata, and Melle—had evidently emanated from the north, and especially from Sijilmésa, Songhay appears to have been civilized from the other side, namely, from Egypt, the intimate relation with which is proved by many interesting circumstances, although, in a political respect, it could only adopt the same forms of government which had been developed already in Ghána and Melle; nay, we shall find even some of the same titles. With respect to Ghána, we learn from A'hmed Bábá the very interesting fact* that twenty kings were supposed to have ruled over that kingdom at the time when Mohammed spread the new creed which was to agitate and to remodel half of the globe.

The kingdom of Songhay, even after 'Alí Killun had made it independent of Melle, could not fail to remain rather weak and insignificant, as even Timbúktu, and probably a great portion of the country to the east of that town, was not comprised in its limits: nay, it even appears that the kingdom was still, at times, dependent in a certain degree upon Melle, the great kingdom on the upper course of the Niger; and it was not until almost 150 years after the time of 'Alí Killun that the powerful king Sonni 'Alí, the Sonni Héli of Leo Africanus, conquered Timbúktu, wresting it, with immense slaughter, A.H. 894, A.D. 1488, from the hands of the Tawárek, who had themselves conquered it from Melle. This king, although he is represented by all the learned men of Negroland as a very cruel and sanguinary prince, was no doubt a great conqueror; for although it was he who, in taking possession of this town, inflicted upon the inhabitants a most severe punishment, surpassing even the horrors which had accompanied the taking of the town by the King of Mósi, nevertheless it was he also who gave the first impulse to the great importance which Timbúktu henceforth obtained, by conquering the central

in a hollow or cavity in the sand-hills. Túmbutu means hole or womb in the Songhay language: if it were a Temáshight word, it would be written Tinbuktu. The name is generally interpreted by Europeans, *well* of Buktu, but *tin* has nothing to do with well. See vol. i., p. 272, note. * See A'hmed Bábá, l. c., p. 526.

seat of the old empire of Ghánata, and thus inducing the rich merchants from the north, who had formerly been trading with Bíru or Waláta, and who had even occasionally resided there, to transfer their trade to Timbúktu and Gágho. It is the same king, no doubt, that attracted the attention of the Portuguese, who, in the reigns of Joâo and Emmanuel, sent several embassies into the interior, not only to Melle,* which at that time had already greatly declined in power and importance, but also to Timbúktu, where Sonni 'Alí seems to have principally resided; and it was perhaps partly on account of the relations which he entertained with the Christian king (to whom he even opened a trading station as far inland as Wadán or Hóden), besides his cruelty against the chiefs of religion, that the Mohammedans were less satisfied with his government; for there is no doubt that he was not a strict Mohammedan.

It was Háj Mohammed A'skia who founded the new homonymous dynasty of the A'skia, by rising against his liege lord, the son of Sonni 'Alí, and, after a desperate struggle, usurping the royal power; and, notwithstanding the glorious career of that great conqueror, we may fancy we can see in the unfortunate circumstances of the latter part of the reign of that king, a sort of Divine punishment for the example which he had given of revolt.

We have seen that the dynasty of the Zá, of which that of the Sonni seems to have been a mere continuation, immigrated from abroad; and it is a circumstance of the highest interest to see king Mohammed A'skia—perhaps the greatest sovereign that ever ruled over Negroland—who was a native of this very country, born in the island of Néni, a little below Sínder, in the Niger, setting us an example of the highest degree of development of which negroes are capable. For, while Sonni 'Alí, like his forefathers, still belonged to that family of foreign settlers who either came from Yemen, according to the current tradition, or, as is more credible, immigrated from Libya, as Leo states, the dynasty of the A'skía was entirely of native descent; and it is the more remarkable, if we consider that this king was held in the highest esteem and veneration by the most learned and rigid Mohammedans, while Sonni 'Alí had rendered himself so odious, that people

* It is remarkable that, in a map published at Strasburg in the year 1513, the kingdom of Melle appears under the name of Regnum Musa Melle de Ginoria. Atlas of Santarem, pl. No. 13.

did not know how to give full vent to their indignation in heaping the most opprobrious epithets upon him.

It is of no small interest to a person who endeavors to take a comprehensive view of the various races of mankind, to observe how, during the time when the Portuguese, carried away by the most heroic enterprise and the most praiseworthy energy, having gradually discovered and partly taken possession of the whole western coast of Africa, and having at length doubled its southernmost promontory, under the guidance of Almeida and Albuquerque, founded their Indian empire, that at this same time a negro king in the interior of the continent not only extended his conquests far and wide, from the centre of Háusa almost to the borders of the Atlantic, and from the pagan country of Mósi, in 12° northern latitude, as far as Tawát to the south of Morocco, but also governed the subjected tribes with justice and equity, causing well-being and comfort to spring up every where within the borders of his extensive dominions,* and introducing such of the institutions of Mohammedan civilization as he considered might be useful to his subjects. It is only to be lamented that, as is generally the case in historical records, while we are tolerably well informed as to the warlike proceedings of this king, it is merely from circumstances which occasionally transpire and are slightly touched upon, that we can draw conclusions as to the interior condition of his empire; and, on this point, I will make a few observations, before I proceed to the causes which rendered the foundation of this empire so unstable.

In a former part of my researches I have entered into the history and polity of the empire of Bórnu, and it is interesting to compare with the latter that of the Songhay empire, which attained the zenith of its power just at the time when Bórnu like-

* It is not to be wondered at that Leo, who visited Negroland just at the time when this prince was aspiring to power, and who must have written the greater part of what he relates of him and his conquests from infomation which he had received after he had left the country, should treat this usurper, whose identity with his Ischia can not be doubtful, with very little indulgence; and it even seems as if he purposely intended to give a bad interpretation to every thing which the king undertook, a fact which is clearly evident from what he relates with regard to his proceedings in Háusa. That the taxes imposed by him upon his subjects may have been heavy, I concede may be true, as without a considerable revenue he was not able to keep up a strong military force; but at least they evidently must have been much less than they were in the time of Sonni 'Alí, when almost the whole population was engaged in war. We find a very heavy duty upon salt, from each load £5.

wise, having recovered, in consequence of the energy and warlike spirit of the king 'Alí Ghajidéni, from the wounds inflicted upon it by the loss of Kánem, the desperate struggle with the tribe of the Soy, and a series of civil wars, attained its most glorious period during the reign of the two Edrís, in the course of the sixteenth century of our era.

In instituting such a comparison between these two extensive kingdoms of Negroland we soon discover that the Songhay empire, although likewise stated to be founded by a Libyan dynasty, was far more despotic than its eastern rival; and it is in vain that we here look either for a divan of twelve great officers, forming a powerful and highly influential aristocracy, or that eclectic form of choosing a successor, both of which we find in Bórnu: nay, not even the office of a vizier meets our eye, as we peruse the tolerably rich annals of A'hmed Bábá. We find, no doubt, powerful officers also in the Songhay empire, as must naturally be the case in a large kingdom; but these appear to have been merely governors of provinces, whom the king installed or deposed at his pleasure, and who exercised no influence upon the internal affairs of the kingdom, except when it was plunged into civil war.

These governors bore generally the title of "farma" or "feréng," a title which is evidently of Mandingo origin,* and was traditionally derived from the institutions of the kingdom of Melle, while the native Songhay title of "koy" appears to be used only in order to denote officers of certain provinces which originally were more intimately related to Songhay; and in this respect it is a remarkable fact that the Governor of Timbúktu or Túmbutu is constantly called Túmbutu-koy, and is only once called Túmbutu-mangha.† Besides this province, those which we find mentioned in the report of A'hmed Bábá are the following, going from east to west:—Dendi, or, as it is now generally called, Déndina, the country between Kebbi and Sáy,‡ which I have described in the account of my own journey, and which seems to have contained a Songhay population from tolerably ancient times, at least before the beginning of the sixteenth century; but we find none of the

* See Cooley, "Negroland," p. 75, n. 26, and p. 77, n. 28.

† Journal of the Leipsic Oriental Society, vol. ix., p. 554. If there be no mistake, there was a "koy" as well as a "farma" in some of the provinces, such as Bára.

‡ A governor of the town of Sáy is perhaps indicated under the title of Sáy-weli. —Ibid., p. 550.

three divisions of this important province specified, not even Kenga or Zágha. This is to be regretted, as they appear to have been of ancient origin, and as their history, especially that of Zágha, which seems to have derived its name from the more celebrated town of the same name on the upper course of the river, would be highly interesting.

The country from hence toward the capital we never find comprised by A'hmed Bábá under a general name, nor do we meet with the names of Zabérma or Zérma, which I therefore conclude to be of more recent origin, although that country, at present so named, was evidently comprised in the kingdom of Songhay. West of Gágho, on the banks of the river, we next find the province of Banku or Bengu,* which evidently comprised that part of the river which is studded with islands, as we find the inspector of the harbor of Kábara taking refuge in the district of Banku, with the whole of his fleet, after the capture of the town by the people of Morocco. Passing then by the province of Bantal, the limits of which I have not been able to make out, we come to the province of Bel or Bal, which evidently comprised the country on the north side of the river round about Timbúktu, and perhaps some distance westward; but without including that town itself, which had a governor of its own, nor even the harbor of Kábara, which at that time was of sufficient importance to be placed under the inspection of a special officer or "farma," who, however, seems to have been subjected in a certain degree to the inspection of the Bal-m'a, or the Governor of Bal, who was able to call him to account.† The governor of the province of Bal, who bore the peculiar title of "Bal-m'a," a word likewise of Mandingo origin, m'a corresponding to the Songhay word "koy," seems to have been of great importance in a military respect, while in a moral point of view the governor of the town of Timbúktu enjoyed perhaps greater authority, and the office of the Túmbutu-koy seems always to have been filled by a learned man or fákih, proving that this town was regarded at that time as the seat of learning; and that the fákih who governed the town of Timbúktu possessed great power is evident from the fact that A'hmed Bábá mentions it as as a proof of great neglect on the part of Al Hádi, the Governor

* That Banku lay between Timbúktu and Ghágo is evident from the fact that the governor of that province fled to Gágho, when Mohammed Sadík, the Governor of Bel or Bal, marched upon the capital of the empire.

† See the account in the Journal of the Leipsic Oriental Society, p. 545.

of Tindírma, that he did not go in person to the kádhi to pay him his compliments.

Proceeding then westward from Bal and Timbúktu, we come to the very important province of Kúrmina, with the capital Tindírma, which very often served as a residence for the king himself, and became the chosen seat of A'skía Dáúd. The importance of this province of Kúrmina seems to have been based, not merely upon its military strength and populousness, but upon the circumstance of its having to supply Songhay Proper, together with its two large towns of Gágho and Kúkia, with grain; and it is evidently on this account that the governor of that province is on one occasion called the store-keeper and provider of the king.* Southwest from the province of Kúrmina there were two provinces, Dirma† and Bara, the exact boundaries of which it is difficult to determine, except that we know that Bara must have lain rather along the southeasterly branch of the river, while Dirma, having probably derived this name from the town of Díre, is most likely to be sought for on the northwesterly branch, although Caillié places Díriman, as he calls it, south of the river. The province or district of Shá'a‡ may probably be identical with the district round the important town of S'a, situated a short distance to the northeast of the lake Debu, and of which farther notice will be taken in the itineraries. Proceeding farther in the same direction, we have the province of Másina, a name which, under the form of Másín, is mentioned as early as the latter part of the eleventh century by El Bekrí,§ but the limits of which it is very difficult to define, although it is clear that its central part comprises the islands formed by the different branches of the river, the Máyo balléo and the Máyo ghannéo or dhannéo, and probably comprised in former times the ancient and most important town of Zágha, the chief seat of Tekrúr, which Háj Mohammed A'skía had conquered in the beginning of his reign. It is peculiar, however, and probably serves to show the preponderance of the element of the Fúlbe in Másina, where they seem to have es-

* Journal of the Leipsic Oriental Society, p. 541: "Then he made Kishya feréng of Kúrmina, and gave him the office of mezr'a مزرع."

† It is not improbable that Dirma was originally the name or title of the Governor of Díre, as Balm'a was that of the Governor of Bal, and that it was in after-times conferred upon the province of which he was the ruler.—Caillié, vol. ii., p. 29.

‡ Journal of the Leipsic Oriental Society, p. 544.

§ El Bekrí, ed. Macguckin de Slane, p. 150: ملك ماسين

tablished themselves from very ancient times, that the governor of this province bore the title of Másina-mangha, instead of Másina-farma.

To the northwest of Másina, we have the province of Bághena, which comprised the central portion of the ancient kingdom of Ghána or Ghánata, and the important town of Bíru or Waláta, which, before Timbúktu rose to greater importance, that is to say, before the time of Sonni 'Alí, was the great centre of commerce in this part of Negroland. The province of Bághena was also of considerable importance on account of its situation, bordering, as it did, closely upon the central parts of the empire of Melle, which, at this time, formed almost the only portion that remained of that vast empire, and which was nearly overwhelmed by the Songhay in the course of the sixteenth century. Even the Imóshagh or Tawárek became tributaries.

South of the river two other provinces are mentioned by A'hmed Bábá, namely, the province of Hómbori, which from the nature of the country was also called Tondi, or El Hajri, and Burgu,* or rather Barba, though the latter country was apparently never entirely subjected.

The governors of these provinces were certainly possessed of considerable power, and belonging, as they did in general, to the royal family, exercised a very prejudicial influence upon the destinies of the empire, as at the same time the central government became weak and debilitated. The Governor of Kúrmina, especially, conscious of the important influence and the rich character of his province, was very prone to mutiny and revolt. For as it was certainly a great advance in the scale of civilization that it was not customary among the Songhay to murder the younger brothers of the newly-elected king, or to render them incapable of aspiring to the royal dignity by depriving them of their sight (as is still the custom in Wáday), or in some other manner disabling them; so, on the other hand, it was no doubt very prejudicial to the stability of the empire that so many royal princes were constantly installed as governors of powerful provinces, some

* In the passage (Journal of the Leipsic Oriental Society), p. 546, in the seventh line, a second كو is added by mistake. The name can not be read as Burgu-koy, as all the parties composing the army of the pretender Mohammed e' Sadík, are said to have belonged to *the people of the west*, while Burgu is situated at the S.E. frontier of Songhay; nay, it is quite clear, from page 547, that the Barakoy is meant, and not the Burgu-koy.

of them situated at a great distance from the capital. Such a government could only prosper under the rule of a powerful king, such as Mohammed el Háj A'skía was during his most vigorous period.

On the other hand, we find that the government of Songhay was far more despotic than that of Bórnu, where, as I have had occasion to relate,* the election of a new king from among the royal princes was placed in the hands of three electors, themselves chosen from the most trustworthy men of the country; while the kings of Songhay appear originally to have designated their own successor among the royal princes, there being even an established dignity of something like an heir-apparent or crown-prince, with the title of "feréng-mangha:"† but this principle, as is naturally the case in barbaric states without any written constitution, was only observed as long as the king exercised paramount authority, while we see in other cases the army or even a powerful governor choosing a successor, as that of Dendi, who deposed Mohammed Bánkorí and installed in his place A'skía Ism'aíl.

As I stated before, we do not even find in Songhay a regular vizier; but we find a sort of treasurer in the person of the "khatíb," that is to say the imám who preaches before the congregation every Friday. Thus we find the great Háj Mohammed A'skía taking the whole of the money which he thought necessary for his royal pilgrimage, viz., 300,000 mithkáls, out of the royal treasury, which was in the hands of the Khatíb 'Omár;‡ but we even find, in another passage, the same khatíb authorized to liberate a princely prisoner; and from a third passage§ it is quite evident that the khatíb in Gágho exercised the same authority as the kádhi in Timbúktu, although we find a kádhi besides him in the capital.

There appears to have been an established state prison in Songhay, namely, in a place called Kantú, the exact situation of which, however, I have not yet been able to ascertain. This

* Vol. ii., p. 27.

† The exact meaning of the title "feréng-mangha," and the authority with which it was invested, are not quite clear; for although there is little doubt that "feréng-mangha" signifies "great prince," it is remarkable that on various occasions we find two "feréng-mangha" instead of one; and it is stated of Mohammed Ban A'skía, that he expressly designated two (J. O. S., p. 545). Moreover, we find that neither of these two was taken into account in appointing a successor (Ib., p. 546). But another passage (Ib., p. 552) is not less clear, stating plainly that, the feréng-mangha having fallen in the battle, the A'skía named another prince as his successor, implying clearly the identity of the title "feréng-mangha" with that of heir-apparent. ‡ Journ. Leips. Orient. Soc. p. 533. § Ib., p. 555.

prison could not fail to become of great importance as the dissensions and feuds in the royal family increased; and there appears to be no doubt that at times it was quite full of royal prisoners, and in this respect, as well as on account of the various assassinations which occurred there, fully corresponded with the character of the Tower in the Middle Ages. There is no doubt that polygamy, with its consequent intrigues in the harím, was the chief cause of the speedy decline of the Songhay empire from the high position it had attained under the rule of Sonni 'Alí and Háj Mohammed A'skía. The large number of ambitious children that A'skía Dáúd, the most peaceful of the Songhay rulers, left behind him, seems especially to have contributed in a great measure to this speedy decline; but the example had been set by that ruler himself, who, having no other claims to the royal dignity than his talent and energy, revolted against his liege lord, whom he conquered and supplanted, but had himself to endure the misfortune of being persecuted, and finally dethroned in his old age, by his own son Músa.

On the subject of the manners and customs and the state of society in Songhay during its period of power we find but little in the short extracts which I was able to make from the history of A'hmed Bábá; still a few hints as to some remarkable usages are to be gleaned from them. Islám, as we have seen, had been adopted by the royal family at the beginning of the eleventh century of our era; but we learn from the eminent Andalusian geographer El Bekrí, who finished his work on Africa in the year 1067, that while the king was a Moslim by law, receiving at his accession to the throne, as emblems of his authority, a sword, ring, and a copy of the Kurán, which were said to have been sent by an Emír el Múmenín (from Egypt), the greater part of the inhabitants, even of the capital, at that time, were still addicted to paganism;* and we may fairly conclude, from the description of Leo Africanus and from what we observe in Negroland at the present day, that even during the time of the A'skías the greater part of the natives of the country were idolaters, at least in heart and superstitious usages. However, it would seem as if they had received in more ancient times several institutions from the Egyptians, with whom, I have no doubt, they maintained an intercourse, by means of the energetic inhabitants of Aújila,† from a relatively ancient period; and among these institutions I feel

* El Bekrí, ed. de Slane, p. 183. † See El Edrísi, trans. Jaubert, i., p. 288.

justified in reckoning the great care which the Songhay bestowed upon their dead. We see that even those among their kings who died in the very remotest part of the empire were transported with the greatest trouble to the capital, in order to be buried there with due ceremony. For instance, Sonni 'Alí had died in Gurma; but his sons, who accompanied him on the expedition, took out his entrails, and filled his inside with honey, in order that it might be preserved from putrefaction.* The remains of A'skía Dáúd were transported all the way from Tindírma to Gágho in a boat. Even in the case of the slaughter of distinguished enemies, we find strict orders given to perform toward them the ceremonies usual with the dead.

The attention thus bestowed upon the dead seems not to have been in consequence of the introduction of Islám, but appears rather to have been traditionally handed down from the remotest antiquity. Nevertheless, it is clear that the adoption of Islám exercised considerable influence upon the civilization of these people, and we even find a Medreseh mentioned in Gágho,† an establishment the institution of which we have probably to assign to El Háj Mohammed, who, while on his pilgrimage to Mekka, solicited the advice of the most learned men in Egypt, and especially that of the Sheikh Jelál e' dín e' Soyúti, as to the best method of propagating the Mohammedan religion in his own country.

The influence of learning and study, even in the royal family, is apparent enough from the example of the pretender Mohammed Bánkorí,‡ who, when on his march to Gágho, ready to fight the King el Háj A'skía, was induced by the Kádhi of Timbúktu, whom he by chance visited, to give up his ambitious designs for a quiet course of study, to the great astonishment and disappointment of his army, who expected to be led by him, in a bloody contest, to power and wealth. A'hmed Bábá himself, the author of the history of Songhay, who gives a long list of learned natives of Negroland, may serve as a fair specimen of the learning in Timbúktu at that time. He had a library of 1600 books.

A great deal of commerce was carried on in Songhay during the dominion of the A'skías, especially in the towns of Gágho and Kúkiya; the latter being, as it appears, the especial market for gold as early as the latter half of the eleventh century. Salt, too, was the staple commodity, while shells already at that time

* Journal of the Leipsic Oriental Society, p. 532.

† Ibid., p. 527, from the year 936 A.H. ‡ Ibid., p. 541.

constituted the general currency of the market; not, however, the same kind of shells that are used at present, but a different sort, which were introduced from Persia; and there is no doubt that, even at that time, almost all the luxuries of the Arabs found their way into this part of Negroland. That Timbúktu, also, since the decline of Bíru or Waláta, in the latter part of the fifteenth century, formed an important place for foreign commerce, is evident from the fact that the merchants of Ghadámes, even at the taking of the town by the Bashá Jódar, inhabited the same quarter as at the present day.

We also see, from Leo's account,* that the King of Songhay was obliged to spend a great proportion of his revenue in the purchase of horses from Barbary, by means of which he improved the native breed, as we have seen was the case in Bórnu, cavalry constituting the principal military strength of countries in the state of civilization which prevails in Negroland. We also find coats of mail mentioned, as well as brass helmets; but no allusion is made to even a single musketeer, nor is the use of any fire-arms intimated by A'hmed Bábá, although he distinctly describes several engagements and even single combats. It was this circumstance which secured to the small army sent by the Emperor of Morocco, a superiority which could not be contested by any numbers which the last A'skía, ruling over a kingdom of vast extent, but undermined by intrigues and civil war, was able to oppose to it; and we must not conclude from this circumstance that an army of 4000 men was a great thing at that time in point of numbers, for the kings of Negroland, at least those of Songhay and Bórnu, at that period, were able to raise greater armies than any of the present kings of those regions could bring together, and we hear of an army of 140,000 men.

The circumstance of the kings of Songhay not having procured at that time—the end of the sixteenth century of our era—even the smallest number of fire-arms, is remarkable, if we compare with it the fact which I have dwelt upon in its proper place,† that Edrís A'lawóma, the King of Bórnu, who ruled in the latter part of the sixteenth century, possessed a considerable number of muskets. The cannon which was found among the Songhay when they were conquered by the Moroccains had, I have no doubt, formed part of the present which the Portuguese had forwarded to A'skía Músa, as we shall farther see in detail in the chrono-

* Leo Africanus, l. vii., c. 3. † Vol. ii., p. 593.

logical tables; but the fact of the enemy having found this piece of ordnance among the spoil of the capital, and not in the thick of the battle, sufficiently proves that the Songhay did not know how to use it. As for the matchlocks, which even at the present day are preserved in Gágho, and of which, by some accident, I did not obtain a sight, they belonged originally to the very conquerors from Morocco, who afterward, as Rumá, formed a stationary garrison, and even a certain aristocratical body, in all the chief towns of the kingdom.

Side by side with a certain degree of civilization, no doubt, many barbarous customs were retained, such as the use of the lash, which in other parts of Negroland we find rarely employed, except in the case of slaves, but which in Songhay we see made use of constantly, even in the case of persons of the highest rank; and instances occur, as in that of the instigator of the revolt of El Hádi under the King el Háj, of persons being flogged to death.*

It is certainly a memorable fact, of which people in Europe had scarcely any idea, that a ruler of Morocco, at the time when Spain had attained its highest degree of power under Philip II. and was filled with precious metals, should open an access to an extensive and rich country, from whence to procure himself an unlimited supply of gold, to the surprise of all the potentates of Europe. It is, moreover, a very remarkable circumstance that the soldiery, by means of which Múláy Hámed subdued that far-distant kingdom and who were left as a garrison in the conquered towns, intermarrying with the females of the country, in the same way as the Portuguese did in India, managed to rule those extensive regions by themselves, even long after they had ceased to acknowledge the supremacy of the Emperor of Morocco, whose soldiers these Rumá originally had been, Rumá or Ermá being the plural form of Rámi, "shooter," or "sharp-shooter;" and although they appear never to have formed a compact body ruled by a single individual, but rather a number of small aristocratic communities, the Rumá in Timbúktu having scarcely any connection with those in Bághena, nay, probably not even with those in Bamba and Gágho, yet superior discipline enabled them to keep their place. The nationality of these Rumá puzzled me a long time, while I was collecting information on these regions in the countries farther eastward; and they have lately attracted

* Journal of the Leipsic Oriental Society, p. 543.

the attention of the French traveler Raffenel,* during his journey to Kaárta, when he learned so much about a people, whom he calls "Arama," that he supposed them to be a distinct tribe, although the vocabulary which he collected of their idiom shows it to be nothing but a slight variety of the Songhay language. However, it is clear that under such circumstances the dominion exercised by this set of half-castes could not but be of a very precarious character; and after a protracted struggle with the smaller tribes around they have been entirely crushed by the Tawárek, and in most of the towns of Songhay form at present an integral part of the degraded native population, although they have preserved their name of Rumá, or, as the name is generally pronounced, Rummá, and still claim a sort of moral ascendency.

It will be seen from the preceding sketch, and become still more apparent from the chronological tables at the end of the volume, that Timbúktu has rather unjustly figured in Europe as the centre and the capital of a great Negro empire, while it never acted more than a secondary part, at least in earlier times; and this character evidently appears from the narrative of Ebn Batúta's journey, in the middle of the fourteenth century. But on account of Timbúktu becoming the seat of Mohammedan learning and Mohammedan worship, and owing to the noble character of its buildings, well deserving to rank as a city or "medína," a title which the capital itself perhaps never deserved, it always enjoyed great respect, even during the flourishing period of the latter; and after Gágho or Gógó had relapsed into insignificance, in consequence of the conquest by the Rumá at the end of the sixteenth century, Timbúktu, on account of its greater proximity to Morocco, became the more important place, where gradually the little commerce which still remained in that distracted region of the Niger was concentrated. But, nevertheless, during the age of anarchy which succeeded to the conquest of the country by the Rumá, and owing to the oppression from the Tawárek tribes on the one side and the Bámbara and Fúlbe on the other, the state of affairs could not be very settled; and the town, shaken as it was to its very base by that fearful struggle of the inhabitants with the Kádhi Mústapha, with massacre, rapine, and conflagration following in its train, could not but decline greatly from its former splendor; yet under the alternately predominating influ-

* See Raffenel, Nouveau Voyage dans le pays des Nègres (made in 1847), Paris, 1856, vol. ii., p. 349, *et seq.*; the Vocabulary, ibid., p. 399, *et seq.*

ence of paganism, represented most strongly by the warlike tribe of the Bámbara, and of Mohammedanism represented by the Arab tribes,* it struggled on, till in consequence of its being conquered by the Fúlbe of Másina, in the year 1826, a few months before the unfortunate Major Laing succeeded in reaching the town, it was threatened with the loss of all its commerce. For these people, owing to the impulse given to Mohammedanism in this part of Negroland by their countryman 'Othmán dan Fódiye,† had become far more fanatical champions of the faith than the Arabs and Moors; and treating the inhabitants of the newly-conquered city, as well as the foreigners who used to visit it, with extreme rigor, according to the prejudices which they had imbibed, they could not fail to ruin almost the whole commercial activity of the place. Their oppression was not confined to the pagan traders, the Wangaráwa, who carry on almost the whole commerce with the countries south of the Niger, but extended even to the Mohammedan merchants from the north, especially the traders from Tawát and Ghadámes, against whom the Morocco merchants, instigated by a feeling of petty rivalry, succeeded in directing their rancor. It was in consequence of this oppression, especially after a farther increase of the Fúlbe party in the year 1831, that the Ghadámsíye people induced the Sheikh el Mukhtár, the elder brother of El Bakáy, and successor of Sídi Mohammed, to remove his residence from the hille or hillet e' Sheikh el Mukhtár, in A'zawád, half a day's journey from the well Bel Mehán, to Timbúktu. Thus we find in this distracted place a third power stepping in between the Fúlbe on the one side and the Tawárek on the other, and using the power of the latter, as far as their want of centralization allowed, against the overbearing character of the former. In consequence of this continued collision the Tawárek drove the Fúlbe completely out of the town about the year 1844, when a battle was fought on the banks of the river, in which a great number of the latter were either slain or drowned. But the victory of the Tawárek was of no avail, and only plunged the distracted town in greater misery; for, owing to its peculiar situation

* This condition of the town explains the great divergence of reports as to the creed prevalent in Timbúktu; but it is unintelligible that a person could actually visit the town without becoming aware that it contained several mosques, and very large ones, too, for such a place. For particulars, see the Appendix.

† See what I have said, p. 182, about the Sheikh A'hmedu, or rather Mohammed Lebbo, the founder of the kingdom of Hamda-Alláhi, having brought from Gando the religious banner under which he conquered Másina.

on the border of a desert tract, Timbúktu can not rely upon its own resources, but must always be dependent upon those who rule the more fertile tracts higher up the river; and the ruler of Másina had only to forbid the exportation of corn from his dominions to reduce the inhabitants of Timbúktu to the utmost distress. A compromise was therefore agreed to in the year 1846, through the mediation of the Sheikh el Bakáy, between the different parties, to the effect that Timbúktu should be dependent on the Fúlbe without being garrisoned by a military force, the tribute being collected by two kádhis, one Púllo and the other Songhay, who should themselves decide all cases of minor importance, the more important ones being referred to the capital. But, nevertheless, the government of the town, or rather the police, as far as it goes, is in the hands of one or two Songhay mayors, with the title of emír, but who have scarcely any effective power, placed as they are between the Fúlbe on the one side and the Tawárek on the other, and holding their ground against the former through the two kádhis, and against the latter by means of the Sheikh el Bakáy. Such is the distracted state of this town, which can not be remedied before a strong and intelligent power is again established on this upper course of the Niger, so eminently favorable for commerce.

After these general remarks on the character of the history of Songhay, I proceed to give a diary of my stay in Timbúktu.

CHAPTER LXVII.

FIRST MONTH OF RESIDENCE IN TIMBU'KTU.

It had been arranged that, during the absence of the Sheikh el Bakáy, whose special guest I professed to be, my house should be locked up and no one allowed to pay me a visit. However, while my luggage was being got in, numbers of people gained access to the house, and came to pay me their compliments, and while they scrutinized my luggage, part of which had rather a foreign appearance, some of them entertained a doubt as to my nationality. But of course it could never have been my intention to have impressed these people with the belief of my being a Mohammedan; for having been known as a Christian all along my road as far as Libtáko, with which province the Arabs of A'zawád keep up a

continual intercourse, although there the people would scarcely believe that I was a European, the news of my real character could not fail soon to transpire; and it was rather a fortunate circumstance that, notwithstanding our extremely slow progress and our roundabout direction, the news had not anticipated us. I had been obliged to adopt the character of a Mohammedan in order to traverse with some degree of safety the country of the Tawárek, and to enter the town of Timbúktu, which was in the hands of the fanatical Fúlbe of Hamda-Alláhi, while I had not yet obtained the protection of the chief whose name and character alone had inspired me with sufficient confidence to enter upon this enterprise.

Thus I had now reached the object of my arduous undertaking; but it was apparent from the very first that I should not enjoy the triumph of having overcome the difficulties of the journey in quiet and repose. The continuous excitement of the protracted struggle, and the uncertainty whether I should succeed in my undertaking, had sustained my weakened frame till I actually reached this city; but as soon as I was there, and almost at the very moment when I entered my house, I was seized with a severe attack of fever. Yet never were presence of mind and bodily energy more required; for the first night which I passed in Timbúktu was disturbed by feelings of alarm and serious anxiety.

On the morning of the 8th of September, the first news I heard was that Hammádi, the rival and enemy of El Bakáy, had informed the Fúlbe or Fullán that a Christian had entered the town, and that, in consequence, they had come to the determination of killing him. However, these rumors did not cause me any great alarm, as I entertained the false hope that I might rely on the person who, for the time, had undertaken to protect me; but my feeling of security was soon destroyed, this very man turning out my greatest tormentor. I had destined for him a very handsome gift, consisting of a fine cloth bernús, a cloth kaftán, and two tobes, one of silk and the other of indigo-dyed cotton, besides some smaller articles; but he was by no means satisfied with these, and peremptorily raised the present to the following formidable proportions:

	Shells.
Two blue bernúses of the best quality, worth	100,000
One kaftán	40,000
Two waistcoats; one red and one blue	15,000
Two silk tobes	35,000
Two Núpe tobes	30,000

A pair of small pistols, with 7 pounds of fine powder . . . .
Ten Spanish dollars . . . . . .
Two English razors, and many other articles . . . . . .

While levying this heavy contribution upon me, in order to take from the affair its vexatious character, my host stated that as their house and their whole establishment were at my disposal, so my property ought to be at theirs. But even this amount of property did not satisfy him, nor were his pretensions limited to this; for the following day he exacted an almost equal amount of considerable presents from me, such as two cloth kaftáns, two silk hamáil or sword belts, three other silk tobes, one of the species called jellábi, one of that called harír, and the third of the kind called filfil, one Núpe tobe, three túrkedís, a small six-barreled pistol, and many other things. He promised me, however, on his part, that he would not only make presents of several of these articles to the Tawárek chiefs, but that he would also send a handsome gift to the governor of Hamda-Alláhi; but this latter condition at least, although the most important, considering that the town was formally subjected to the supremacy of the ruler of Másina, was never fulfilled; and although I was prepared to sacrifice all I had for the purposes of my journey, yet it was by no means agreeable to give up such a large proportion of my very limited property to a younger brother of the chief under whose protection I was to place myself.

Thus my first day in Timbúktu passed away, preparing me for a great deal of trouble and anxiety which I should have to go through; even those who professed to be my friends treating me with so little consideration.

However, the second day of my residence here was more promising. I received visits from several respectable people, and I began to enter with spirit upon my new situation, and to endeavor by forbearance to accommodate myself to the circumstances under which I was placed. The state of my health also seemed to improve, and I felt a great deal better than on the preceding day.

I was not allowed to stir about, but was confined within the walls of my house. In order to obviate the effect of this want of exercise as much as possible, to enjoy fresh air, and at the same time to become familiar with the principal features of the town, through which I was not allowed to move about at pleasure, I ascended as often as possible the terrace of my house. This af-

forded an excellent view over the northern quarters of the town. On the north was the massive mosque of Sánkoré, which had just been restored to all its former grandeur through the influence of the Sheikh el Bakáy, and gave the whole place an imposing character. Neither the mosque Sídi Yáhia, nor the "great mosque," or Jíngeré-bér, was seen from this point; but toward the east the view extended over a wide expanse of the desert, and toward the south the elevated mansions of the Ghadámsíye merchants were visible. The style of the buildings was various. I could see clay houses of different characters, some low and unseemly, others rising with a second story in front to greater elevation, and making even an attempt at architectural ornament, the whole being interrupted by a few round huts of matting. The sight of this spectacle afforded me sufficient matter of interest, although, the streets being very narrow, only little was to be seen of the intercourse carried on in them, with the exception of the small market in the northern quarter, which was exposed to view on account of its situation on the slope of the sand-hills, which, in course of time, have accumulated round the mosque.

But while the terrace of my house served to make me well acquainted with the character of the town, it had also the disadvantage of exposing me fully to the gaze of the passers-by, so that I could only slowly, and with many interruptions, succeed in making a sketch of the scene thus offered to my view, and which is represented in the frontispiece. At the same time I became aware of the great inaccuracy which characterizes the view of the town as given by M. Caillié; still, on the whole, the character of the single dwellings was well represented by that traveler, the only error being that in his representation the whole town seems to consist of scattered and quite isolated houses, while in reality the streets are entirely shut in, as the dwellings form continuous and uninterrupted rows. But it must be taken into account that Timbúktu, at the time of Caillié's visit, was not so well off as it is at present, having been overrun by the Fúlbe the preceding year, and he had no opportunity of making a drawing on the spot.

Although I was greatly delighted at the pleasant place of retreat for refreshing my spirits and invigorating my body by a little exercise which the terrace afforded me, I was disgusted by the custom which prevails in the houses like that in which I was lodged, of using the terrace as a sort of closet; and I had great

difficulty in preventing my guide, Ammer el Waláti, who still staid with me and made the terrace his usual residence, from indulging in this filthy practice.

Being anxious to impart to my friends in Europe the news of my safe arrival in this far-famed town, I was busily employed in writing letters, which gave fresh impulse to my energy. My tormentor Sídi A'lawáte himself seemed anxious to rouse my spirits, which he could not but be conscious of having contributed a great deal to depress, by sending me word that he himself would undertake to accompany me on my home journey, as he intended making the pilgrimage to Mekka; but, having once had full opportunity of judging of the character of this man, I placed but little confidence in his words.

Meanwhile, I began to provide what was most necessary for my comfort, and bought for myself and my people a piece of good bleached calico, "shígge,"* or "sehen híndi," as it is called here, for 13,500 shells, and three pieces of unbleached calico for 8000 each. At the same time I sent several articles into the market, in order to obtain a supply of the currency of the place, 3000 shells being reckoned equal to one Spanish dollar.

Thus I had begun to make myself a little more comfortable, when suddenly, on the morning of the 10th, while I was suffering from another attack of fever, I was excited by the report being circulated that the party opposed to my residence in the town was arming in order to attack me in my house. Now I must confess that, notwithstanding the profession of sincere friendship made to me by Sídi A'lawáte, I am inclined to believe that he himself was not free from treachery, and, perhaps, was in some respect implicated in this manœuvre, as he evidently supposed that, on the first rumor of such an attack being intended, I should abandon my house, or at least my property, when he might hope to get possession underhand of at least a good portion of the latter before the arrival of his brother, whom he knew to be a straight-

* It is a highly interesting fact that we find this native name, which is given to calico in the region of the Niger, already mentioned by that most eminent and clear-sighted of Arab geographers, A'bu 'Obaid Allah el Bekrí, in the middle of the eleventh century, or fully 800 years ago. For, in describing the manufacture of cotton in the town of Silla, which has become so familiar to Europeans in consequence of Mungo Park's adventures, he expressly mentions that this calico was called "shígge" by the natives, الازر المسماة بالشكيات. (El Bekrí, ed. de Slane, 1857, p. 173.) Great interest is imparted by such incidents to the life of a region which, to the common observer, seems dead and uninteresting.

forward man, and who would not connive at such intrigues. With this view, I have no doubt, he sent a female servant to my house, advising me to deposit all my goods* in safety with the Táleb el Wáfi, as the danger which threatened me was very great; but this errand had no other effect than to rouse my spirits. I armed immediately, and ordered my servants to do the same, and my supposed protector was not a little astonished when he himself came shortly afterward with the Waláti (who, no doubt, was at the bottom of the whole affair) and found me ready to defend myself and my property, and to repulse any attack that might be made upon my residence, from whatever quarter it might proceed. He asked me whether I meant to fight the whole population of the town, uttering the words "gúwet e' Rúm," "strength of the Christians;" and protested that I was quite safe under his protection, and had nothing to fear, and certainly, for the moment, my energetic conduct had dispersed the clouds that might have been impending over my head.

But notwithstanding his repeated protestations of sincere friendship, and although he confirmed with his own mouth what I had already heard from other people, that he himself was to accompany me on my return journey as far as Bórnu, he did not discontinue for a moment his importunity in begging for more presents day by day.

One day he called on me in company with his principal pupils, and earnestly recommended me to change my religion, and from an unbeliever to become a true believer. Feeling myself strong enough in arguments to defend my own religious principles, I challenged him to demonstrate to me the superiority of his creed, telling him that in that case I should not fail to adopt it, but not till then. Upon this he and his pupils began with alacrity a spirited discussion, in the firm hope that they would soon be able to overcome my arguments; but after a little while they found them rather too strong, and were obliged to give in without making

* On this occasion, which was a rather serious one, a most ridiculous misunderstanding was caused by the peculiarity of the Arabic dialect used in Timbúktu, which puzzled me and my companions very often, and sometimes made conversation between me and my friends very difficult and intricate. When the servant said that we should remove all our "haiwán" from our house, supposing that she meant animals, we told her that we had only one animal in our house, viz., my horse; and it was some time before we learned that in Timbúktu, which is inhabited mostly by such Arabs as have been at a former period dwellers in the desert, and whose property consisted almost exclusively of camels and cattle, the word "haiwán" comprises all kinds of movable property.

any farther progress at the time in their endeavors to persuade me to turn Mohammedan. This incident improved my situation in an extraordinary degree, by basing my safety on the sincere esteem which several of the most intelligent of the inhabitants contracted for me.

While thus gaining a more favorable position, even in the eyes of this unprincipled man, I had the pleasure of receiving a letter from his elder, more intelligent, and straightforward brother, the Sheikh el Bakáy himself, late in the evening of the 13th, full of the most assuring promises that I should be quite safe under his protection, and that he would soon arrive to relieve me from my unsatisfactory position. And although I felt very unwell all this time, and especially the very day that I received this message, I did not lose a moment in sending the sheikh a suitable answer, wherein I clearly set forth all the motives which had induced me to visit this city, in conformity with the direct wish of the British government, whose earnest desire it was to open friendly intercourse with all the chiefs and princes of the earth; mentioning among other Mohammedan chiefs with whom such a relation existed, the Sultan 'Abd el Mejíd, Múlá 'Abd e' Rahmán, and the Imám of Maskat; and whose attention the region of the Great River (Niger), together with Timbúktu, had long attracted. At the same time I assured him that his own fame as a just and highly intelligent man, which I had received from my friends far to the east, in the heart of Negroland, had inspired me with full confidence that I should be safe under his protection. In consequence of the views which I set forth in this letter I was so fortunate as to gain the lasting esteem of this excellent man, who was so much pleased with the contents of it that on its arrival in Gúndam, where he was at the time, he read it to all the principal men, Tawárek, Songhay, and even Fullán, in whose company he was staying.

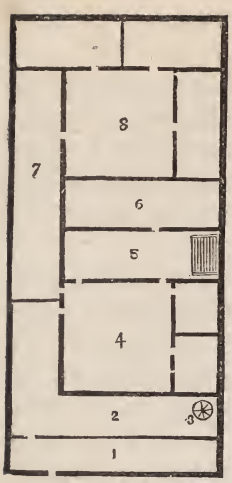
Meanwhile, in order to obtain the friendship and to secure the interest of other and more selfish people, I gave away a great many presents; but, from what I learned afterward, I had reason to suspect that they did not all reach the persons for whom they were intended. Most of them remained in the possession of the greedy Weled A'mmer Waláti, through whose hands they had unfortunately to pass.

The day that I received the important message from the sheikh has been impressed on my memory with so much greater force, as

it was the grand festival of the Mohammedans, or the 'Aíd el Kebír. Here also in this city, so far remote from the centre of Mohammedan worship, the whole population, on this important day, said their prayers outside the town; but there being no paramount chief to give unity to the whole of the festive arrangements the ceremonies exhibited no striking features, and the whole went off very tamely, only small parties of from six to ten persons forming groups for joining in prayer, while the whole procession comprised scarcely more than thirty horses.

After my fever had abated for a day or two it returned with greater violence on the 17th, and I felt at times extremely unwell and very weak, and in my feverish state was less inclined to bear with tranquillity and equanimity all the exactions and contributions levied upon me by Sídi A'lawáte. We had a thunder-storm almost every day, followed now and then by a tolerable quantity of rain; the greatest fall of rain, according to the information which I was able to gather, annually occurring during the month of September, a phenomenon in entire harmony with the northerly latitude of the place. This humidity, together with the character of the open hall in which I used to pass the night as well as the day, increased my indisposition not a little; but the regard for my security did not allow me to seek shelter in the store-room wherein I had placed my luggage, and which, being at the back of the hall, was well protected against cold, and, as it seemed at least, even against wet. For, not to speak of the oppressive atmosphere and almost total darkness which prevailed in that close place, in taking up my residence there I should have exposed myself to the danger of a sudden attack, while from the hall where I was staying I was enabled to observe every thing which was going on in my house; and through the screen which protected the opening, close by the side of my couch, I could observe every body that entered my yard long before they saw me. For this reason I preferred this place even to the room on the terrace, although the latter had the advantage of better air. I may observe that these upper rooms in general form the private residence of most of the people in the town who have the luxury of such an upper story.

Monday, September 26th. About three o'clock in the morning, while I was lying restlessly on my couch, endeavoring in vain to snatch a moment's sleep, the Skeikh Sídi A'hmed el Bakáy arrived. The music, which was immediately struck up in front of



1. First segífa, or, as it is called in Songhay, "sífa," or ante-room.
2. Second segífa, with a staircase, or "tintim," (3) leading to the terrace, "garbéne," and the front room on the terrace, where three of my people well armed were constantly keeping watch.
4. Inner court-yard.
5. Hall, with two open entrances, wherein I had my residence by night and day, on the reed-bed on the right.
6. Store-room, capable of being locked up.
7. Covered passage, or corridor.
8. Second court-yard, originally intended for the female department, but where I kept my horse, the surrounding rooms as well as the back wall of the house being in a state of decay.

his house by the women, was ill adapted to procure me rest; while the arrival of my protector, on whose disposition and power the success of my whole undertaking and my own personal safety fully depended, excited my imagination in the highest degree, and thus contributed greatly to increase my feverish state.

The following day I was so ill as to be quite unable to pay my respects to my protector, who sent me a message begging me to quiet myself, as I might rest assured that nothing but my succumbing to illness could prevent me from safely returning to my native home. Meanwhile, as a proof of his hospitable disposition, he sent me a handsome present, consisting of two oxen, two sheep, two large vessels of butter, one camel load, or "suníye," of rice, and another of negro corn, cautioning me, at the same time, against eating any food which did not come from his own house. In order to cheer my spirits he at once begged me to choose between the three roads by which I wanted to return home—either through the country of the Fúlbe, or in a boat on the river, or, by land, through the district of the Tawárek.

As from the first I had been fully aware that neither the disposition of the natives, and especially that of the present rulers of the country, the Fúlbe, nor the state of my means, would allow me to proceed westward, and as I felt persuaded that laying down the course of the Niger from Timbúktu to Sáy would far outweigh in importance a journey through the upper country toward the Senegal, I was firm in desiring from the beginning to be allowed to visit Gógó. For, not deeming it prudent, in order to avoid creating unnecessary suspicion, to lay too great stress upon navigating the river, I preferred putting forward the name of the capital of the Songhay empire, as in visiting that place I was sure that I should see at least the greater part of the river, while at the same time I should come into contact with

the Tawárek, who are the ruling tribe throughout its whole course.

But the generous offer of my friend was rather premature; and if at that time I had known that I was still to linger in this quarter for eight months longer, in my then feeble condition, I should scarcely have been able to support such an idea; but fortunately Providence does not reveal to man what awaits him, and he toils on without rest in the dark.

Tuesday, September 27th. This was the anniversary of the death of Mr. Overweg, my last and only European companion, whom I had now outlived a whole year; and whom, considering the feeble state of my health at this time, while my mind was oppressed with the greatest anxiety, I was too likely soon to follow to the grave. Nevertheless, feeling a little better when rising from my simple couch in the morning, and confiding in the protection tendered me by a man whose straightforward character was the theme of general admiration, and which plainly appeared in the few lines which I had received from him, I fondly cherished the hope that this day next year it might be my good fortune to have fairly embarked upon my home journey from Negroland, and perhaps not to be far from home itself. I therefore, with cheerful spirit, made myself ready for my first audience, and leaving my other presents behind, and taking only a small six-barreled pistol with me, which I was to present to the sheikh, I proceeded to his house, which was almost opposite my own, there intervening between them only a narrow lane and a small square, where the sheikh had established his "msíd," or daily place of prayer. A'hmed el Bakáy, son of Sídi Mohammed, and grandson of Sídi Mukhtár,* of the tribe of the Kunta, was at that time a man of about fifty years of age, rather above the middle height, full proportioned, with a cheerful, intelligent, and almost European countenance, of a rather blackish complexion, with whiskers of tolerable length, intermingled with some gray hair, and with dark eyelashes. His dress consisted at the time of nothing but a black tobe, a fringed shawl thrown loosely over the head, and trowsers, both of the same color.

I found my host in the small upper room on the terrace, in company with his young nephew, Mohammed ben Khottár, and two confidential pupils, and, at the very first glance which I obtained of him, I was agreeably surprised at finding a man whose

* For the whole genealogy of the skeikh, see Appendix VII.

countenance itself bore testimony to a straightforward and manly character; both which qualities I had found so sadly wanting in his younger brother, Sídi A'lawáte. Cheered by the expression of good-nature in his countenance as he rose from his seat to receive me, and, relieved from all anxiety, I paid him my compliments with entire confidence, and entered into a conversation, which was devoid of any affected and empty ceremonious phrases, but from the first moment was an unrestrained exchange of thoughts between two persons who, with great national diversity of manners and ideas, meet for the first time.

The pistol, however, with which I presented him, soon directed our conversation to the subject of the superiority of Europeans in manufacturing skill, and in the whole scale of human existence; and one of the first questions which my host put to me was, whether it was true, as the Ráís (Major Laing) had informed his father, Sídi Mohammed, during his stay in A'zawád, that the capital of the British empire contained twenty times 100,000 people.

I then learned to my great satisfaction what I afterward found confirmed by the facts stated in Major Laing's correspondence,* that this most enterprising but unfortunate traveler, having been plundered and almost killed by the Tawárek† in the valley Ahénnet, on his way from Tawát, was conducted by his guides to, and made a long stay at the camp or station of the sheikh's father, Sídi Mohammed, in the hillet Sídi el Mukhtár, the place generally called by Major Laing Beled Sídi Mohammed, but sometimes Beled Sídi Mooktar, the major being evidently puzzled as to these names, and apt to confound the then head of the family, Sídi Mohammed, with the ancestor Sídi Mukhtár, after whom that holy place has been called. It is situated half a day's journey from the frequented well Bel Mehán, on the great northerly road, but is at present deserted.‡

* See Major Laing's Letters in the Edinburgh Review, vol. xxxviii., 1828, p. 101, *et seq.*, and vol. xxxix.

† There can not be the least doubt that, in addition to the love of plunder, it was also a certain feeling of revenge for the mischief inflicted upon their countrymen by the heroic Mungo Park which prompted this ferocious act of the Tawárek; and it is very curious to observe the presentiment that Major Laing had, on setting out from Tawát, of what awaited him, as most distinctly embodied in some of his letters, dated Tawát, January, 1826, especially in a letter addressed to James Bandinel, Esq., which General Edward Sabine, the great friend of the distinguished traveler, kindly allowed me to inspect.

‡ Instead of communicating the itinerary from Timbúktu to the hillet in my collection of itineraries through the western half of the desert, at the end of the fol-

We thus came to speak of Major Laing, here known under the name of E' Ráís (the Major), the only Christian that my host and most of the people hereabouts had ever seen; the French traveler, Réné Caillié, who traversed this tract in 1828, having, in his poor disguise, entirely escaped their observation, not to speak of the sailors Adams and Scott, who are said to have visited this place, although their narrative does not reveal a single trait which can be identified with its features.

Major Laing, during the whole time of our intercourse, formed one of the chief topics of conversation, and my noble friend never failed to express his admiration, not only of the major's bodily strength, but of his noble and chivalrous character.* I made immediate inquiries with regard to Major Laing's papers, but unfortunately, not being provided with a copy of the blue book containing all the papers relating to that case, I had not the means of establishing all the points disputed. I only learned that at the time none of those papers were in existence, although the sheikh himself told me that the major, while staying in A'zawád, had drawn up a map of the whole northerly part of the desert from Tawát as far south as the hillet or the place of residence of his father.

Meanwhile, while we were conversing about the fate of my precursor in the exploration of these regions, my host assured me repeatedly of my own perfect safety in the place, and promised that he would send the most faithful of his followers, Mohammed el

lowing volume, where it would be overlooked by the general reader, I prefer inserting it in this place:

1½ day, Tenég el hay, or Tenég el háj, a well where all the roads meet. A great many celebrated localities along this part of the road.

1 day, Tin-tahón, about the heat of the day; a locality so called from an eminence, "tahón."

1 day, Worozíl, a well with a rich supply of water, about the same time.

1 day, E'n-eláhi, a whole day. From hence to the small town Bú-Jebéha, passing by the well e' Twíl, 2 days.

2 days, Eruk; 3 days from A'rawán; 1½ from Bú-Jebéha. Close to Eruk is Mérizík.

1 day, Bel-Mehán, a rich and famous well; a long day, keeping along a valley inclosed between the sand-hills, "E'gif," toward the W., and the black mountains of A'derár toward the E.

1 day, Hillet e' Sheikh.

* It is highly interesting and satisfactory to observe how Major Laing himself, in the letters published in the Edinburgh Review, speaks of the kind reception given to him, when severely wounded, by the sheikh and maraboot (Merábat) Mooktar, or rather Sídi Mohammed. See, especially, p. 105.

'Aísh, with me to the Tawárek, from whence I might continue my journey in the company of my former companion. Such, I think, was really his intention at the time, but circumstances, which I am soon to detail, were to change all these premature plans.

Having returned to my quarters I sent my host his present, which consisted of three bernúses, viz., one heláli, or white silk and cotton mixed, and two of the finest cloth, one of green and the other of red color; two cloth kaftáns, one black and the other yellow; a carpet from Constantinople; four tobes, viz., one very rich, of the kind called "harír," and bought for 30,000 shells, or twelve dollars, one of the kind called filfil, and two best black tobes; twenty Spanish dollars in silver; three black shawls, and several smaller articles, the whole amounting to the value of about £30. He then sent a message to me, expressing his thanks for the liberality of the government in whose service I was visiting him, and stating that he did not want any thing more from me; but he begged that after my safe return home, I would not forget him, but would request her majesty's government to send him some good fire-arms and some Arabic books; and I considered myself authorized in assuring him that I had no doubt the English government would not fail to acknowledge his services, if he acted in a straightforward manner throughout.

Pleasant and cheering as was this whole interview, nevertheless, in consequence of the considerable excitement which it caused me in my weak state, I felt my head greatly affected; and I was seized with a shivering fit about noon the following day, just as I was going to pay another visit to my friend. On the last day of September I entered into a rather warm dispute with A'lawáte, whom I met at his brother's house, and whose ungenerous conduct I could not forget. My protector not possessing sufficient energy, and, in his position, not feeling independent enough to rebuke his brother for the trouble which he had caused me, begged me repeatedly to bear patiently his importunities, though he was aware of my reasons for disliking him. On another occasion he made me fire off the six-barreled pistol in front of his house, before a numerous assemblage of people. This caused extraordinary excitement and astonishment among the people, and exercised a great influence upon my future safety, as it made them believe that I had arms all over my person, and could fire as many times as I liked.

Thus the month of September concluded satisfactorily and most auspiciously, as it seemed. For I had not only succeeded in reaching in safety this city, but I was also well received on the whole; and the only question seemed to be how I was to return home by the earliest opportunity and the safest route. But all my prospects changed with the first of the ensuing month, when the difficulties of my situation increased, and all hopes of a speedy departure appeared to be at an end. For in the afternoon of the first of October, a considerable troop of armed men, mustering about twenty muskets, arrived from Hamda-Alláhi, the residence of the Shekho A'hmedu ben A'hmedu, to whose nominal sway the town of Timbúktu and the whole province has been subjected since the conquest of the town in the beginning of the year 1826. These people brought with them an order from the capital to drive me out of the town; and Hammádi, the nephew and rival of the Sheikh el Bakáy, feeling himself strengthened by the arrival of such a force, availed himself of so excellent an opportunity of enhancing his influence, and, in consequence, issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of the town, commanding them, in stringent terms, to attend to the orders of the emír, and, in the event of my offering resistance, not even to spare my life.

There can scarcely be any doubt that my protector, as far as a man of a rather weak character was capable of any firm resolution, had intended to send me off by the very first opportunity that should offer; but the order issued by the emír of Hamda-Alláhi (to whose authority he was vehemently opposed), that I should be forthwith driven out of the town or slain, roused his spirit of opposition. He felt, too, that the difficulties of my leaving this place in safety were thus greatly augmented. All thoughts of my immediate departure were therefore set aside; partly, no doubt, from regard to my security, but much more from an anxious desire to show the Fullán, or Fúlbe, that he was able to keep me here, notwithstanding their hostile disposition and their endeavors to the contrary. There were, besides, the intrigues of the Waláti, my guide on the journey from Yágha, who, finding that the sheikh did not approve of his dishonest conduct toward me, endeavored to get me out of his hands, in order that he might deal with me as he liked. My broker, too, 'Alí el A'geren, seeing the difficulties of my situation, gave me entirely up, making his own safety the only object of his thoughts.

The sheikh, when he had fully understood what I had told him

with regard to the power and the political principles of the sovereign of Great Britain, had determined to write a letter with his own hand, expressing his satisfaction that I had come to pay him my compliments, and in order to endeavor to counteract the discouraging effects produced by the account of Major Laing's death, and if possible to obtain for himself a few presents. This letter, it was understood in the beginning, I myself should take with me; but in the evening of the third of October, I suddenly, to my great amazement, received the intelligence that I was to send my man, 'Alí el A'geren, to Ghadámes or Tripoli with this letter, accompanying it with a note from my own hand, while I myself remained behind, as a kind of hostage, in Timbúktu, until the articles which the Sheikh el Bakáy had written for were received. But I was not to be treated in this way by intrigues of my own people; and the following morning I sent a simple protest to the sheikh, stating that as for himself he might do just as he liked, and if he chose to keep me as a prisoner or hostage he might do so as long as he thought fit, but that he must not expect to receive so much as a needle from the government that had sent me until I myself should have returned in safety. My host, too, had just before intimated to me that it would be best to deliver my horse and my gun into his hands; but I sent him an answer that neither the one nor the other should leave my house until my head had left my shoulders. It was rather remarkable that a person of so mean a character as the Waláti should for a moment gain the upper hand of a man of such an excellent disposition as the sheikh; but it was quite natural that this clever rogue should continually incite Sídi A'lawáte to make new demands upon my small store of valuable articles.

Meanwhile, while I was thus kept in a constant state of excitement, I was not free from anxiety in other respects. A thunderstorm, accompanied by the most plentiful rain which I had experienced during my stay in this place, had in the afternoon of the 3d October inundated my house, and, breaking through the wall of my store-room, had damaged the whole of my luggage, my books, and medicines, as well as my presents and articles of exchange. But my situation was soon to improve, as the sheikh became aware of the faithless and despicable character of my former companion and guide; and while he ordered the latter to fetch my camels from A'ribínda, which it was now but too apparent he had sold on his own account instead of having them taken

care of for me, he informed me of what had come to his knowledge of the Waláti's previous character and disreputable habits.

The Emír of Hamda-Alláhi's sending a force to Timbúktu in order to dispose of me, with the assistance of the inhabitants of that town, without paying the slightest regard to the opinion of my protector, had caused a considerable reaction in the whole relation of the sheikh to the townspeople, and he had made up his mind to pitch his camp outside the city, in order to convince the inhabitants, and the Fullán in particular, that he did not depend upon them, but had mightier friends and a more powerful spell upon which he could safely rely. He had even, while still absent in Gúndam, opened communication with A'wáb, the chief of the Tademékket, to this effect.

But all these proceedings required more energy and a more warlike character than, I am sorry to say, my friend and protector actually possessed; and our adversaries were so busy, that, in the night of the 9th, owing to the arrival of a party of Tawárek, who were well known not to be friendly disposed toward him, he was so intimidated that at two o'clock in the morning he himself came to my house, rousing us from our sleep and requesting us most urgently to keep watch, as he was afraid that something was going on against me. We therefore kept a constant look-out the whole night on our terrace, and seeing that the rear of our house was in a partial state of decay, facilitating an attack in that quarter, we set to work early in the morning repairing the wall and barricading it with thorny bushes. The artisans of the town were so afraid of the party hostile to me, who were the nominal rulers, that no one would undertake the task of repairing my house. However, the more intelligent natives of the place did all in their power to prevent my learned friend from leaving the town, as they felt sure that such a proceeding would be the commencement of troubles. The consequence was that we did not get off on the 10th, although the sheikh had sent his wife and part of his effects away the preceding night, and it was not till a little before noon the following day that we actually left the town.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

FIRST RESIDENCE IN THE DESERT.—POLITICAL COMBINATIONS.—GREAT MOSQUE.—GROUND-PLAN OF THE TOWN.

October 11*th*. This was an important moment for myself, as, with the exception of an occasional visit to the sheikh, who lived only a few yards across the street, and an almost daily promenade on my terrace, I had not moved about since my arrival. With a deep consciousness of the critical position in which I was placed, I followed my protector, who, mounted on his favorite white mare, led the way through the streets of the town, along which the assembled natives were thronging in order to get a glance at me. Leaving the high mounds of rubbish which constitute the ground-work of the northern part of the town on our left, and pursuing a north-northeasterly direction over a sandy tract covered with stunted bushes, and making only a short halt near a well five miles from the town, for the purpose of watering our horses, after a march of two miles more we reached the camp, which could easily be recognized at a great distance by two large white cotton tents, whose size and situation made them conspicuous above some smaller leathern dwellings. It was just about sunset; and the open country with its rich mimosas, and with the camp on the rising ground, the white sandy soil of which was illuminated by the last rays of the setting sun, presented an interesting spectacle. The younger inhabitants of the camp, including Bábá Ahmed and 'Abidín, two favorite boys of the sheikh, one five, the other four years of age, came out to meet us; and I soon afterward found myself lodged in an indigenous tent of camel's hair, which was pitched at the foot of the hill, belonging to Mohammed el Khalíl, a relative of the sheikh, who had come from his native home in Tíris, on the shores of the Atlantic, in order to share his uncle's blessing.

In this encampment we passed several days in the most quiet and retired manner, when my friend revealed to me his course of action. It was his intention, he said, to bring the old chief Galaijo, from the place of his exile in Champagóre, back to this part of Negroland, which he had formerly ruled, and to reinstate him,

by the aid of the Tawárek, in the government of Másina with the residence Hamda-Alláhi, of which he was to deprive the family of Lebbo. But even if it was true, as he said, that the Fúlbe themselves, as well as those settled between Fermágha and Gúndam, as those inhabiting the provinces of Dalla, Dwenza, and Gilgóji, were opposed to the government of Lebbo, such a project appeared to me to require a greater share of perseverance and determination than, from all that I had seen, I could believe my noble friend possessed. However, he entertained no doubt at that time that Alkúttabu, the great chief of the Tawárek himself, would come to his aid without delay and conduct me, under his powerful protection, safely along the banks of the Niger.

However exaggerated the projects of my protector were, considering his mild disposition, and although by exasperating the Fúlbe more and more, he no doubt increased the difficulties of my situation, the moving of his encampment outside the town afforded me a great deal of relief, both in consequence of the change of air which it procured me, and of the varied scenery. I could also get here a little exercise, although the more open the country was, the greater care I had to take of my safety. In the morning, particularly, the camp presented a very animated sight. The two large white tents of cotton cloth, with their top-covering, or "sarámme," of checkered design, and their woolen curtains of various colors, were half opened to allow the morning air to pervade them. The other smaller ones were grouped picturesquely around on the slope, which was enlivened by camels, cattle, and goats that were just being driven out. All nature was awake and full of bustle, and the trees were swarming with white pigeons. In the evening, again, there were the cattle returning from their pasturage, the slaves bringing water on the backs of the asses, and the people grouped together in the simple place of devotion, laid out with thorny bushes, in order to say their prayers, guided by the melodious voice of their teacher, who never failed to join them. At this time a chapter of the Kurán was chanted by the best instructed of the pupils, and continued often till a late hour at night, the sound of these beautiful verses, in their melodious fall, reverberating from the downs around; at other times animated conversation ensued, and numerous groups gathered on the open ground by the side of the fire.

We returned into the town on the 13th. The first day had passed off rather quietly, save that a party of twelve Imóshagh,

of the tribe of the Igwádaren, partly mounted on camels, partly on horses, trespassed on the hospitality of the sheikh. I had an opportunity of inspecting their swords, and was not a little surprised at finding that they were all manufactured in the German town of Solingen, as indeed were almost all the swords of these Tawárek or Imóshagh.

The interests of the different members of the family now began to clash. The sheikh himself was firm in his opposition against the Fúlbe, and requested me in future, when I visited him, to come to his house fully armed, in order to show our adversaries that I was ready to repulse any violence; and it was in vain that I protested that, as I came with peaceable intentions, nothing could be farther from my wish than to cause any disturbance in the town. Meanwhile, his brother, Sídi A'lawáte, suborned one of the sheikh's pupils to make another attempt to convert me to Islamism. This man, who was one of the most learned followers of the sheikh, having resided for nearly thirty years in the family, first with the Sheikh Sídi Mohammed, then with his eldest son, El Mukhtár, who succeeded him in the dignity of a sheikh during Major Laing's residence in A'zawád, and finally with the Sheikh el Bakáy himself, originally belonged to the Arab tribe of the Welád Ráshid, whose settlements in Wádáy I have mentioned on a former occasion. Partly on this account, partly on account of his great religious knowledge, and his volubility of speech, he possessed great influence with all the people, although his prudence and forbearance were not conspicuous. But, finding that his usual arguments in favor of his creed did not avail with me, he soon desisted. This was the last time these people attempted to make me a proselyte to their religion, with the exception of some occasional serious advice from my friends under the temporary pressure of political difficulties.

The emír of the place, of the name of Kaúri, who was a good-natured man, and whose colleague, Belle, was absent at the time, having advised my protector to take me again out of the town for a few days, till the Kádhi A'hmed Weled F'aamme, who was going to Hamda-Alláhi, and who was especially hostilely disposed toward me, should have left, we again set out, on the morning of the 17th October; but, having staid in the encampment that night and the following morning, we returned to the town the same afternoon, but left again on the morning of the 20th, when the kafla of the Tawátíye was ready to set out on their journey to the

north, and staid with them during the heat of the day. They were encamped in about twenty-four small leathern tents round the well where we had a few days previously watered our horses, and mustered more than fifty muskets, each of them being armed, moreover, with a spear and sword; but notwithstanding their numbers, and the circumstance that a rather respectable man, of the name of Háj A'hmed, the wealthiest person of Insála or 'Aín-Sála, was among them, and was to accompany them as far as M'amún, I felt no inclination to go with this caravan, and thus to deprive myself of the opportunity of surveying the river, nor did my protector himself seem to find in this northerly road any sufficient guarantee for my safe return home. I therefore only made use of this opportunity in order to send to Europe, by way of Ghadámes, a short report of my arrival in Timbúktu, and a general outline of the political circumstances connected with my stay in the city.

The caravan having started the following morning, we staid two days longer in the camp, and then once more returned into the town, without any farther difficulty, in the company of Sídi A'lawáte, who had come out to join us with a body of armed followers, and who behaved now, on the whole, much more amiably toward me. He even gave me some interesting particulars with respect to Ségo,* which place he had visited some time before, levying upon Dembo, then king of Bámbara, a heavy contribution of gold. This king, who was sprung from a Púllo mother, had succeeded his father Farma, the son of the king mentioned by Mungo Park under the name of Mansong, two years previously.†

The Fúlbe, however, did not give up their point, and, as they did not find themselves strong enough to proceed to open vio-

* The chief information related to the circumstance that all the four quarters of that town, together with two other quarters which in a wider sense are included in the place, are situated on the south side of the river, as has been stated already in Recueil des Voyages, tom. ii., p. 53. Mungo Park, who states (First Journey, p. 195) the contrary, was evidently mistaken; and from the circumstances under which he passed by Ségo, as a despised and suspected person, his mistake is easily intelligible. The two quarters which in a wider sense still belong to Ségo are called Benánkoró and Bammabúgu, in the former of which a well-frequented market is held. There is, besides, a village close by called Bebára.

† My information as to the succession of the kings of Bámbara does not agree with that received by M. Faidherbe, the present Governor of Senegal, published in the "Revue Coloniale," 1857, p. 279. I shall refer to this subject in another place.

lence, made an indirect attack upon me by putting in irons on the 27th some Arabs or Moors, on the pretext of having neglected their prayers, thereby protesting strongly enough against a person of an entirely different creed staying in the town. The Emír Kaúri himself, who, on the whole, seemed to be a man of good sense, was in a most awkward position; and when the kádhi informed him that, if he was not able to execute the order which he had received from his liege lord, he should solicit the assistance of the people of Timbúktu, he refused to have recourse to violence till he had received stricter orders to that effect and more effectual aid; for, in the event of his having driven me out, and any thing having befallen me, the whole blame would be thrown upon him, as had been the case with Sídi Bú-Bakr the governor, who, obeying the orders of Mohammed Lebbo, had obliged the Ráís (Major Laing) to leave the town, and thus, in some measure, was the cause of his death, that distinguished traveler having thrown himself in despair into the arms of Hámed Weled 'Abéda, the chief of the Berabísh, who murdered him in the desert.

But, on the other hand, the emír endeavored to dissuade my protector, who was about to send a messenger to Alkúttabu,* the great chief of the Awelímmiden, to summon him to his assistance, from carrying out his intention, fearing lest the result of this proceeding might be a serious conflict between the Tawárek and the Fúlbe. However, from all that I saw, I became aware that the chance of my departure was more remote than ever, and that, at least this year, there was very little prospect of my leaving this place; for the messenger whom the sheikh was to send to the Tárki chief, and of whose departure there had been much talk for so long a time, had not yet left, and the chief's residence was several hundred miles off. I therefore again protested to my friend that it was my earnest desire to set out on my home journey as soon as possible, and that I felt not a little annoyed at the continual procrastination.

Several circumstances concurred at this time to make me feel the delay the more deeply, so that notwithstanding my sincere esteem for my protector, I thought it better, when he again left the town in the evening of the 27th, to remain where I was; for after my

* I will here remark, although I have to speak repeatedly of this chief, that the name seems to be an abbreviation, meaning probably قطب الدين, that is, "pillar of the faith."

return from our last excursion, in consequence of the severe cold during the night, I had been visited by a serious attack of rheumatism, which had rendered me quite lame for a day or two.

With regard to the means of my departure, the Waláti, whom I had sent out at a great expense to bring my horses and camels from the other side of the river, had brought back my horses in the most emaciated condition. As for the camels, he had intended to appropriate them to his own use; but I defeated his scheme by making a present of them to the sheikh. This brought all the Waláti's other intrigues to light, especially the circumstance of his having presented a small pistol (which I had given to himself) to Hammádi, the sheikh's rival, intimating that it came from me, and thus endangering my whole position, by making the sheikh believe that I was giving presents to his rivals and his enemies. But my protector acted nobly on this occasion; for he not only warned me against the intrigues of the Waláti, and would not lend an ear to his numerous calumnies against me, but he even preferred me, the Christian, to my Mohammedan companion, the Méjebrí, 'Alí el A'geren, who was sometimes led, through fear, to take the part of the Waláti; and the Méjebri, who thought himself almost a sherif, and was murmuring his prayers the whole evening long, felt not a little hurt and excited when he found that the sheikh placed infinitely more reliance upon me than upon himself.

In order to convince the sheikh how sensible I was of the confidence which he placed in me, I made a present of a blue cloth kaftan to Mohammed Boy, the son of the chief Galaijo, who had studied with him for a year or two, and was now about to return home by way of Hamda-Alláhi. But, unluckily, I had not many such presents to offer, and a nobleman of the name of Muláy 'Abd e' Salám, who had sent me a hospitable present of wheat and rice, was greatly offended at not receiving from me a bernús in return.

Meanwhile, the Fúlbe or Fullán sent orders to Dár e' Salám, the capital of the district of Zánkara, that their countrymen inhabiting that province should enter Timbúktu as soon as the sheikh should leave it. The latter, in order to show these people the influence he possessed, decided upon taking me with him on an excursion to Kábara, which is the harbor on the river, where the Fúlbe were generally acknowledged to possess greater power than in Timbúktu, on account of the distance of the latter from the water. I followed him gladly, that I might have an opportu-

nity of observing the different aspect of the country two months after the date when I had first traversed it. In fact, the landscape had now a very different appearance, being entirely changed in consequence of the abundant rains which had fallen in September and October. The whole sandy level, which before looked so dull and dreary, was now covered with herbage; while that part of the road nearer the town had been a little cleared of wood, apparently in order to prevent the Tawárek from lurking near the road and surprising travelers. Farther on, when we approached the village of Kábara, all the fields were overgrown with watermelons, which form a considerable branch of the industry of the inhabitants.

We dismounted, at length, close to Kábara, in the shade of a talha-tree, clearing the ground and making ourselves as comfortable as possible. A great number of people collected round us, not only from the village of Kábara, but also from the town; even the governor, or emír, Kaúri, came out to see what we were doing here.

By way of making some sort of popular display, and showing his enemies the extent of his authority, my protector here distributed the presents which he had destined for Boy and his companions, who, before returning to their home in the province of Galaijo, were first going to pay their compliments to the Sheikho A'hmedu in Hamda-Alláhi. He also sent the very bernús which I had intended for 'Abd e' Salám to 'Abd Alláhi,* the uncle of the young Sheikho A'hmedu of Hamda-Alláhi. While the emír walked up and down, at some distance from the spot where we had taken up our position, in order to have a look at me, we were treated hospitably by the inspector of the harbor (a cheerful old man of the name of 'Abd el Kásim, and of supposed sheríf origin),

* I will give, in this place, some particulars as to the court of Hamda-Alláhi; حمد الله the name is written by the natives. Mohammed Lebbo ruled from A.H. 1241 to 1262; his son Sheikho (pronounced also Seko) A'hmedu, till 1269. This is the chief whom M. Faidherbe (Revue Col. 1857, p. 279) calls Balógo, a Mandingo name, which means nothing but "war-chief." Sheikho A'hmedu, in spite of the opposition of a strong party, was succeeded by his young son A'hmedu. All the members of the royal family live together in one and the same court-yard, which has something of a round shape, the yard of the chief himself forming the centre, and those of the four surviving sons of Mohammed Lebbo, viz., 'Abd Alláhi, 'Abd e' Salám, Hámidu, and 'Abd e' Rahmán, lying opposite each other around the wall. Of these uncles of the sheikho, 'Abd Alláhi is the richest, and is said to possess a great amount of gold, 1700 slaves, 1900 head of cattle, 40 horses, and 20 boats on the river.

with several dishes of excellent kuskus, one of which fell to my share: and I was delighted to see that, notwithstanding the decline of every thing in this distracted region, the old office of an inspector of the harbor still retained a certain degree of importance. But I lamented that I was not allowed to survey at my leisure the general features of the locality, which had entirely changed since my first visit to this place. The river had inundated the whole of the lowlands, so that the water, which had before only formed a narrow ditch-like channel, now presented a wide open sheet, affording easy access to the native craft of all sizes.

Having then mounted in the afternoon, after a pleasant ride we reached the town; but instead of directly entering the dilapidated walls we turned off a little to the west, toward a small plantation of date-trees (marked [9] in the plan of the town), of the existence of which I had had no previous idea; for, small and insignificant as it was, it claimed considerable interest in this arid tract, there being at present only four or five middle-sized trees, rather poor specimens of the hájilíj or *balanites*, inside the town, although we know that before the time of the conquest of Songhay by the Moroccains the city was not so poor in vegetation; but the inspector of the harbor having fled on that occasion with the whole fleet, the Bashá Mahmúd cut down all the trees in and around the town for the purpose of ship-building.

The little oasis consisted of three nearly full-grown date-trees, but of small size, only one of them bearing fruit, while around there were about ten very young bushes, which, if not well taken care of, scarcely seemed to promise ever to become of any value. The plantation, poor as it was, owed its existence to the neighborhood of a deep well of immense size, being about thirty yards in diameter and five fathoms deep, wherein the water collects.

Having loitered here a few moments, and visited a small and poor plantation in the neighborhood belonging to the Tawáti, Mohammed el 'Aísh, we turned off toward the Jíngeré-bér, or "great mosque," which by its stately appearance made a deep impression upon my mind, as I had not yet had an opportunity of inspecting it closely. It was here especially that I convinced myself, not only of the trustworthy character of Caillié's report in general, of which I had already had an opportunity of judging, but also of the accuracy with which, under the very unfavorable circumstances in which he was placed, he has described the various objects which fell under his observation. I was only permitted to

survey the outside of the mosque; as to the interior, I was obliged to rely upon the information which I received from the more intelligent of the natives.

The mosque is a large building, but a considerable portion of it is occupied by an open court-yard, wherein the larger tower is inclosed, while the principal part of the building includes nine naves of different dimensions and structure; the westernmost portion, which consists of three naves, belonging evidently to the old mosque, which, together with the palace, was built by Mansa Músa, the King of Melle, as is even attested by an inscription over the principal gate, although it has become somewhat illegible. The chief error which Caillié has committed in describing this mosque relates to the smaller tower, the position of which he has mistaken, and the number of gateways on the eastern side, there being seven instead of five. Caillié also states the greatest length of the building to be 104 paces, while my intelligent friend Mohammed ben 'Aísh assured me that, after measuring it with the greatest accuracy, he found it to be 262 French feet in length, by 194 in width.*

If this building, which stands just at the western extremity, and forms the southwestern corner of the town, were situated in the centre, it would be infinitely more imposing; but it is evident that in former times the mosque was surrounded by buildings on the western side. The city formerly was twice as large.

While we were surveying this noble pile, numbers of people collected round us—this being the quarter inhabited principally by the Fúlbe or Fullán; and when we turned our steps homeward, they followed us along the streets through the market, which was now empty, but without making the least hostile manifestation. On the contrary, many of them gave me their hands.

Soon after my arrival in the place I had sent home a small plan of the town. This I now found to be inaccurate in some respects; and I here therefore subjoin a more correct plan of the town, although on a rather small scale, the circumstances under which I resided there not having allowed me to survey the greater part of it accurately enough for a more minute delineation.

The city of Timbúktu, according to Dr. Peterman's laying down of it from my materials, lies in 17° 37′ N. and 3° 5′ W. of

* I recommend the reader who takes any interest in the subject to read the whole passage of Caillié relating to this mosque, English ed., vol. ii., p. 71. The Tawáti took the measurement with my line.

PLAN OF TIMBU'KTU.

1. House of the Sheikh A'hmed el Bakáy, with another house belonging to the same close by, and having in front of it a small square, where he has established a "msid," or place of prayer for his pupils, several of whom pass the night here.
2. House belonging likewise to the sheikh, where I myself was lodged, the ground-plan of which I have given above.
3. Great mosque, "Gingere (Jingeré, or Zángeré) bér, Jám'a el kebíra," begun by Mansa Músa, King of Melle, A.D. 1327, and forming, for many centuries, the centre of the Mohammedan quarter.
4. Mosque Sánkoré, in the quarter Sánkoré, which is generally regarded as the oldest quarter of the town. The mosque has five naves, and is 120 feet long by 80 feet wide.
5. Mosque Sidi Yáhia, much smaller than the two other large mosques.
6. Great market-place, or Yúbu.
7. Butchers' market, where in former times the palace, or "M'a-duk," or M'a-dugu, is said to have been situated.
8. Gate leading to Kábara.
9. Well, surrounded by a small plantation of date-trees.
10. Another well, with a small garden belonging to Mohammed el 'Aish.
11. Spot in a shallow valley, up to which point small boats ascended from the Niger, in the winter 1853–4.

Greenwich. Situated only a few feet above the average level of the river, and at a distance of about six miles from the principal branch, it at present forms a sort of triangle, the base of which points toward the river, while the projecting angle is directed toward the north, having for its centre the mosque of Sánkoré. But, during the zenith of its power, the town extended a thousand yards farther north, and included the tomb of the Fáki Mahmúd, which, according to some of my informants, was then situated in the midst of the town.

The circumference of the city at the present time I reckon at a little more than two miles and a half; but it may approach closely

to three miles, taking into account some of the projecting angles. Although of only small size, Timbúktu may well be called a city—medína—in comparison with the frail dwelling-places all over Negroland. At present it is not walled. Its former wall, which seems never to have been of great magnitude, and was rather more of the nature of a rampart, was destroyed by the Fúlbe on their first entering the place in the beginning of the year 1826. The town is laid out partly in rectangular, partly in winding streets, or, as they are called here, "tijeráten," which are not paved, but for the greater part consist of hard sand and gravel, and some of them have a sort of gutter in the middle. Besides the large and the small market there are few open areas, except a small square in front of the mosque of Yáhia, called Túmbutu-bóttema.

Small as it is the city is tolerably well inhabited, and almost all the houses are in good repair. There are about 980 clay houses, and a couple of hundred conical huts of matting, the latter, with a few exceptions, constituting the outskirts of the town on the north and northeast sides, where a great deal of rubbish, which has been accumulating in the course of several centuries, is formed into conspicuous mounds. The clay houses are all of them built on the same principle as my own residence, which I have described, with the exception that the houses of the poorer people have only one court-yard, and have no upper room on the terrace.

The only remarkable public buildings in the town are the three large mosques: the Jíngeré-bér, built by Mansa Músa; the mosque of Sánkoré, built at an early period at the expense of a wealthy woman; and the mosque Sídi Yáhia, built at the expense of a kádhi of the town. There were three other mosques: that of Sídi Háj Mohammed, Msíd Belál, and that of Sídi el Bámi. These mosques, and perhaps some little msíd, or place of prayer, Caillié must have included when he speaks* of seven mosques. Besides these mosques there are at present no distinguished public buildings in the town; and of the royal palace, or M'a-dugu, wherein the kings of Songhay used to reside occasionally, as well as the Kasbah, which was built in later times, in the southeastern quarter, or the "Sane-gungu,"† which already at that time was inhabited by the merchants from Ghadámes,‡ not a trace is to be

* Caillié, Travels to Timbuctoo, vol. ii., p. 56.

† Sane-gungu means, properly, the island, or the quarter of the whites, "kirsh el bedhán."

‡ See about the Kasbah, A'hmed Bábá's account, Journal of the Leipsic Oriental Society, vol. ix., p. 550.

seen. Besides this quarter, which is the wealthiest, and contains the best houses, there are six other quarters, viz., Yúbu, the quarter comprising the great market-place (yúbu) and the mosque of Sídi Yáhia, to the west of Sane-gungu; and west of the former, forming the southwestern angle of the town, and called, from the great mosque, Jíngeré-bér or Zángeré-bér. This latter quarter, from the most ancient times, seems to have been inhabited especially by Mohammedans, and not unlikely may have formed a distinct quarter, separated from the rest of the town by a wall of its own. Toward the north, the quarter Sane-gungu is bordered by the one called Sara-káina, meaning literally the "little town," and containing the residence of the sheikh, and the house where I myself was lodged. Attached to Sara-káina, toward the north, is Yúbu-káina, the quarter containing the "little market," which is especially used as a butchers' market. Bordering both on Jíngeré-bér and Yúbu-káina is the quarter Bagíndi, occupying the lowest situation in the town, and stated by the inhabitants to have been flooded entirely in the great inundation which took place in 1640. From this depression in the ground, the quarter of Sánkoré, which forms the northernmost angle of the city, rises to a considerable elevation in such a manner that the mosque of Sánkoré, which seems to occupy its ancient site and level, is at present situated in a deep hollow—an appearance which seems to prove that this elevation of the ground is caused by the accumulation of rubbish, in consequence of the repeated ruin which seems to have befallen this quarter pre-eminently, as being the chief stronghold of the native Songhay. The slope which this quarter forms toward the northeastern end in some spots exceeds eighty feet.

The whole number of the settled inhabitants of the town amounts to about 13,000, while the floating population during the months of the greatest traffic and intercourse, especially from November to January, may amount on an average to 5000, and under favorable circumstances to as many as 10,000. Of the different elements composing this population, and of their distinguishing features, I shall say a few words in another place. I now revert to the diary of my own proceedings.

In the evening of the next day I again went with the sheikh out of the town to the tents, where we were to stay two days, but where we in fact spent six; my friend finding himself very happy in the company of his wife, to whom he was sincerely attached.

Not only my companions but even I myself began to find it rather tedious in the dull encampment, as I had scarcely any books with me to pass away my time, and my situation not allowing me to enter too closely into the discussions of my companions, as in that case they would have redoubled their endeavors to convert me to their creed, and would scarcely have allowed me to depart at all.

Almost the whole of the time which I spent here the sheikh left me quite to myself, sometimes not quitting his tent for a whole day; but at other times we had some pleasant and instructive conversation. Among other subjects a rather animated discussion arose one day. An Arab, of the name of 'Abd e' Rahmán, a near relation of my host, and of a rather presumptuous character, who had come on a visit from A'zawád, was extremely anxious to know the motives which induced me to visit this country, and scarcely doubted that it could be any thing else than the desire of conquest. In order to show them of what little value the possession of the country would be to the Europeans, I jestingly told them that our government, being informed that the natives of these tracts fed on sand and clay, had sent me out to discover how this was done, in order to provide in a similar way for the poor in our own country. The Arab was naturally greatly surprised at my statement. But the sheikh himself laughed very heartily, and inquired, with an expression of doubt, whether there were poor people among the Christians.

Another evening, when the sheikh was cheerfully sitting with us round the fire, we had an interesting conversation concerning the worship of idols. In order to overcome the prejudice of his pupils with regard to the greater nobility and superiority of the Arab race, and to show them that their forefathers had not been much better than many of the idolatrous nations at the present day, he gave them an account of the superstitions of the ancient Arabs, and in the course of his conversation exhibited unmistakable proofs of an enlightened and elevated mind, of which the letter which I shall communicate in another place will give farther proof.

Occasionally we received here also some interesting visits from Arabs or other people; the most conspicuous person among them being a man of the name of Fífi, the inspector of the harbor of Yówaru, a man of cheerful temperament and a great friend of the sheikh's. He had a perfect knowledge of the course of the river between Timbúktu and Jafarábe, the groups of islands forming

the boundary between the Mohammedan kingdom of Másina and the Pagan kingdom of Bámbara, and very important for the trade along the river, as the boats coming from Timbúktu must here discharge their merchandise, which has to be conveyed hence to Sansándi on the backs of asses; but unfortunately my informant spoke nothing but Songhay. The state of retirement in which I was obliged to live deprived me of the opportunity of cultivating the language of the natives; which was moreover extremely repulsive to me on account of its deficiency in forms and words, so that I found it next to impossible to express in it any general idea without having recourse to some other foreign language. The Songhay of this region, having been deprived of all their former independent character more than two centuries and a half ago, and having become degraded and subject to foreigners, have lost also the national spirit of their idiom, which, instead of developing itself, has become gradually poorer and more limited; but I have no doubt that the dialect spoken by those still independent people in Dargol and Kulman is far richer, and any body who wishes to study the Songhay language must study it there. The Arab visitors* to the town at this period were especially numerous, this being the most favorable season for the salt trade. A few months later scarcely a single Arab from abroad frequents the town.

The private life of the people in these encampments runs on very tranquilly when there is no predatory incursion, which however is often enough the case. Most of these mixed Arabs have only one wife at a time, and they seem to lead a quiet domestic life, very like that of the sheikh himself. I scarcely imagine that there is in Europe a person more sincerely attached to his wife and children than my host was. In fact, it might be said that he was a little too dependent on the will of his wife. The difference which I found between the position of the wife among these Moorish tribes and that which she enjoys among the Tawárek is extraordinary, although even the Tawárek have generally but one wife; but while the latter is allowed to move about at her pleasure quite unveiled, the wife even of the poorest Arab or Moor is never seen unveiled, being generally clad in a black under and upper gown, and the wives of the richer and nobler people never

* I must here testify to the accuracy with which Mr. Raffenel, in the plates illustrating his two journeys in Negroland, has represented the character of these Western Arabs or Moors.

leave their tents. The camp life of course would give to coquettish women a fair opportunity of intrigue; but in general I think their morals are pretty chaste, and the chastisement which awaits any transgression is severe, a married wife convicted of adultery being sure to be stoned. An incident happened during my present stay at the tents which gave proof of love affairs not being quite unusual here—a Tárki, or rather A'mghi, having been murdered from motives of jealousy and brought into our camp. But I must confess that I can scarcely speak of the mode of life in an Arab or Moorish encampment; for the camp of the sheikh, as a chief of religion, is of course quite an exception; and moreover the neighborhood of the Fúlbe or Fullán, who, in their austere religious creed, view all amusements with a suspicious eye, has entirely changed the character of these Moorish camps around the town, and it may be in consequence of this influence that there was no dancing or singing here.

Notwithstanding trifling incidents like these, which tended occasionally to alleviate the tediousness of our stay, I was deeply afflicted by the immense delay and loss of time, and did not allow an opportunity to pass by of urging my protector to hasten our departure; and he promised me that, as I was not looking for property, he should not keep me long. But, nevertheless, his slow and deliberate character could not be overcome, and it was not until the arrival of another messenger from Hamda-Alláhi, with a fresh order to the sheikh to deliver me into his hands, that he was induced to return into the town.

My situation in this turbulent place now approached a serious crisis; but, through the care which my friends took of me, I was not allowed to become fully aware of the danger I was in. The sheikh himself was greatly excited, but came to no decision with regard to the measures to be taken; and at times he did not see any safety for me except by my taking refuge with the Tawárek, and placing myself entirely under their protection. But as for myself I remained quiet, although my spirits were far from being buoyant; especially as, during this time, I suffered severely from rheumatism; and I had become so tired of this stay outside in the tents, where I was not able to write, that, when the sheikh went out again in the evening of the 16th, I begged him to let me remain where I was. Being anxious about my safety, he returned the following evening. However, on the 22d, I was obliged to accompany him on another visit to the tents, which

had now been pitched in a different place, on a bleak sandy eminence, about five miles east from the town, but this time he kept his promise of not staying more than twenty-four hours. It was at this encampment that I saw again the last four of my camels, which at length, after innumerable delays, and with immense expense, had been brought from beyond the river, but they were in a miserable condition, and furnished another excuse to my friends for putting off my departure, the animals being scarcely fit to undertake a journey.

CHAPTER LXIX.

POLITICAL STATE OF THE COUNTRY.—DANGEROUS CRISIS.

In the mean time, while I was thus warding off a decisive blow from my enemies, the political horizon of these extensive regions became rather more turbulent than usual; and war and feud raged in every quarter. Toward the north the communication with Morocco was quite interrupted, the tribe of the Tájakánt, who almost exclusively keep up that communication, being engaged in civil war, which had arisen in this way. A "Jakáni,"* called 'Abd Allah Weled Mulúd, and belonging to that section of their tribe which is called Dr'awa, had slain a chief of the E'rgebát, who had come to sue for peace, and had been killed in his turn by the chief of his own tribe, a respectable and straightforward man of the name of Mohammed el Mukhtár Merábet. Thus, two factions having arisen, one consisting of the U'jarát and the A'hel e' Sherk, and the other being formed by the Dr'awa and their allies, a sanguinary war was carried on. But, notwithstanding the unfavorable state of this quarter, which is so important for the well-being of the town, on account of its intercourse with the north, the sheikh, who was always anxious to establish peaceable intercourse, repeatedly told me that although he regarded the road along the river under the protection of the Tawárek as the safest for myself, he should endeavor to open the northern road for future travelers from Merákesh, or Morocco, by way of Tafilélet, and that he should make an arrangement to this effect with the A''aríb and Tájakánt, though there is no doubt that it was the A''aríb who killed Mr. Davidson, a few days after he had set out from Wádí Nún in the company

* This is the singular form of the name Tájakánt.

of the Tájakánt. There was just at the time a man of authority, of the name of Hámed Weled e' Síd, belonging to this tribe present in the town. On one occasion he came to pay me a visit, girt with his long bowie-knife. I had, however, not much confidence in these northern Moors; and seeing him advance through my court-yard in company with another man, I started up from my couch and met him half way; and although he behaved with some discretion, and even wanted to clear his countrymen from the imputation of having murdered the above-mentioned traveler, I thought it more prudent to beg him to keep at a respectful distance.

Just at this time a large foray was undertaken by a troop of 400 Awelímmiden against the Hogár, but it returned almost empty-handed, and with the loss of one of their principal men. Toward the south, the enterprising chief El Khadír, whom I have mentioned on a former occasion, was pushing strenuously forward against his inveterate enemies the Fúlbe, or Fullán, although the report which we heard at this time, of his having taken the town of Hómbori, was not subsequently confirmed. But, on the whole, the fact of this Berber tribe pushing always on into the heart of Negroland, is very remarkable; and there is no doubt that if a great check had not been given them by the Fúlbe they would have overpowered ere this the greater part of the region north of 13° N. latitude. Great merit, no doubt, is due to the Fúlbe for thus rescuing these regions from the grasp of the Berber tribes of the desert, although as a set-off it must be admitted that they do not understand how to organize a firm and benevolent government, which would give full security to the intercourse of people of different nationalities, instead of destroying the little commerce still existing in these unfortunate regions, by forcing upon the natives their own religious prejudices.

The danger of my situation increased when, on the 17th November, some more messengers from the prince of Hamda-Alláhi arrived in order to raise the zek'a,* and at the same time we received authentic information that the Fúlbe had made an attempt to instigate A'wáb, the chief of the Tademékket, upon whom I chiefly relied for my security, to betray me into their hands. News also arrived that the Welád Slímán, that section of the Berabísh to which belongs especially the chief Hámed Weled 'Abéda, who killed Major Laing, had bound themselves by an

* Of the amount of the zek'a, I shall speak in another chapter.

oath to put me to death. But my situation became still more critical toward the close of the month, when, having once more left the town for the tents, we received information that a fresh party had arrived from the capital with the strictest orders to take me dead or alive. Being therefore afraid that my people, whom I had left in the town, frightened by the danger, might be induced to send my luggage out of the house where I was lodged, I sent in the course of the night the servant whom I had with me at the time, with strict orders not to move any thing; but, before he reached the town, my other people had sent away my two large boxes to Táleb el Wáfi, the store-keeper of the sheikh. But fortunately I did not sustain any loss from this proceeding, nothing being missed from these boxes, notwithstanding they had been left quite open.

Thursday, December 1*st.* Having passed a rather anxious night, with my pistols in my girdle, and ready for any emergency, I was glad when, in the morning, I saw my boy return accompanied by Mohammed el 'Aísh. But I learned that the people of the town were in a state of great excitement, and that there was no doubt but an attack would be made upon my house the next morning. Thus much I made out myself; but having no idea of the imminence of the danger, in the course of the day I sent away my only servant with my two horses, for the purpose of being watered. But my Tawáti friend seemed to be better informed, and taking his post on the rising ground of the sandy downs, on the slope of which we were encamped, kept an anxious look-out toward the town. About dhohor, or two o'clock in the afternoon, he gave notice of the approach of horsemen in the distance, and while I went into my tent to look after my effects, Mohammed el Khalíl rushed in suddenly, crying out to me to arm myself. Upon this I seized all the arms I had, consisting of a double-barreled gun, three pistols, and a sword; and I had scarcely come out when I met the sheikh himself with the small six-barreled pistol which I had given him in his hand. Handing one of my large pistols to Mohammed ben Mukhtár, a young man of considerable energy, and one of the chief followers of the sheikh, I knelt down and pointed my gun at the foremost of the horsemen who, to the number of thirteen, were approaching. Having been brought to a stand by our threatening to fire if they came nearer, their officer stepped forward crying out that he had a letter to deliver to the sheikh; but the latter forbade him to

come near, saying that he would only receive the letter in the town, and not in the desert. The horsemen, finding that I was ready to shoot down the first two or three who should approach me, consulted with each other and then slowly fell back, relieving us from our anxious situation. But, though reassured of my own safety, I had my fears as to my servant and my two horses, and was greatly delighted when I saw them safely return from the water. However, our position soon became more secure in consequence of the arrival of Sídi A'lawáte, accompanied by a troop of armed men, among whom there were some musketeers. It now remained to be decided what course we should pursue, and there was great indecision, A'lawáte wanting to remain himself with me at the tents, while the sheikh returned to the town.

But besides my dislike to stay any longer at the encampment, I had too little confidence in the younger brother of the sheikh to trust my life in his hands, and I was therefore extremely delighted to find that El Bakáy himself, and Mohammed el 'Aísh, thought it best for me to return into the town. At the moment when we mounted our horses, a troop of Kélhekíkan, although not always desirable companions, mounted on mehára, became visible in the distance, so that in their company we reëntered Timbúktu, not only with full security, but with great *éclat*, and without a single person daring to oppose our entrance; though Hammádi, the sheikh's rival, was just about to collect his followers in order to come himself and fight us at the tents. Frustrated in this plan, he came to my protector in his "msíd," or place of prayer in front of his house, and had a serious conversation with him, while the followers of the latter armed themselves in order to anticipate any treachery or evil design, of which they were greatly afraid. But the interview passed off quietly, and, keeping strict watch on the terrace of our house, we passed the ensuing night without farther disturbance.

This happened on the 1st of December; and the following morning, in conformity with the sheikh's protest, that he would receive the Emír of Hamda-Alláhi's letter only in Timbúktu, the messenger arrived; but the latter being a man of ignoble birth, called Mohammed ben S'aíd, the character of the messenger irritated my host almost more even than the tenor of the letter, which ordered him to give me and my property up into the hands of his (the emír's) people. After having given vent to his anger, he sent for me, and handed me the letter, together with

another which had been addressed to the Emír Kaúri, and the whole community of the town, whites as well as blacks (el bedhán ú e' sudán), threatening them with condign punishment if they should not capture me, or watch me in such a manner that I could not escape.

The serious character which affairs had assumed, and the entire revolution which my own personal business caused in the daily life of the community, were naturally very distressing to me, and nothing could be more against my wish than to irritate the fanatical and not powerless ruler of Hamda-Alláhi. It had been my most anxious desire from the beginning to obtain the good-will of this chief by sending him a present, but my friends here had frustrated my design; and even if in the beginning it had been possible—a supposition which is more than doubtful, considering the whole character of the Fúlbe of Hamda-Alláhi, it was now too late, as Séko A'hmedu had become my inveterate enemy, and I could only cling with the greater tenacity to the only trustworthy protector whom I had here, the Sheikh el Bakáy. In acknowledgment, therefore, of his straightforward conduct, I sent him, as soon as I had again taken quiet possession of my quarters, some presents to distribute among the Tawárek, besides giving the head man of the latter a small extra gift, and some powder and Háusa cloth to distribute among our friends. However, my situation remained very precarious. As if a serious combat was about to ensue all the inhabitants tried their fire-arms, and there was a great deal of firing in the whole town, while the Morocco merchants, with 'Abd e' Salám at their head, endeavored to lessen the sheik's regard for me, by informing him that not even in their country (Morocco) were the Christians treated with so much regard, not only their luggage, but even their dress being there searched on entering the country. But the sheikh was not to be talked over in this manner, and adhered to me without wavering for a moment. He then sat down and wrote a spirited and circumstantial letter to Séko A'hmedu, wherein he reproached him with attempting to take out of his hands by force a man better versed in subjects of religion than he, the emír himself, who had come from a far distant country to pay him his respects, and who was his guest.

The following day, while I was in the company of the sheikh, the Emír Kaúri and the Kádhi San-shírfu, together with several other principal personages, called upon him, when I paid my compliments to them all, and found that the latter especially was a

very respectable man. My friend had provided for any emergency, having sent to the Tademékket, requesting them urgently to come to his assistance; and, in the evening of the 6th of December, A'wáb, the chief of the Tin-ger-égedesh, arrived with fifty horse, and was lodged by El Bakáy in the neighborhood of our quarters.

The next morning the sheikh sent for me to pay my compliments to this chief. I found him a very stately person of a proud commanding bearing, clad in a jellába tobe striped red and white, and ornamented with green silk, his head adorned with a high red cap, an article of dress which is very rarely seen here, either among the Tawárek or even the Arabs. Having saluted him, I explained to him the reason of my coming, and for what purpose I sought imána; and when he raised an objection on account of my creed, because I did not acknowledge Mohammed as a prophet, I succeeded in warding off his attack by telling him that they themselves did not acknowledge Mohammed as the only prophet, but likewise acknowledged Músa, 'Aísa, and many others; and that, in reality, they seemed to acknowledge in a certain degree the superiority of 'Aísa, by supposing that he was to return at the end of the world; and that thus, while we had a different prophet, but adored and worshiped one and the same God, and, leaving out of the question a few divergencies in point of diet and morals, followed the same religious principles as they themselves did, it seemed to me that we were nearer to each other than he thought, and might well be friends, offering to each other those advantages which each of us commanded.

We then came to speak about their history. I told him that I had visited their old dwelling-places in Aír, Tíggeda, and Tádmekka; but he was totally unaware of the fanciful derivation which the Arab authors have given to the latter name, viz., "likeness of Mekka,"* which probably never belonged to one town in particular, but has always been the name of a tribe. He felt, however, very much flattered by this piece of information, and seemed extremely delighted when I told him how old the Islám was in his tribe. My little knowledge of these historical and religious matters was of invaluable service to me, and particularly in this instance, for obtaining the esteem of the natives, and for overcom-

* El Bekrí, ed. de Slane, p. 181. ومعنى تادمكة هية مكة See Cooley, "Negroland of the Arabs," p. 30, n. 52.

ing their prejudices; for, while this chief himself scarcely understood a single word of Arabic, so that I could only speak with him in very broken Temáshight or Tárkíye, his brother, El Khattáf, was well versed in that language, and spoke it fluently.

Having left the people to converse among themselves, I returned to the sheikh in the afternoon, taking with me a present for A'wáb, consisting of a checkered tobe (such as I have described on a former occasion,* and which are great favorites with these people), two túrkedí, and two black tesílgemíst or shawls, besides another shawl and a handkerchief for his messenger or m'allem, who is the confidential factotum of every Tárki chief. He was as thankful as these barbarians can be, but wished to see something marvelous, as characteristic of the industry of our country; but I begged him to have patience, till, on some future occasion, some other person belonging to our nation should come to pay him a visit.

While I was staying there a Púllo chief arrived from Gúndam with two companions, and reproached the sheikh in my presence for having shown so much regard for an unbeliever, whose effects at least ought to have been delivered up to the chief of Hamda-Alláhi; but I imposed silence upon him by showing him how little he himself knew of religious matters in calling me an unbeliever; and telling him that if he had really any knowledge of, and faith in, his creed, his first duty was to try to convert those of his own countrymen who were still idolaters. At the same time I told the Tárki chief A'wáb that it seemed to me as if they were afraid of the Fúlbe, or else they would certainly not allow them to molest travelers who visited this place with friendly intentions, while they could not even protect the natives. In reply he alleged that they were by no means afraid of them, having vanquished them on a former occasion, but that they only awaited the arrival of their kinsfolk to show them that they were the real masters of Timbúktu.

To add to the conflict of these opposing interests, a great number of strangers were at this time collected in the town, most of whom were of a far more fanatical disposition than the inhabitants themselves, who, on the whole, are very good-natured. The Berabísh alone, who had come into the town with about one thousand camels carrying their salt, mustered one hundred and twenty horse, prepared, no doubt, to fight the Fullán, if the latter

* See vol. i., p. 513.

should attempt to levy the "'ashúr," or the tithe, but still more hostilely disposed toward the Christian stranger who had intruded upon this remote corner, one of the most respected seats of the Mohammedan faith, and against whom they had a personal reason of hostility, as they were commanded by 'Alí, the son of Hámed Weled 'Abéda, the acknowledged murderer of Major Laing; and, of course, the news of my residence in the town, and of the hostile disposition of the Fúlbe, who had now been two months attempting in vain to drive me out of it, had spread far and wide.

This great influx of strangers into the town raised the price of all sorts of provisions, particularly that of negro corn and rice, in a remarkable degree, the latter rising from 6000 to 7500 shells the "suníye," while the former, which a few days before had been sold for 3750, equal at that time to one and a half "rás" of salt, rose to the exorbitant price of 6000 shells.

In the evening of the 7th a slave suddenly arrived with the news that a letter had reached my address from the north. He was followed a short time afterward by Mohammed el 'Aísh, who brought me the parcel in question, which, however, had been opened. The letter was from Mr. Charles Dickson, her majesty's vice-consul in Ghadámes, dated June 18th, and inclosing, besides some recommendations to native merchants, a number of "Galignani," which informed me of the first movements of the Russians on the Danube. The Ghadámsíye people, who were the bearers of the letter, had already spread the news of a dreadful battle having been fought between the Turks and the Russians, in which 30,000 of the latter had been slain and 40,000 made prisoners.

The following day A'wáb, who himself had arrived with fifty horsemen, was joined by his cousin Fandaghúmme with fifty more. This was very fortunate; for, about dhohor, the Fúlbe held a conference or "kéndegáy" in the Géngeré-bér or Jám'a el Kebíra, where Hámed Weled F'aamme, the malignant and hostile kádhi, made a violent speech before the assembly, exhorting the people to go immediately and carry out the order of their liege lord the Sheikho A'hmedu, even if they were to fight conjointly against El Bakáy, A'wáb, and the Emír Kaúri, whom he represented as disobedient and almost rebellious to his liege lord. A friend of the latter, who knew the cowardly disposition of the speaker, then rose in the assembly, and exhorted the kádhi to lead the van, and proceed to the attack, when every one would follow him. But the kádhi not choosing to expose his own per-

son to danger, nothing was done, and the assembly separated, every one going quietly to his home.

Meanwhile the two Tawárek chiefs, with their principal men, were assembled in the house of the sheikh, where I went to meet them, but found them not quite satisfied with the part which they were acting. They entered into a warm dispute with me upon the subject of religion, but soon found themselves so perplexed that they left it to the sheikh to answer all my objections. A Protestant Christian may easily defend his creed against these children of the desert, as long as they have not recourse to arms.

Next morning we left the narrow lanes of Timbúktu and entered upon the open sandy desert, accompanied by the two Tawárek chiefs, each of whom had fifteen companions. The tents being now farther removed from the town, near the border of the inundations of the river, the camping-ground was pleasant and well adorned with trees; and having taken my own tent with me, where I could stretch myself out without being infested by the vermin which swarm in the native carpets, I enjoyed the open encampment extremely. Leathern tents had been pitched for the Tawárek, who in a short time made themselves quite at home, and were in high spirits. They became very much interested in a map of Africa which I showed to them, with the adjoining shores of Arabia, and they paid a compliment to their prophet by kissing the site of Mekka.

Being thus on good terms with my barbaric veiled friends, the Molathemún, I enjoyed extremely, the following morning, the half-desert scenery, enlivened as it was by horses, camels, cattle, and interesting groups of men; but about noon a serious alarm arose, a great many horses being seen in the distance, and the number being exaggerated by some people to as many as two hundred. In consequence, we saddled our horses with great speed, and I mounted with my servants, while the Tawárek also kept their animals in readiness; but the advancing host appeared rather of a peaceable character, consisting of about twenty-five of the most respectable inhabitants of the town, with Muláy 'Abd e' Salám and Fasídi, the latter a very noble old man, at their head. They came, however, on a very important errand, based on the direct order as promulgated by the Emír of Hamda-Alláhi, and addressed to the whole community, being in hopes that, through their personal authority, they might obtain from my host, in a friendly manner, what he had denied to the display of

force. They had two requests, both aimed against myself: first, that El Bakáy should give them a copy of the letter which I was said to have brought with me from Stambúl; and the second, which was more explicit, that I should not return into the town. Now my firmán from Stambúl was my greatest trouble, for, having anxiously requested her British majesty's government to send such a document after me, I always expected to receive it by some means or other; but I was not less disappointed in this respect, than in my expectation of receiving a letter of recommendation from Morocco; nevertheless, as I had some other letters from Mohammedans, the sheikh promised to comply with the first demand of these people, while he refused to pay any attention to the second. After some unsuccessful negotiation, the messengers retraced their steps rather disheartened.

In order to attach more sincerely to my interest the Tawárek chiefs, who were my only supporters, I gave to Fandaghúmme a present equal to the one I had given to A'wáb. Next morning there arrived a troop of fugitives who were anxious to put themselves under the protection of the sheikh. They belonged to the tribe of the Surk, who, from being the indigenous tribe on that part of the Niger which extends on both sides of the lake Debu, had been degraded, in the course of time, to the condition of serfs, and were threatened by the fanatical Sheikho A'hmedu with being sold into slavery. Of course it is the Sheikh el Bakáy's policy to extend his protection to whatever quarter is threatened by the Fúlbe; but, in this case, sympathy with the miserable fate of these poor people led him to interfere.

It was near sunset when we mounted in order to return into the town; and on the way I kept up a conversation with A'wáb, till the time of the mughreb prayer arrived, when the whole of my friends went to pray on the desert ground, while I myself, remaining on horseback, went a little on one side of the track. My companions afterward contended that it was from motives of pride and arrogance that I did not humble myself in the dust before the Almighty. I should certainly have liked to kneel down and thank Providence for the remarkable manner in which my life had hitherto been preserved; but I did not deem it politic to give way to their mode of thinking and worship in any respect; for I should have soon been taken for a Mohammedan, and, once in such a false position, there would have been no getting out of it.

We then entered the town amid the shouts of the people, who, by the appearance of the moon, had just discovered, as is very often the case in these regions, that they had been a day out in their reckoning, and that the following day was the festival of the Mulúd, or the birth-day of Mohammed; and I was allowed to take quiet possession of my quarters.

The same evening I had an interesting conversation with the chief A'wáb, who paid me a long visit, in company with his m'allem, and gave me the first account of the proceedings of that Christian traveler Mungo Park (to use his own words), who, about fifty years ago, came down the river in a large boat; describing the manner in which he had been first attacked by the Tawárek below Kábara, where he had lost some time in endeavoring to open a communication with the natives, while the Tinger-égedesh forwarded the news of his arrival, without delay, to the Igwádaren, who, having collected their canoes, attacked him, first near Bamba, and then again at the narrow passage of Tósaye,* though all in vain; till ât length, the boat of that intrepid traveler having stuck fast at Ensýmmo (probably identical with Ansóngo), the Tawárek of that neighborhood made another fierce and more successful attack, causing him an immense deal of trouble, and killing, as A'wáb asserted, two of his Christian companions. He also gave me a full account of the iron hook with which the boat was provided against hippopotami and hostile canoes; and his statement altogether proved what an immense excitement the mysterious appearance of this European traveler, in his solitary boat, had caused among all the surrounding tribes.

The chief being very anxious to obtain some silver, I thought it best, in order to convince all the people that I had no dollars left (although I had saved about twenty for my journey to Háusa), to give him my silver knife and fork, besides some large silver rings which I had by me; and he was very glad to have obtained a sufficient quantity of this much-esteemed metal for adorning his beloved wife.

These Tawárek chiefs who had thus become well disposed toward me, through the interference of the sheikh, wrote an excellent letter of franchise for any Englishman visiting this coun-

* The Tawárek must have attacked Park either far above or below this narrow passage, where, as I afterward found, the current is very strong; and, as I shall relate farther on, he seems to have passed quietly by Tin-sherífen.

try, thus holding out the first glimmer of hope of a peaceable intercourse. But my own experience leaves no room for doubt that these chiefs are not strong enough of themselves to defend a Christian against the attacks of the Fúlbe in the upper course of the river above Timbúktu, besides the fact that A'wáb is too nearly connected with the latter to be entirely trusted. It was on this account that my host esteemed his cousin Fandaghúmme much higher, and placed greater reliance on him, although the actual chieftainship rested with A'wáb. All this business, however, together with the writing of the letter to the chief of Hamda-Alláhi, which was rejected in several forms, and caused a great many representations from the chief men of the town, proved extremely tedious to me. My health, too, at that time was in a very indifferent condition, and I suffered repeatedly from attacks of fever. In a sanitary point of view Timbúktu can in no wise be reckoned among the more favored places of these regions. Both Sansándi and Ségo are considered more healthy. But, notwithstanding my sickly state, I had sufficient strength left to finish several letters, which, together with a map of the western part of the desert, I intended sending home by the first opportunity.

As the waters increased more and more, and began to cover all the lowlands, I should have liked very much to rove about along those many backwaters which are formed by the river, in order to witness the interesting period of the rice harvest, which was going on just at this time. It was collected in small canoes, only the spikes of the upper part of the stalks emerging from the water. But new rice was not brought into the town till the beginning of January, and then only in small quantities, the s'aa being sold for 100 shells.

December 19*th*. This was an important day—important to the Mohammedans as the 'Aíd e' subúwa, and celebrated by them with prayers and séddega or alms; and not unimportant for myself, for my relation to the townspeople had meanwhile assumed a more serious character. Sheikho (Séko) A'hmedu had threatened that, if the inhabitants of Timbúktu did not assist in driving me out of the town, he would cut off the supply of corn. This induced the Emír Kaúri to undertake a journey to the capital, in order to prevent the malicious intrigues of the Kádhi Weled F'aamme, who was about to embark for that place, from making matters worse.

I have stated before, that, together with the caravan of the Berabísh (the plural of Berbúshi) which had arrived on the 12th with a considerable armed host, 'Alí, the son of the old Sheikh A'hmed, or Hámed, Weled 'Abéda, had come to Timbúktu; and, seeing that I was a great friend of the Sheikh el Bakáy, he had not come to pay his compliments to the latter, but had pitched his camp outside the town, and his people manifested their hostility toward me on several occasions. But, by a most providential dispensation, on the seventeenth the chief fell suddenly sick, and in the morning of the nineteenth he died. His death made an extraordinary impression upon the people, as it was a well-known fact that it was his father who had killed the former Christian who had visited this place; and the more so, as it was generally believed that I was Major Laing's son.

It was the more important, as the report had been generally spread that, as I have observed before, the Welád Slímán, the principal and most noble section of the Berabísh, had sworn to kill me; and the people could not but think that there was some supernatural connection between the death of this man, at this place and at this period, and the murderous deed perpetrated by his father; and, on the whole, I can not but think that this event exercised a salutary influence upon my final safety. The followers of the chief of the Berabísh were so frightened by this tragical event, that they came in great procession to the Sheikh el Bakáy, to beg his pardon for their neglect, and to obtain his blessing; nay, the old man himself, a short time afterward, sent word, that he would in no way interfere with my departure, but wished nothing better than that I might reach home in safety. The excitement of the people on account of my stay here thus settled down a little, and the party of the Fúlbe seemed quietly to await the result produced by the answer which the sheikh had forwarded to Hamda-Alláhi.

On the 21st December we again went in the afternoon to the tents. For the first time since my arrival in this town I rode my own stately charger, which, having remained so many months in the stable, feeding upon the nutritive grass of the býrgu, had so completely recruited his strength that in my desperately weak state I was scarcely able to manage him. The desert presented a highly interesting spectacle. A considerable stream, formed by the river, poured its waters with great force into the valleys and depressions of this sandy region, and gave an appearance of truth

to the fabulous statement* of thirty-six rivers flowing through this tract. After a few hours' repose, I was able to keep up a long conversation with the sheikh in the evening, about Paradise and the divine character of the Kurán. This time our stay at the tents afforded more opportunity than usual for interesting conversation, and bore altogether a more religious character, my protector being anxious to convince his friends and followers of the depth of the faith of the Christians; and I really lamented that circumstances did not allow me to enter so freely into the details of the creed of these people, and to make myself acquainted with all its characteristics, as I should have liked.

Part of the day the sheikh read and recited to his pupils chapters from the hadíth of Bokhári, while his young son repeated his lesson aloud from the Kurán, and in the evening several surát, or chapters, of the holy book were beautifully chanted by the pupils till a late hour of the night. There was nothing more charming to me than to hear these beautiful verses chanted by sonorous voices in this open desert country, round the evening fire, with nothing to disturb the sound, which softly reverberated from the slope of the sandy downs opposite. A Christian must have been a witness to such scenes in order to treat with justice the Mohammedans and their creed. Let us not forget that but for the worship of images and the quarrels about the most absurdly superstitious notions which distracted the Christian Church during the seventh century, there would have been no possibility of the establishment of a new creed based on the principles of Monotheism, and opposed in open hostility to Christianity. Let us also take into an account that the most disgusting feature attaching to the morals of Mohammedans has been introduced by the Mongolish tribes from Central Asia, and excited the most unqualified horror in the founder of the religion.

Peace and security seemed to prevail in this little encampment. In general the whole of this region to the north of the river is entirely free from beasts of prey, with the exception of jackals; but at present, together with the rising water, which had entirely changed the character of these districts, a lion had entered this desert tract, and one day killed three goats, and the following one two asses, one of which was remarkable for its great strength.

Remaining here a couple of days, on the evening of the 25th

* See one of these native reports in Duncan's account of his exploration in Dahome. Journal Geog. Soc., vol. xvi., p. 157.

we had again a long conversation, which was very characteristic of the different state of mind of the Christian in comparison with that of the Mohammedan. While speaking of European institutions, I informed my host of the manner in which we were accustomed to insure property by sea as well as on land, including even harvests, nay, even the lives of the people. He appeared greatly astonished, and was scarcely able to believe it; and while he could not deny that it was a good "debbára," or device for this world, he could not but think, as a pious Moslim, that such proceedings might endanger the safety of the soul in the next. However, he was delighted to see that Christians took such care for the welfare of the family which they might leave behind; and it was an easy task to prove to him that, as to making profits in any way whatever, his co-religionists, who think any kind of usury unlawful, were in no way better than the Christians; for, although the former do not openly take usury, they manage affairs so cleverly that they demand a much higher percentage than any honest Christian would accept. I had a fair opportunity of citing, as an instance, one of those merchants resident in Timbúktu, to whom I had been recommended by Mr. Dickson, and who had consented to advance me a small loan, under such conditions that he was to receive almost triple the sum which he was to lend.

December 25th. This day was also an important epoch for the inhabitants of the place, the water having entered the wells, which are situated round the southern and southwestern part of the town; and this period, which is said to occur only about every third year, obtains the same importance here as the "lélet e' nuktah" possesses with the inhabitants of Cairo;* viz., the day or night on which the dike which separates the canal from the river is cut. The whole road from Kábara was now so inundated that it was no longer passable for asses, and small boats very nearly approached the town.

When my host made his appearance on the morning of the 26th, he was not as usual clad in a black tobe, but in a red kaftán, with a white cloth bernús over it. He began speaking most cheerfully about my approaching departure, and had the camels brought before me, which now looked infinitely better than when they were last conveyed from the other bank of the river; but as I had become fully aware of his dilatory character, I did not place much reliance upon the hope which he held out to me of soon

* Lane's Modern Egyptians, ed. 1836, vol. ii., p. 255.

entering upon my home journey. We had heard of the messenger whom he had sent to the Awelímmiden, in order to induce the chief of that tribe to come to Timbúktu and to take me under his protection, having reached the settlements of that tribe; but I was aware that the opposite party would do all in their power to prevent the chief from approaching the town, as they were fully conscious that the sheikh wanted to employ him and his host of warlike people, in order to subdue the Fullán and the faction opposed to his own authority.

December 27th. Feeling my head much better, and having recruited my strength with a diet of meat and milk, I began to enjoy the rehála life, and, it being a beautiful morning, I took a good walk to an eminence situated at some distance north of my tent, from whence I had a distant view of the landscape. The country presented an intermediate character between the desert and a sort of less favored pasture-ground, stretching out in an undulating surface, with a sandy soil tolerably well clad with middle-sized acacias and with thorny bushes, where the goat finds sufficient material for browsing. The streams of running water which, with their silvery threads, enlivened these bare desert tracts, now extended a considerable distance farther inland than had been the case a few days before; and the whole presented a marvelous and delightful spectacle, which, no doubt, must fill travelers from the north who reach Timbúktu at such a season with astonishment. Hence, on their return home, they spread the report of those numerous streams which are said to join the river at that remarkable place, while, on the contrary, these streams issue *from* the river, and after running inland for a short time, return to join the main trunk, though of course with decreased volume, owing to absorption and evaporation.

All the people of the town who did not belong to any trade or profession, together with the inhabitants of the neighboring districts, were still busily employed with the rice harvest; and this was a serious affair for my horses, a much smaller quantity of býrgu, that is to say, of that excellent nutritious grass of the Niger, which I have had repeatedly occasion to mention, being brought into the town. Meanwhile the price of the merchandise from the north went on increasing. A piece of khám, or malti (unbleached calico), now sold for 5700 shells (at least on the 26th of January), but in the beginning of February it rose to 7200; this fluctuation in the prices constitutes the profit of the mer-

chants, who buy their supplies on the arrival of a caravan and store it up.

The commercial activity of the town had received some farther increase, owing to the arrival of another caravan from Tawát, with black Háusa manufactures, tobacco, and dates, so that I was able to lay in a good store of this latter luxury, which is not always to be got here, but which, in the cold season, is not at all to be despised. Besides receiving a handsome present of dates from my noble Tawáti friend Mohammed el 'Aísh, I bought two measures (neffek) and a half of the kind called tin-áser for 4000 shells; for the "tin-akór," the most celebrated species of dates from Tawát, were not to be procured at this time.* As for tobacco, I did not care a straw about it, and in this respect I might have been on the very best terms with my fanatical friends, the Fúlbe of Hamda-Alláhi, who offer such a determined opposition to smoking upon religious principles. In a commercial respect, however, tobacco forms a more important article in the trade of Timbúktu than dates, although refined smokers here prefer the tobacco of Wádí-Nún to that of Tawát. But even these had an opportunity of gratifying their inclination at this season, for only two days after the arrival of the Tawáti caravan, a small troop of Tájakánt traders, with eighty camels, entered the town. The feud which raged between the different sections of this tribe, which, as I stated before, chiefly keeps up the commercial relations of Timbúktu with the north, on the one hand, and the war raging between the whole of this tribe and the E'rgebát on the other, interrupted at this time almost entirely the peaceable intercourse between Timbúktu and the southern region of Morocco.

The arrival of these people enabled me to purchase half a weight of sugar, equal to six pounds and a quarter, with a corresponding quantity of tea (viz., half a pound), for three dollars; for, as I have said before, there had been no sugar previously in the market. Even when there is plenty, neither tea nor sugar can be bought separately. These articles must be bought together. It is remarkable that a similar custom is still prevalent in many parts of Europe, and even in this country.

The arrival of these Tájakánt procured me also the luxury of a

* The other kinds of dates of Tawát are: A'hartán, Tigáze, Tazarzay, Tinwaríggelí, Tedemámet, Bú-Makhlúf, Tin-kásseri, Tin-dokán, Tin-nijdel, Tilímsu, Timbozéri, Adíkkeli, Gófagús, Dággelet-núr. The district of Aúléf is the most famous for its dates.

couple of pomegranates, which had been brought by them from the Gharb, and which gave me an opportunity of expostulating with the sheikh on the disgraceful circumstance, that such fruits as these are now only procurable from the north, while this country itself might produce them quite as well, and had in reality done so in former times. Even limes are not at present grown hereabouts, and it was only from Jenni that I had obtained some days previously a few specimens of this delicious kind of fruit, which grows in such plenty in Kanó, and which might be raised in almost any part of this region. Thus closed the year 1853, leaving me in a most unsettled position in this desert place.

CHAPTER LXX.

BEGINNING OF THE NEW YEAR.—ANOMOLOUS RISING OF THE NIGER.—COMMERCIAL RELATIONS OF TIMBU'KTU.

I HAD long cherished the hope that the beginning of 1854 would have found me far advanced on my homeward journey; but greatly disappointed in this expectation, I began the year with a fervent prayer for a safe return home in the course of it.

El Médani, my friend from Swéra, or Mogadore, whom I used to call my political thermometer, or rather my politico-meter, on account of his exhibiting toward me friendly feelings only at times when he saw every thing quiet, sent me his compliments in the morning of the first of January; nay, even the two leaders of the hostile factions—Hammádi, the rival of my protector, and Táleb Mohammed, the wealthiest merchant in the town, and the leader of the intriguing merchants from Morocco—gave me to understand that they wanted to enter into friendly relations with me. My health as yet was very precarious; but I felt so much recovered in mind and body that, preparatory to my longed-for departure, I began arranging the remainder of my baggage, which, with the exception of my small library, had been very much reduced. To my great astonishment and delight, while searching through my lumber, I found another thermometer in good repair. From the remainder of my broken instruments I picked up a good deal of quicksilver, which I gave to the sheikh, who himself, as well as his other unsophisticated friends, derived a great deal of amusement from observing the qualities of this metal.

Meanwhile, my protector endeavored to make me fully acquainted with the political relation in which he stood to his brothers, Sídi Mohammed and Zén el 'Abidín, whom he expected soon to arrive, and of whose different views in politics he gave me some slight hints; and I lamented greatly that the power of this noble family, instead of being strengthened by the number of its conspicuous scions, was only rent and split by the divergency of their views.

The course of my material existence went on very uniformly, with only slight variations. My daily food, when I was in the town, consisted of some milk and bread in the morning, a little kuskus, which the sheikh used to send, about two in the afternoon, and a dish of negro millet, containing a little meat, or seasoned with the sauce of the kobéwa, or *Cucurbita Melopepo*, after sunset. The meat of Timbúktu, at least during the cold season, agreed with me infinitely better than that of any other part of Negroland; but this was not the case with the *Melopepo*, although it is an excellent and palatable vegetable. In the beginning of my stay I had consumed a great many young pigeons, which form a favorite dainty in this city. They are sold at the almost incredibly cheap rate of ten shells each, or at the rate of three hundred for a dollar; but the poor little things were used for culinary purposes so soon after breaking the shell as to be almost tasteless. A very rare dainty was formed by an ostrich egg, which was one day brought to me. This article is more easily to be obtained in the desert than in the towns, and such strong food, moreover, is not well adapted to the stomach of a resident. The sheikh used also to send me a dish late at night, sometimes long after midnight; but, on account of the late hour, I never touched it, and left it to my servants.

It had been arranged that we should make another excursion to Kábara, but our visit was put off from day to day, although I was extremely anxious to witness the features of the country, in the present high level of the river, at the place where I had first landed on my arrival. Thus I was reduced, for entertainment, to my intercourse with the sheikh, his kinsfolk, and followers; and as religious topics were always brought forward more prominently by my enemies, but especially in the learned letters which the emír of Hamda-Alláhi sent in reply to the sheikh,* my conversa-

* I possess two of these essays, the contents of which at the present moment are

tion with the former now began to turn more and more upon religious subjects, such as the return of the Messiah, and on the meaning of the name "Paraclete" given in the New Testament to the Holy Spirit, who was to descend upon the apostles, but which by the Mohammedans in more recent times is applied to Mohammed, whose coming, they say, is predicted in this instance by the Holy Book of the Christians.

One day when I visited the sheikh the two brothers were engaged in an animated discussion respecting the relation of ʿAísa (Jesus Christ) to Mohammed, and a warm dispute arose on the sophistical question whether it would be allowed, after the return of ʿAísa upon earth, to eat camel's flesh. The sheikh himself was anxious to prove how difficult it would be for themselves to change any part of their creed after the return of ʿAísa, owing to the difference which existed between the precepts of the two prophets, and thus intended to excuse the Christians for not embracing the creed of Mohammed after having once adopted that of ʿAísa. The two learned men, in the heat of their dispute, had overlooked the fact that the camel was a prohibited animal to the Jews but not to the Christians, and hence that the return of ʿAísa would not interfere with their favorite repast. It was by cheerfully entering into these discussions that I obtained for myself the esteem even of those who were most anxious to extort from me as much as possible of my remaining property.

The arrival of another small caravan of the Tawáti was very near causing me a serious embarrassment. Some of the merchants from Morocco, excited by commercial jealousy, had spread the report that the calico brought by that caravan was Christian property, belonging to the English agent in Ghadámes; and I had some difficulty in making the people understand that, even if that article had originally belonged to the agent, it was now the property of the Tawáti merchants. The presence of those people, also, caused the road to the north, by way of Tawát, to be again brought under discussion as the route most suitable for my home-journey. My departure was now discussed almost daily; the arrival of our lively and talkative, but indiscreet messenger, Aʾhmed el Wádáwi, who had at length returned from his errand to the Awelímmeden, holding out the hope that my departure was in reality not far distant; but the fact that none of the Tawárek had come with him,

not quite devoid of interest, as they show in what light these Mohammedans regard the Christians.

notwithstanding his assertion that they were soon to follow, convinced me that my prospect of departure was put off for an indefinite period.

Toward the end of January the waters of the river reached their highest level, exhibiting that marvelous anomaly, in comparison with the period of the rising of other African rivers north of the equator, which is calculated to awaken astonishment in any man acquainted with the subject. For when he knows that the rising of these rivers is due to the fall of the tropical rains, he will naturally expect that the Niger, like its eastern branch, the Tsádda or Bénuwé, or the Nile, should reach its highest level in August or September. The fact can only be partly explained with the means at our disposal and in the present state of our knowledge of this part of Africa, although it is illustrated by similar cases, if we compare it with the anomalous rising of some South-African rivers; especially the grand discovery of Dr. Livingstone, the Liambèzi, which, forming in its upper course an immense shallow sheet of water, collects here the greatest amount of water at a time (July and August) when its lower course, the Zambézi, separated from it and withdrawn from the immediate effects of the waters collected above by the marvelous narrowing of the river-bed from the Falls of Victoria* downward, is in its lowest state, and, through the influence of the water by which it is joined in its lower course, reaches here its highest level at quite a different season, February and March. We have before us exactly the same phenomenon in the case of the Niger, the great West-African river, which, according to the most accurate information which I was able to gather on the spot, every year continues to rise till the end of December or the beginning of January, and does not begin to decrease before February; while its eastern branch, the Bénuwé, as well as the lower course of the Niger, where it is called Kwára, exactly as is the case with the Nile, reaches its highest level by the end of August and begins to decrease steadily in the course of October.

To explain the difference and anomaly of these phenomena we must attend to the different character of these rivers. For while

* I assume here the identity of these two rivers, which, however, has not yet been fully demonstrated. Compare also the anomalous rising of the Chobé (Journ. Royal Geol. Soc., vol. xxii., p. 169); although an isolated phenomenon, caused by an unusual and unequal fall of rain in the basin of the various branches of a great river-system, must not be confounded with a constant and regular course.

the Bénuwé after having once assumed a westerly direction follows it up with but very little deviation, the great western branch describes three quarters of an immense circle, and having but very little fall in the greater part of its extraordinary winding course, the waters which flow toward it from the more distant quarters require a long time to reach its middle course, so that the rain which falls in the course of September and October in the country of the Wangaráwa, or the southeastern Mandingoes, will certainly continue to swell the river at Timbúktu till the end of November or even December; for that rain falls in those quarters behind the coast of Sierra Leone and Cape Palmas till the end of September, and perhaps even in October, we may conclude with some degree of certainty from the fact that such is the case on the coast;* and this is confirmed as regards Kakóndi and Tímbo by Caillié's observations.† In the mountainous southern provinces of Abyssinia, too, whose latitude corresponds exactly with that of the regions from whence the feeders of the Niger take their rise, the most constant fall of rain has been observed in September. Now while the whole region between Jenne and Timbúktu is of a very flat and level character, so that the river, running along at a very slow rate and with a very meandering course, not only fills a very broad stream spreading out over the neighboring lowlands, but forms also a great many backwaters and basins or lakes, of which the Débu is only one although perhaps the largest in size, the river lower down beyond Bamba, and especially in the district called Tin-sherífen, which we shall visit on our return-journey,

* See Isert in the Journal Hertha, vol. x., a. 1827, p. 374; M'Gill in Berghaus's Journal (Zeitschrift), vol. viii., a. 1848, p. 59–61; with regard to Cape Palmas, Fraissinet in Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, 1855, vol. ii., p. 291–293.

† See Tomaro from Caillié's Observations in Berghaus's Annal. 1829, p. 769; but especially Caillié's own account of his stay in Timé, vol. i., p. 328 (Eng. ed.): "The rains, to be sure, were not so incessant, but we regularly had rain every day *until October*, when it became less frequent." We know also from Caillié that the Milo, the southeastern branch of the Niger, or Dhiúlibá, reaches its highest level in September. Park's observations, even, show that the rains in the districts traversed by him extend till November; while we learn from him (Park's First Journey, 3d ed. 4to, p. 12) that the Gambia, whose feeders partly issue from the same districts which feed the western branches of the Niger, reaches its highest level in the beginning of October; and when we learn, from the same eminent traveler, that by the beginning of November the Gambia had sunk already to its former level, we must take into account the very short course of that river in comparison with the Niger, which has a course of two thousand miles. The sinking of the Niger at Sansándi by about four inches, on the 8th of October (Park, vol. ii., p. 274), was only a temporary fluctuation.

is shut in and reduced to the width of a few hundred yards, so that the water, having expanded over such an immense tract and not exercising, therefore, the same pressure which such a volume of water would do under other circumstances if it were kept together in a narrower channel, preserves its level, or even still increases in extent and depth, while the surplus produced by the fall of rain in the country higher up has already diminished.

This is my mode of accounting for a phenomenon which seems to contradict in so great a measure the whole of the phenomena which have come under our observation with regard to the effects of rain and the rising of the rivers north and south of the equator, and imparts to the upper course of the Niger the same character as the Gabún and other rivers of the equatorial line which reach their highest level in the course of February.

Of course this state of the upper river, although it does not reach always the same level, can not fail to exercise an influence also upon the lower part, where it is called Kwára, and where it has been visited repeatedly by Englishmen. But although, on account of their being unaware of this character of the river, they have not paid much attention to its features at the beginning of the hot season, and have even rarely visited it at that period, nevertheless Mr. Laird, who spent several months in the Kwára, has not failed to observe a phenomenon which exactly corresponds to the state of the river which I have just described. For he records* the surprising fact, which formerly must have been quite unintelligible, but which now receives its full illustration, namely, that the river *at Iddá began to rise on the* 22*d of March*. This, in my opinion, he erroneously attributes to the rains up the country, as there are no rains whatever during the whole of March, and only a few drops in April; but it is evidently the effect of the waters in the upper and wide part of the river at length beginning to decrease about the middle of February, if we take the current at from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 miles, as the windings of the river extend to not much less than 2000 miles between Kábara and Iddá. The elevation of Timbúktu above the level of the sea I assume to be about 900 feet.

It was on the 4th of January that the first boat from Kábara

* See Laird and Oldfield, vol. ii., p. 275. "It was a source of satisfaction to find that, owing to the rains up the country, the river began to rise about Saturday, March 22d, since which time it had increased about two inches. A few drops of rain that fell this morning was all that we had at Iddah."

approached close to the walls of the town of Timbúktu; and, as the immediate result of such a greater facility of intercourse, the supply of corn became more plentiful, and, in consequence, much cheaper: the s'aa of millet being sold for 40 shells, and the suníye, that is to say, more than two hundred pounds' weight, for 3000, or one Spanish dollar, certainly a very low rate; while I myself, as a foreigner and a stranger, had to pay 3750. The high state of the waters was naturally of the greatest interest to me; and, in order to satisfy my curiosity, the sheikh took me out on the 9th. Emerging from the town at about the middle of the western wall, where formerly the báb el gibleh* was situated, we went first to the nearest creek of the river, but found here no boats; and then crossing an extremely barren and stony level reached another branch of the creek, where eight or ten smaller boats, without a covering or cabin, were lying; the innermost corner of this creek not being more than four or five hundred yards distant from the Great Mosque, or Jíngeré-bér. All the people asserted that the river, at Kábara, had now reached its highest level, and even affirmed that it had begun to fall here on the 7th; but, nevertheless, it became evident that the waters were still rising during the whole of the month, almost endangering the safety of the town. On this occasion I learned that a great inundation in 1640 had flooded a considerable part of the town, and converted into a lake the central and lowest quarter, which is called Bagíndi, a name derived, as is asserted, from the tank thus formed having been enlivened by hippopotami.†

Interesting as was that day's excursion it cost me dear; for being obliged, not only to be armed myself, but also to have an armed servant with me, I greatly excited the hostile feelings of the merchants from Morocco, and especially of that proud nobleman, 'Abd e' Salám, who went about among the great men of the town, saying that in Morocco we, the Europeans, or rather the English, were not allowed to wear arms. But to show the absurdity of this assertion, I stated that while traveling in Morocco we received armed horsemen for an escort, while here, where there was no settled form of government, we had to protect ourselves. He

* Shabíni, in stating that the báb el gibleh was the east gate, certainly labors under a mistake, "gibleh" with these Western Arabs signifying the west. With regard to the creek, where we saw the boats, see the ground-plan, *ante*, p. 324, n. 10.

† The hippopotamus being called "banga" in the Songhay language, the name, if really derived from that cause, ought to be spelled "Bangíndi;" but the *g* may be a nasal sound.

then spread the rumor that an armed English vessel had ascended the river as far as Gógó; and this curious report was backed with such strong assertions that my own servant, 'Alí el A'geren, felt convinced of its truth, and thought it strange when I attempted to prove its absurdity.

But notwithstanding this hostile feeling, 'Abd e' Salám deemed it prudent to send, next day, his friend, Múláy el Méhedí, in order to excuse himself for the expressions which he had used a few days before with regard to me. It was this man, Múláy el Méhedí, with whom I should have liked to be able to converse on friendly terms, as he was a person of intelligence, and even possessed some little knowledge of astronomy. Indeed, I was not a little astonished when, conversing with him one day about the situation of Timbúktu, he came out with the statement that the town was situated about 18° N. lat., without my having thrown out the slightest hint in this respect.

All this time the whole of the surrounding country was in a most disturbed state, owing to several expeditions or forays which were going on, especially by the restless tribe of the Welád 'Alúsh. They had lately taken 600 camels from the Welád Mebárek, and had now turned their predatory incursions into another direction.

On the 12th of January we again went to the tents, which had now been pitched in another spot, called Ingómaren, at a distance of about six miles a little S. from E.; but this time our stay in the encampment was very unlucky for me in several respects. On the 13th I felt tolerably well, and had a cheerful conversation with my protector about my approaching departure, when he sent me several presents, such as a large cover for the top of the tent,* called "sarámmu" by the Songhay, "e' béni erréga" by the Moors hereabout, and several leather pillows; but, on the 14th, a little after noon, I was seized with such a sudden and severe attack of fever as I had never experienced before, accompanied by violent shivering fits, which made my kind host fear that I had been poisoned. I had drunk, a short time before, some sour milk brought me by a Berbúshi; that is to say, a man who, although intimately attached to the family of the sheikh, originally belonged to the tribe of the Berabísh, whose chief murdered Major Laing. Although I myself had no suspicion that the milk which I had drunk had in any way contributed to my sudden attack of illness, yet as

* I have handed over this specimen of Timbúktu manufacture, together with other specimens of leather-work, to the Foreign Office.

that man had some private animosity against me, and did not seem content with a present which I had made him in return for his small gift, I became so irritated, that I ordered him away in a very unceremonious manner, which caused a most unpleasant scene; for, at this conjuncture, all the people, including my own servants and even my very best friends among the sheikh's people, without paying any regard to my feeble state, gave vent to their feelings against me as a Christian.

But the sheikh himself did not for a moment change his kind disposition, sending me tea repeatedly, and calling frequently to see how I was getting on. Fortunately, a tranquil night's repose restored me again to health, and the following morning my friends came to me, one after the other, in order to beg my pardon for their neglect. While we were conversing on the preparations for my journey, a messenger brought the news of the arrival of a very intimate friend of the sheikh—Mohammed ben 'Abd-Alláhi el Fútáwi—who had come, with a numerous suite, in order to stay some time with the sheikh, and, if possible, to be cured by me of some serious disease: and the prospect of soon leaving this quarter was greatly darkened by this circumstance.

January 15*th*. This was one of those rainy days which is said not to be unusual toward the end of January and the beginning of February in this quarter along the river, though, in the other parts of Negroland that I had visited, I had never beheld any thing of the kind. But the quantity of rain that fell even here was very little, for the sky, which had been cloudy in the morning, cleared up about noon; and although in the afternoon it became again overcast, with thunder in the distance followed by lightning toward evening, yet there fell only a few drops of rain in the course of the night.

On the 16th, having made a good breakfast on a goat roasted whole before the fire, we returned again into the town, where I was desired to cure a man of a disease over which I had no power. The character and position of the person would have rendered it a circumstance of the highest importance to me if I had been able to do so. The chronic disease under which Mohammed ben 'Abd-Alláhi—for this is the person of whom I speak—was laboring, cast a melancholy gloom over him. I admired his manners, and the fine expression of his features; but I was disappointed to find that, although well versed in his religious books, he did not possess any historical knowledge as to the former state of these coun-

tries, which formed an object of the highest interest to me. The arrival of this person made my protector forget all the thoughts of my immediate departure.

Besides this circumstance, nothing of interest happened for some days, all the people exhorting me to patience; and, my departure being again put off, fresh attempts were made to convert me, even by my friends, who from sheer friendship could not bear to see me adhere to a creed which they thought erroneous. But I withstood all their attacks, and at times even ventured to ridicule freely some of their superstitious notions. I was far from laughing at the chief principles of their doctrine; but, as they always recurred in their arguments to their belief in sorcery and demons, I declared one day that, as for us, we had made all the demons our "khóddemán." This is an expression with which these people are wont to denote the degraded and servile tribes; and I represented the Europeans as having obtained a victory over the spirits, by ascending in balloons into the higher regions, and from thence firing at them with rifles. The idea that the Christians must have subjected to their will the demoniacal powers occurs very easily to the mind of the Mohammedan, who does not understand how the former are able to manufacture all the nice things which issue from their hands.

Meanwhile I was glad to break off my relations with my former friend the Waláti, who had recently returned from a journey to A'ribínda, and who came to ask me officially whether he was to accompany me on my home-journey or not; but although I told him plainly, that after all that had happened he could no longer be my companion, I treated him with more generosity than he deserved.

At the same time, I thought it also prudent to cultivate the good-will of my servant, 'Alí el A'geren, although he had almost entirely separated himself from me, and left me to my fate, since he had become fully aware of the dangerous nature of my position. I demanded from him no sort of service, though his salary of nine dollars a month went on all the time. However, being rather short of cash, and not being able to procure a loan from the people to whom I had been recommended, I was glad to obtain from a friendly Ghadámsi merchant, of the name of Mohammed ben 'Alí ben Táleb, about 50,000 shells, equal to $13\frac{1}{3}$ mithkál, reckoned at 3800 shells each, and I afterward was obliged to add another small sum, making the whole 25 mithkáls.

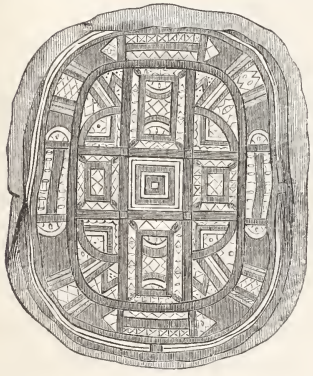
In this place I think it well to give a short sketch of the commercial relations of Timbúktu, though it can not make the slightest pretension to completeness, as I did not enter into such free intercourse with the natives as would have enabled me to combine a sufficient number of facts into a graphic view of the commercial life of the city. The people with whom I had most intercourse could offer little or no information on the subject. My situation in Kanó had been very different.

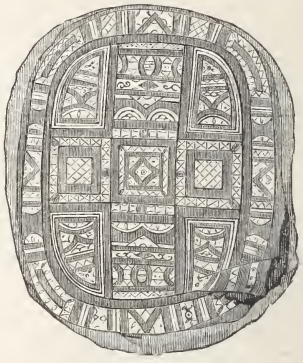
The great feature which distinguishes the market of Timbúktu from that of Kanó is the fact that Timbúktu is not at all a manufacturing town, while the emporium of Háusa fully deserves to be classed as such. Almost the whole life of the city is based upon foreign commerce, which, owing to the great northerly bend of the Niger, finds here the most favored spot for intercourse, while at the same time that splendid river enables the inhabitants to supply all their wants from without; for native corn is not raised here in sufficient quantities to feed even a very small proportion of the population, and almost all the victuals are imported by water-carriage from Sansándi and the neighborhood.

The only manufactures carried on in the city, as far as fell under my observation, are confined to the art of the blacksmith, and to a little leather-work. Some of these articles, such as provision or luggage bags, cushions, small leather pouches for tobacco, and gun-cloths, especially the leather bags, are very neat, as shown in the annexed and following wood-cuts; but even these are mostly manufactured by Tawárek, and especially females, so that the industry of the city is hardly of any account. It was formerly supposed that Timbúktu was distinguished on account of its weaving,* and that the export of dyed shirts from hence was considerable; but I have already had an opportunity of show-

* It may have been so, nevertheless, in the time of Leo, who mentions the many "botteghe di tessitori di tele di bambagio." B. vii., c. 5.

ing that this was entirely a mistake, almost the whole clothing of the natives themselves, especially that of the wealthier classes, being imported either from Kanó* or from Sansándi, besides the calico imported from England. The export of the produce of Kanó, especially by way of A'rawán, extends to the very border of the Atlantic, where it comes into contact with the considerable import of Malabar cloth by way of St. Louis, or Ndér, on the Senegal, while the dyed shirts from Sansándi, which, as far as I had an opportunity of observing, seem to be made of foreign or English calico, and not of native cotton, do not appear to be exported to a greater distance. These shirts are generally distinguished by their rich ornament of colored silk, and look very pretty; and I am sorry that I was obliged to give away as a present a specimen which I intended to bring home with me. The people of Timbúktu are very experienced in the art of adorning their clothing with a fine stitching of

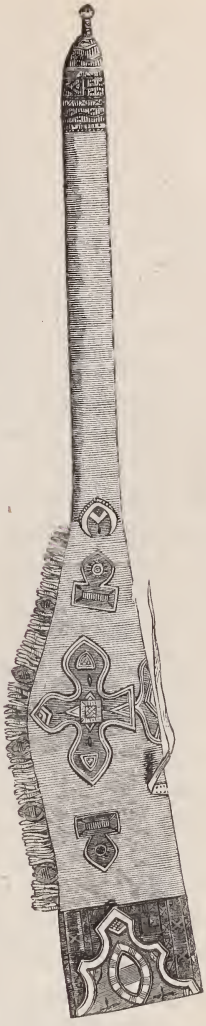




silk, but this is done on a very small scale, and even these shirts are only used at home. There is, however, a very considerable degree of industry exercised by the natives of some of the neighboring districts, especially Fermágha, who produce very excellent woolen blankets, and carpets of various colors, which form a most extensive article of consumption with the natives.

The foreign commerce has especially three great high roads: that along the river from the southwest (for lower down the river there is at present scarcely any commerce at all), which comprises the trade proceeding from various points; and two roads from the north, that from Morocco on the one hand, and that from Gha-

* I will here only observe that Lord Fitzclarence, owing to the inquiries which, on his passage along the Red Sea, he made of a clever pilgrim, obtained a hint of this interesting fact.—Journey from India overland, p. 423.



dámes on the other. In all this commerce gold forms the chief staple, although the whole amount of the precious metal exported from this city appears to be exceedingly small, if compared with a European standard. It probably does not exceed an average of £20,000 sterling per year.* The gold is brought either from Bambúk or from Búre, but from the former place in a larger quantity. The gold from the country of the Wángaráwa does not reach this market, but, as it seems, at present is directly exported to that part of the southern coast

* M. Gråberg de Hemsö estimates the export of morocco manufactures to Negroland at one million dollars, and the import to Morocco from Nigritia at from three to four millions.—Specchio di Morocco, etc., p. 146.

which on this account is called the Gold Coast. The species of gold from Bambúk is of a more yellow color; that from Búre is rather whitish; and that from Wángara has a greenish hue. Most of this gold, I think, is brought into the town in rings. I do not remember to have seen or heard of gold dust, or "tibber," being brought to market in small leathern bags, such as Shabíni and other people describe, containing about one ounce, equal to twenty-five dollars in value. But, nevertheless, a considerable amount of this article must come into market, as most of the gold dust which comes to Ghadámes and Tripoli passes through Timbúktu, while another portion goes directly from Sansándi to A'rawán.*

It was evidently in consequence of the influence of the Arabs that the scale of the mithkál† was introduced in the trade in gold; but it is a very general term, which may signify very different quantities, and thus we find various kinds of mithkáls used in Negroland, especially those of A'gades, Timbúktu, and Mango, the Mandingo place between Yendí and the Niger, the former of which is the smallest, and equal, as I have stated in the proper place, to 1000 shells of Háusa standard, although in the present decayed state of the town of A'gades, where all the gold trade has ceased, it possesses rather an imaginary value. The mithkál of Timbúktu contains the weight of 24 grains of the kharúb-tree, or 96 of wheat, and is worth from 3000 to 4000 shells.‡ The mithkál of Mango is equal to $1\frac{1}{4}$ of that of Timbúktu. Besides rings, very handsome ornaments are worked of gold; but, as far as I could learn, most of this workmanship comes from Waláta, which is still celebrated on this account.§

The next article that forms one of the chief staples in Timbúktu, and in some respects even more so than gold, is salt, which, together with gold, formed articles of exchange all along the Niger

* M. Testa, in his "Notice statistique et commerciale sur la Régence de Tripoli, 1856," states the imports of gold dust into Tripoli to be of the value of 240,000 francs.

† Whether it be true, as some maintain (among others M. Prax, "Commerce de l'Algérie, 1849," p. 13), that the name mithkál is a corruption of "medical," a term used to denote the small weight used for medical purposes, I am not able to decide. I always thought that it was derived from مثقل.

‡ M. Prax, p. 12 of the little pamphlet just mentioned in the preceding note, is totally wrong in supposing the mithkál of Timbúktu equal to half a duro, or Spanish dollar, or two fr. sixty cents. The very lowest price is just double.

§ There are some interesting articles of gold represented by Lord Fitzclarence in the work above mentioned.

from the most ancient times.* It is brought from Taödénni, a place whose situation has been tolerably well established by M. Caillié's journey,† and the mines of which have been worked, as we know from A'hmed Bábá, since the year 1596, when the former mines of Tegháza, situated some seventy miles farther to the north, were given up. These salt-mines of Tegháza appear to have been worked from very remote times, or at least before the eleventh century; and there can be little doubt that the mines of Tátentál, described by the excellent geographer El Bekrí as situated twenty days' journey from Sijilmésa, and two from the beginning of the desert, are identical with Tegháza. Even at that time both Sijilmésa and Ghánata were provided from here, while at least the eastern and original portion of Songhay was supplied at that early period from the mines of Taútek, six days from Tademékka.‡

In Taödénni the salt, which covers a very extensive tract of ground in the district "El-Jóf," is formed in five layers, or "úje," the uppermost of which is called el-wára; the second, el-bentí; the third, el-hammamíye; the fourth, el-káhela, or the black one; and the lowest, which is embedded in the water, el-kámera, or el-bédha. The upper of these layers are of little value, and the most in request is the fourth layer, or el-káhela, the color of which is a most beautiful intermixture of black and white, like a species of marble. The ground is let out by the "káíd," who resides here, and whose name at the present time is Zén, in small portions, where the diggings are made, and he levies a tribute called the khomús from each hofra, or hole, the rest being sold by the workmen.

The largest pieces of salt which are dug out here measure 3 feet 5 inches in length, 13 inches in height, and 2⅓ inches in thickness, but they are of very unequal size, varying from 50 to 65 lb. in weight; this, however, is only half of one layer, each layer being

* See El Bekrí, ed. de Slane, p. 174:

يبدل الملح فيها بالذهب

In another passage (p. 183) he describes the commerce of Gógó in the words:

و تجارة اهل بلد كوكوا بالملح و هو نقدهم

"The commerce of Gógó consists of salt, and salt is their standard currency."

† See Caillié's Travels to Timbuctoo, ii., p. 119; and about Tegháza, or, as he writes, Trasas, or Trarzas, p. 128.

‡ El Bekrí, p. 171. In the time of Ébn Haukál (A.H. 960) the salt was brought from Aúlíl to Aúdaghost.

sawn into two slabs. The price of these slabs of course varies greatly at different times, but, as far as I became aware, in general does not reach such an exorbitant price as has been mentioned by Leo Africanus, Mr. Jackson, General Daumas, and others. When lowest, the price of each middle-sized slab does not exceed 3000 shells; and the highest price which was paid during my residence in the town was 6000, the price always rising toward spring, when the salt caravans become scarce on account of the number of blood-flies which infest the town and the neighborhood of the river. Of course, when this great highroad is shut up for a long period in consequence of feuds between the various tribes, the price may for a time rise much higher, but such cases must be quite exceptional.

The trade in salt on a large scale, as far as regards Timbúktu, is entirely carried on by means of the túrkedí, or the cloth for female apparel, manufactured in Kanó; the merchants of Ghadámes bartering in the market of A'rawán six túrkedí, or "mélhafa," for nine slabs, or "hajra," of salt, on condition that the Arabs bring the salt ready to market; or twelve, including the carriage to Taödénni. If they themselves then carry the salt to Timbúktu, they sell there eight slabs of salt for six mithkál of gold; but if they carry it to Sansándi, each slab of salt fetches two mithkál.

But the expense of this journey up the river is very great, on account of the boats being obliged to unship their merchandise at the islands of Jafarábe, whence it is taken to Sansándi on the backs of asses, and on account of the 'ashúr, which is levied by the Fúlbe, the expense is equal to about thirty-three per cent.; so that, out of every six slabs of salt transported to Sansándi, two are required for covering the expense of transport. Thus, each túrkedí bought in Kanó for about 1800 shells fetches two mithkál of gold when sold in Sansándi, while in Timbúktu it fetches from one to one and one sixth. This certainly, when we take into account the price of gold in Ghadámes and Tripoli, is a considerable profit; but the road which this merchandise takes from Kanó to Ghát, thence to Tawát, and from that place to Timbúktu, is very circuitous and expensive, and requires the agency and co-operation of several persons, no single merchant undertaking the whole of the traffic.

I have already remarked, in the proper place, that Libtáka, or rather Dóre, forms the market-place for the salt for supplying the provinces to the southeast of Timbúktu. It is transported thither by a direct road by way of Tósaye or Gógó, without touching at

Timbúktu; while, with regard to the region to the southwest, Sansándi is the great entrepôt for this commerce. The trade in this article, which, in countries where it is wanting entirely, becomes so precious, and the more so the greater its bulk, is, as I said before, of very ancient date in this western part of Negroland. But the salt was brought at that period, not from Taödénni, but from the neighboring salt-mines of Tegháza; and, in the former period, found its entrepôt in Ghánata and Waláta.

The gúro, or kóla nut, which constitutes one of the greatest luxuries of Negroland, is also a most important article of trade. Possessing this, the natives do not feel the want of coffee, which they might so easily cultivate to any extent, the coffee-plant seeming to be indigenous in many parts of Negroland. The gúro which is brought to the market of Timbúktu is imported from the provinces of Tangréra, the town which was touched at by M. Caillié on his journey from Sierra Leone to Morocco, and of Teuté and Káni, to the south of Timé; while the gúro which is brought to the market of Kanó is imported from the northern province of Asanti; and the trees which furnish these different kinds of kóla nuts do not belong to the same species, being distinguished as *Sterculia acuminata*, or the red kóla nut, and *Sterculia macrocarpa*, or the white kóla nut; although the variety appears merely to apply to the seed, the fruit of the latter kind being generally of larger size, while both flower and leaf are quite identical.

But there is a good deal of variety in the character of the gúro nut of each of these two species; and in Kanó four different kinds are distinguished, according to the size of the fruit; namely, the guríye, the largest fruit, which often measures an inch and a half, and sometimes even nearly two inches in diameter, and is sold at a very high price; secondly, the marsakátu; in the third place, the sára-n-wága; and fourth, the ménu. But this is not all. There is a farther distinction of three kinds, according to the season when the fruit is gathered: first, the já-n-karágu, the first gúro, which is collected about the end of February, but spoils easily, like the takdúf among the dates; secondly, the gammagári, collected at a later season, when the greater part of the fruit is ripe, and remaining from three to four months on the tree, being regarded by the Arabs as corresponding to those kind of dates called tásfirt; and lastly, there is the náta, the rest of the gúro, and of small size, which does not spoil.

As for the gúro sold in Timbúktu, I had no opportunity of

observing so many different varieties, but only became aware of three distinctions being made, viz., the tinóro, or Tíno-úro, "úro" being the corresponding Songhay name for gúro, and Tíno, or Tína, the name of a district; then the kind called síga; and thirdly, that called fára-fára.

As regards Selga, the district to which the Háusa traders go for their supply of this article, three points are considered essential to the business of the kóla trade; first, that the people of Mósi bring their asses; secondly, that the Tonáwa, or natives of Asanti, bring the nut in sufficient quantities; and thirdly, that the state of the road is such as not to prevent the Háusa people from arriving. If one of these conditions is wanting, the trade is not flourishing. The price of the asses rises with the cheapness of the gúro. The average price of an ass in the market of Selga is 15,000 shells; while in Háusa the general price does not exceed 5000. But the fatáki, or native traders, take only as many asses with them from Háusa as are necessary for transporting their luggage, as the toll, or fitto, levied upon each ass by the petty chiefs on the road is very considerable. From 5000 to 6000 gúro, or kóla nuts, constitute an ass-load.

Selga, the market-place for this important article, being, it appears, a most miserable town, where even water is very scarce and can only be purchased at an exorbitant price, the merchants always manage to make their stay here as short as possible, awaiting the proper season in Yendi, a town said to be as large as Timbúktu, or in Kulféla, the great market-place of Mósi; and they are especially obliged to wait in case they arrive at the beginning of the rainy season, there being no kóla nuts before the latter part of the kharíf. The price of this nut in Timbúktu varies from 10 to 100 shells each, and it always constitutes a luxury; so that, even on great festivals, alms consisting of this article are distributed by the rich people of the town.

So much for three of the most important articles of trade in Timbúktu—gold, salt, and the kóla nut; the salt trade comprising also the dealings in the native cloth manufactured in Kanó, which forms the general medium of exchange for this article, and about which I have already spoken in detailing the commerce of the great entrepôt of Háusa. I will only add here, that, as Kanó is not a very old place, this want must have been supplied before from some other quarter. It is probable that, as long as Songhay was flourishing, such an import was not needed at all; and we find

from several remarks made by El Bekrí, and other ancient geographers, that the art of weaving was very flourishing on the Upper Niger, but especially in the town of Silla, from very ancient times.* It is highly interesting to learn from these accounts that even in the eleventh century the cotton cloth was called in this region by the same name which it still bears at the present day, namely, "shigge."

The price of the articles brought to this market from the region of the Upper Niger, especially from Sansándi, varies greatly, depending as it does upon the supply of the moment. Provisions, during my stay, were, generally speaking, very cheap, while Caillié complains of the high prices which prevailed in his time.† But it must also be taken into account that the French traveler proceeded from those very countries on the Upper Niger from which Timbúktu is supplied, and where, in consequence, provisions are infinitely cheaper, while I came from countries which, owing to the state of insecurity and warfare into which they have been plunged for a long series of years, were suffering from dearth and famine.

The chief produce brought to the market of Timbúktu consists of rice and negro corn; but I am quite unable to state the quantities imported. Besides these articles, one of the chief products is vegetable butter, or mai-kadéña, which, besides being employed for lighting the dwellings, is used most extensively in cookery as a substitute for animal butter, at least by the poorer class of the inhabitants. Smaller articles, such as pepper, ginger, which is consumed in very great quantities, and sundry other articles, are imported. A small quantity of cotton is also brought into the market, not from Sansándi, I think, but rather from Jimbálla and some of the neighboring provinces, no cotton being cultivated in the neighborhood of the town: but the natives do not seem to practice much weaving at home, even for their own private use.

At the time of my visit, the caravan trade with Morocco, which is by far the most important, was almost interrupted by the feuds raging among the tribes along that road, especially between the E'rgebát and Tájakánt on the one side and the various sections

* El Bekrí, p. 173:

وتبايع اهل سلى بالذرة والملح وحلق النحاس وازرلطاف من قطن يسمونها الشكيات — الازر المسماة بالشكيات

† Caillié, Journey to Timbuctoo, ii., p. 33.

of the Tájakánt on the other. This is the reason why in that year there were no large caravans at all, which in general arrive about the beginning of November, and leave in December or January.

These caravans from the north are designated, by the Arabs in this region, by the curious name 'akabár (in the plural, 'akwabír); the origin of which I have not been able to make out, but it is evidently to be ranked among that class of hybrid words used by the people hereabouts, which belong neither to the Arabic nor to the Berber language. The same term is even used in Morocco to denote a very large caravan, or an aggregate of many small caravans; but in Timbúktu the term kafla is quite unusual for small parties, the name in use being "réfega."

In former times these caravans, at least those from Morocco by way of Téfilélet, and from the wádí Dar'a by way of the territory of the 'Aríb, seem to have been numerous, although they never amounted to the number mentioned in Mr. Jackson's account of Morocco,* and in various other works.

The small caravans of Tájakánt which arrived during my stay in the town, the largest of which did not number more than seventy or eighty camels, are rather an exception to the rule, and can therefore furnish no data with regard to the average, although I am quite sure that they very rarely exceed 1000 camels. The consequence of this state of things was, that, especially during the first part of my residence, the merchandise from the north fetched a very high price, and sugar was scarcely to be had at all.

With regard to European manufactures, the road from Morocco is still the most important for some articles, such as red cloth, coarse coverings, sashes, looking-glasses, cutlery, tobacco; while calico especially, bleached as well as unbleached, is also imported by way of Ghadámes, and in such quantities of late that it has greatly excited the jealousy of the Morocco merchants. The inhabitants of Ghadámes are certainly the chief agents in spreading this manufacture over the whole northwestern part of Africa, and, in consequence, several of the wealthier Ghadámsi merchants employ agents here. The most respectable among the foreign merchants in Timbúktu is Táleb Mohammed, who exercises, at the

* P. 96. Here Jackson states the average size of such a caravan at 10,000 camels; and even the more cautious M. Gråberg de Hemsö repeats these statements in his "Specchio di Morocco," p. 144, seq. "Ciononostante (le caravane) conducono talvolta seco *da* 16 *fino a* 20 *mila cammelli.*"

same time, a very considerable political influence; and the wealthiest merchants from Morocco besides him, during the time of my stay, were El Méhedi, the astronomer, Múl'a 'Abd e' Salám, the nobleman, and my friend the Swéri; while among the Ghadámsi merchants, Mohammed ben Táleb, Snúsi ben Kyári, Mohammed Lebbe-Lebbe, Haj 'Alí ben Sháwa, and Mohammed Weled el Kádhi, were those most worth mentioning.

But to apply even to these first-rate merchants a European standard of wealth would be quite erroneous, the actual property of none of them exceeding probably 10,000 dollars, and even that being rather an exceptional case. Scarcely any of them transact business on a large scale, the greater part of them being merely agents for other merchants residing in Ghadámes, Swéra (Mogador), Merákesh (Morocco), and Fás.

The greater part of the European merchandise comes by way of Swéra, where several European merchants reside, and from this quarter proceeds especially the common red cloth, which, together with calico, forms one of the chief articles of European trade brought into the market. All the calico which I saw bore the name of one and the same Manchester firm, printed upon it in Arabic letters. But I am quite unable, either with respect to this article or any other, to give an account of the quantity brought into market. All the cutlery in Timbúktu is of English workmanship. Tea forms a standard article of consumption with the Arabs settled in and around the town; for the natives it is rather too expensive a luxury.

A feature which greatly distinguishes the market of Timbúktu from that of Kanó, is the almost entire absence of that miserable kind of silk, or rather refuse, "twáni" and "kundra," which forms the staple article in the market of Kanó. Other articles also of the delicate Nüremberg manufacture are entirely wanting in this market; such as the small round looking-glasses, called "lemm'a," which some time ago had almost a general currency in Kanó. The market of Timbúktu, therefore, though not so rich in quantity, surpasses the rival market of Kanó in the quality of the merchandise. Bernúses, or Arab cloaks, furnished with a hood, also seem to be disposed of here to a considerable extent, although they must form too costly a dress for most of the officers at the courts of the petty chiefs, in the reduced state of all the kingdoms hereabouts; and, at all events, they are much more rarely seen here than in the eastern part of Negroland. These bernúses, of course,

are prepared by the Arabs and Moors in the north, but the cloth is of European manufacture. The calico imported constitutes a very important article. It is carried from here up the country as far as Sansándi, although in the latter place it comes into competition with the same article which is brought from the western and southwestern coasts.

Among the Arab merchandise tobacco forms a considerable article of consumption, especially that produced in Wádí Nún, and called, *par excellence*, "el warga," "the leaf," as it is not only smoked by the Arabs and natives in the country, as far as they are not exposed to the censure of the ruling race of the Fúlbe, but is even exported to Sansándi. I have already observed that tobacco constitutes a contraband article in all the towns where the Fúlbe of Hamda-Alláhi exercise dominion, and in Timbúktu especially, where one can only indulge in this luxury in a clandestine manner.

Tobacco, together with dates, forms also the chief article of import from Tawát, the species from that place being called "el wargat," the leaves indicating its inferior character to the first-rate article from Wádí Nún. Dates and tobacco form articles of trade among the people of Tawát, the poor tradesmen of that country possessing very little of themselves besides. But the quantity of these articles imported has also been greatly overrated by those who have spoken of the commercial relations of these regions from a distance. At least I am sure that the whole of the time I was staying in the town only about twenty camel-loads of these two articles together were imported.

With regard to exports, they consisted, at the time of my stay in the place, of very little besides gold and a moderate quantity of gum and wax, while ivory and slaves, as far as I was able to ascertain, seemed not to be exported to any considerable amount. However, a tolerable proportion of the entire export from these regions proceeds by way of A'rawán, without touching at Timbúktu. At any rate, those gentlemen who estimate the annual export of slaves from Negroland to Morocco at about 4000* are certainly mistaken, although in this, as well as in other respects, the exceptional and anarchical state of the whole country at the

* Gråberg de Hemsô, Specchio di Morocco, p. 146. Besides slaves, he enumerates as articles of export from Timbúktu to Morocco, ivory, rhinoceros horns, incense, gold dust, cotton strips (? verghe), jewels, ostrich feathers of the first quality, gum copal, cotton, pepper, cardamom, assafœtida, and indigo.

time of my residence, and my own most critical situation, did not allow me to arrive at any positive results. Thus much is certain, that an immense field is here opened to European energy, to revive the trade which, under a stable government, formerly animated this quarter of the globe, and which might again flourish to great extent. For the situation of Timbúktu is of the highest commercial importance, lying as it does at the point where the great river of Western Africa, in a serpent-like winding, approaches most closely to that outlying and most extensive oasis of "the far West"—Mághreb el Aksa, of the Mohammedan world—I mean Tawát, which forms the natural medium between the commercial life of this fertile and populous region and the north; and whether it be Timbúktu, Waláta, or Ghánata, there will always be in this neighborhood a great commercial *entrepôt*, as long as mankind retain their tendency to international intercourse and exchange of produce.

CHAPTER LXXI.

DIARY CONTINUED.

Being enabled to collect a good deal of information, as far as my situation allowed, I did not choose to accompany the sheikh when he again went to the tents on the 24th of January. He promised that he would only stay a day or two, but he did not return until the 29th. On this occasion I took the liberty of reminding him that he was not over-scrupulous in keeping his word; but, in his amiable way, he evasively replied, "that if a person had only one fault, or 'aíb,' it was of no consequence." Among my informants at this time, two Kanúri travelers, who had visited all the countries of the Wángaráwa, or Eastern Mandingoes, and one of whom had penetrated even as far as the Gold Coast, were most distinguished. Besides a good deal of information, especially with regard to the topography of the country of Mósi, they gave me an account of the petty struggle between the Swedish and the Tonáwa or Asanti; and they also informed me that the Mósi people had plundered the villages of Dúna, Kúbo, and Isáy, all of them belonging to the province of Dalla, which we had passed on our road hither, and where, they said, no inhabitants were now left. The Sheikho A'hmedu, after having collected an

expedition against the I'regenáten, had changed his plans, in order to march against the mountain stronghold of Konna; but, as we afterward heard, he was repulsed by the natives, the Sáro, who, relying upon their strong position, defended themselves with great valor.

Meanwhile, the salt, the staple produce of Timbúktu, gradually became dearer, the large "rás" fetching now 3800 shells; for, as I have stated, the price constantly increases, caravans not being enabled to visit the place during the following months, till the end of April, on account of the large blood-flies infesting the river. A small caravan containing from forty to fifty camels, which arrived on the 28th, was one of the latest that came into the town.

Thus ended the month of January, with utter disappointment at the failure of my expected departure, and with nothing but empty promises. After a sleepless night, I awoke on the 1st of February full of anxiety. I felt really afraid lest my host, notwithstanding his friendly disposition toward me, might keep me here the whole summer. At length I eased my mind in a slight degree by writing a letter to the sheikh, wherein I made him a witness against himself, in having so repeatedly given me his word that I should certainly leave this city and proceed on my home-journey. But matters, indeed, now looked more serious, another Púllo officer of well-known energy, viz., A'tkar, the Governor of Gúndam and Díre, having arrived with a considerable troop of armed men from Hamda-A'llahi, and another man of still more importance, A'hmed el Férreji, was soon expected. The Fúlbe seemed fully resolved to vindicate their power and authority over the town; and, in order to show that they were masters of the place, they exacted this year a tribute of 2000 shells on each slave with great severity.

Uncertain as were my prospects, I contrived to pass my time usefully by applying myself to the study of the idiom of the Western Tawárek, with Mohammed ben Khottár, the sheikh's nephew, and a Tárki of the name of Músa, for my teachers. Thus endeavoring to master my impatience, I listened with composure to the several rumors which were repeatedly spread with regard to the arrival of the various brothers of the sheikh, an event which, according to his statement, formed now the only reason for delaying my departure. But, in a long private conversation which I had with him on the 4th, when I urged him more than usual, he began to appeal to my humane feelings, and, discarding all polit-

ical motives, confessed that the chief reason which detained him was the pregnancy of his wife, and earnestly begged me to await the result of this event.

All this time, on account of the unusual height which the inundation had reached this year, a great deal of sickness prevailed in the town; and among the various people who fell a sacrifice to the disease was the son of Táleb Mohammed, the richest and most influential Arab merchant in the place, whose life I should have liked very much to save; but, seeing that the cure was very uncertain, I thought it more prudent (as I always did in such cases) not to give him any medicine at all.

Having staid several days in the town, we again went out to the tents in the afternoon of the 8th, in the company of Rummán and Mushtába, two Tawárek chiefs who had come to pay the sheikh a visit. On emerging from the A'beraz, I had with the latter a horse-race to some distance. As the Fullán seemed to have some projects against the Tawárek, and had strengthened their military power in the town of Gúndam, these Berber tribes were very much irritated against the former; they had even made an attack on a boat, and killed one of the Fullán and wounded another, while those of their tribe who were settled nearest to Gúndam thought it more prudent to change their dwelling-place, and to migrate farther eastward.

According to the profession of the two chiefs who accompanied us, they did not wish to be at peace with that warlike tribe which is daily spreading in every direction; but, notwithstanding their personal valor, the Tawárek are so wanting in unity that they can never follow any line of policy with very great results, while those who have a little property of their own are easily gained over by the other party. Thus, instead of sticking closely to the sheikh, and enabling him to make a firm stand against the Fullán, they seriously affected his interest at this time, by plundering, disarming, and slaying four Tawáti, who belonged to a small caravan that arrived on the 11th, and who, like all their countrymen, enjoyed the special protection of the sheikh.

My friend seemed at this moment to doubt the arrival of his brothers, not less than that of Alkúttabu, the great chief of the Awelímmiden, and endeavored to console me for the long delay of my departure by saying that it was the custom with them to keep their guests at least a year in their company. He informed me, at the same time, that he wanted to make me a present of a

horse, and that I might then, if I liked, give one of my own horses to Alkúttabu. He was this day more communicative than usual, and sat a long time with me and his pupils, delivering to us a lecture on the equal rank of the prophets, who, he said, had each of them one distinguishing quality, but that none of them ought to be preferred to the other. He dwelt particularly on the distinguished qualities of Moses, or Músa, who was a great favorite with him, although he was far from being friendly disposed toward the Jews, the spirit of Mohammed Ben 'Abd el Kerím el Maghíli, who hated that nation from the bottom of his heart, and preached the Jihád against it, having communicated itself to the Mohammedan inhabitants of this part of Negroland.

At another time my friend entered, without any prejudice, into the subject of wine and pork, and he had not much to say against the argument with which I used to defend myself from attacks in this respect, viz., that while we believed religion to concern the soul and the dealings of men toward each other, we thought all that regarded food was left by the Creator to man himself; but, of course, he would have been greatly shocked if he had beheld the scenes exhibited every evening by gin-palaces in the midst of the very acme of European civilization.

At other times again, taking out of his small library the Arabic version of Hippocrates, which he valued extremely, he was very anxious for information as to the identity of the plants mentioned by the Arab authors. This volume of Hippocrates had been a present from Captain Clapperton to Sultan Bello of Sókoto, from whom my friend had received it, among other articles, as an acknowledgment of his learning. I may assert, with full confidence, that those few books taken by the gallant Scotch captain into Central Africa have had a greater effect in reconciling the men of authority in Africa to the character of Europeans than the most costly present ever made to them; and I hope, therefore, that gifts like these may not be looked upon grudgingly by people who would otherwise object to do any thing which might seem to favor Mohammedanism.

We staid at the tents till the 14th; the time, on this occasion, hanging less heavily upon my hands than formerly, in consequence of the more cheerful and communicative disposition of my host, and because I was able to gather some little information. The weather, too, was more genial. We had a really warm day on the 13th, and I employed the fine morning in taking a long

walk over the several small sandy ridges which intersect this district. There were just at the time very few people about here who might cause me any danger, and I only fell in with the goatherds, who were feeding their flocks by cutting down those branches of the thorny trees which contained young offshoots and leaves. But the sheikh, having received some private information, suspected that our enemies might make another attempt against my safety, and, having requested me to send my servant, 'Abd-Alláhi, into the town, in the course of the day, to inform my people that we were about to return, he mounted with me, after the moon had risen, and we again entered our old quarters.

February 16*th*. This morning, one of my men, the Zaberma half-caste, Sambo, whom I had taken into my service at the residence of Galaijo, came to request to be dismissed my service. In the afternoon I went to pay my respects to the sheikh, and was rather astonished to hear him announce my departure more seriously and more firmly than usual; but the reason was that he had authentic news that his elder brother, Sídi Mohammed, whose arrival he had been expecting so long, and whom he wanted to leave in his stead when obliged to escort me the first part of my journey, was close at hand. The big drum having really announced his arrival at the tents, we mounted on horseback, half an hour before midnight, and arrived at the encampment a little before two o'clock in the morning. Here every thing, notwithstanding the lateness of the hour, bore a festive character, and a large tent had been pitched for the noble visitor at the foot of the hilly slope, the top of which was occupied by the sheikh's own tents.

The eldest member of this princely family was a man a little above the middle height, and strongly built, with a fine commanding expression of countenance, and manners more stern and warlike than those of El Bakáy, but not wanting in affability and natural cheerfulness. In the position in which I was placed, as a stranger, not only of a foreign country and nationality, but of an opposite creed, and as the cause of so many difficulties to these people in their political affairs, I could not expect that this man would receive me, at our first interview, with remarkable kindness and cordiality. It was therefore not to be wondered at that, in the beginning, he asked me a great many questions which it was not agreeable for me to answer in the presence of strangers.

Next day Hammádi, the son of El Mukhtár, the near relative of El Bakáy, and the latter's chief adversary, and therefore my

enemy, arrived with several followers at the encampment. El Bakáy constrained himself, for his elder brother's sake, to remain in the same tent with Hammádi; but Sídi Alawáte, the younger and more reckless brother, was not to be persuaded to enter the tent as long as his hated cousin was there. He spent the day in my tent till his enemy was gone. Sídi Mohammed did not seem to be at all unfavorably disposed toward Hammádi, and wanted even to enter the town in his company; but he was obliged to yield to the combined efforts of his two younger brothers, who refused the company of their cousin.

This was the first opportunity I had of seeing Hammádi, with whom I had wished from the beginning to be on friendly terms, but was forced by the policy of my host to avoid all intercourse with him, and thus to make him my adversary, as he was that of the sheikh. I had received a favorable account of his learning from different quarters; but his personal appearance was certainly not very prepossessing. He was of a stout figure, with broad coarse features, strongly marked with the small-pox, and of a very dark complexion, his descent from a female slave being his chief disadvantage.

Sídi Mohammed was very anxious to get into the town, but El Bakáy, with his usual slowness, and perhaps this time longer detained by the interesting situation of his wife, made his appearance at a very late hour in the afternoon, and endeavored to defer our departure till the next day; but his elder brother was too energetic to be thus put off, and having given sufficient vent to his dissatisfaction on account of the too great influence which Mrs. Bák (that was the name of El Bakáy's wife) exercised over his brother, and asking me with an ingenious turn whether I knew who was more influential than Sheikho A'hmedu ben A'hmedu and lorded it over his brother, he mounted his horse, and sent his young nephew to tell his father that he was ready and was expecting him. Thus forced against his own inclination, the sheikh at length disengaged himself from his family, and we went into the town in the company of a few horsemen who had come out to pay their respects to Sídi Mohammed, firing a few shots as we entered the place.

Of course, in a town where no strong government is established, and where every great man exercised all the influence and power of which he was capable, due homage and tribute were to be rendered to this potentate of the desert, who came to honor it

with a visit. A musical performance took place in front of the house of the sheikh, where he took up his quarters; and each foreign merchant prepared a gift, according to his wealth, by which to obtain the protection of this man, or rather to forestall his intrigues. These gifts were by no means small; and I felt a great deal of compassion for my friend 'Alí ben Táleb, whose present, although by no means trifling, was sent back by Sídi Mohammed as neither adequate to the dignity of the receiver nor to that of the giver. I myself also found it necessary to make to this dignitary a respectable present. I gave him the finest bernús, or Arab mantle, which I had still left, besides a black tobe, and sundry smaller articles.

In other respects, the town, at this time, became rather quieter, and trade was more dull. The small caravan of the Tájakánt, some members of which had only spent a few days in the town, left on the 20th; and the only articles which they took with them were salt and a little calico. Even directly from the north, along the most frequented route, the trade became insignificant; and a party of merchants, who arrived from Tawát on the following day, was exceedingly small. Among them were two respectable Ghadámsíye merchants, but, having resided three or four months in Tawát, they brought neither recent news nor letters for me. However, they came just in time, as on the 22d a countryman of theirs, of some importance, died, and I learned on this occasion something about the property of merchants in this place. The deceased was a tolerably wealthy man; among the property which he left there being found about 2000 mithkál in gold, a considerable sum of money for this place, although it did not belong to himself, but to the Tíniyan, or the well-known Ghadámsi family of the Tíni, whose agent he was. The house where he lived was worth 200 mithkál.

Having, while in the town, much time at my disposal, and only little intercourse with the people, I had made ready another parcel, containing the information which I had been able to collect, for sending to Europe; and it was well that I had done so, as early on the 26th a small troop of poor Tawáti traders left for their native home. But, unfortunately, this parcel did not find her Britannic Majesty's agent, to whom it was addressed at Ghadámes, as he had left his post for the Crimea; and thus my family was thrown into the deepest grief in consequence of the rumor of my death; all my effects were buried; and when I arrived at

length in Háusa, where I had reckoned to find every thing that I wanted, I found even the supplies which I had left drawn away from me as from a dead man.

Almost the whole of January and the beginning of February had been in general cold, with a thick and foggy atmosphere, well representing that season which the Tawárek call with the emphatic and expressive name "the black nights," éhaden esáttafnén; and all this time the river was continually rising or preserving the highest level which it had reached. But on the 17th the river, after having puzzled us several times as to its actual state, had really begun to decrease, and almost immediately afterward the weather became clearer and finer, thus testifying to the assertion of the Tawárek—who have exchanged their abodes in the desert for this border district along the river, as well as the Arabs, who give to this season the name of the forty nights—that the river never begins really to decrease before the end of this period. The greatest danger from the inundation is just at this time, when the waters recede, as the rising ground on which the hamlets along the shore are situated has been undermined and frequently gives way; and we received intelligence on the 22d that the hamlet of Bétagungu, which is situated between Kábara and Gúndam, had been destroyed in this manner.

Although I had enjoyed a greater degree of security for some time, my situation, after a short respite, soon assumed again a serious character, and hostile elements were gathering from different quarters; for, while a very important mission was just approaching from Hamda-Alláhi, on the 25th we received the news that 'Abidín, that member of the family of Mukhtár who followed a policy entirely opposite to that of El Bakáy, was reported to be near, and he was conducted into the town by Hammádi with considerable display.

In the morning of the following day, just as the atmosphere changed from bright to gloomy, a powerful Púllo officer, and a prince of the blood, Hámedu, a son of Mohammed Lebbo, entered the town with a numerous troop on horseback and on foot, among whom were ten musketeers. They marched past my house on purpose, although the direct road from Kábara did not lead that way, in order to frighten me, while I, with the intention of showing them that they had entirely failed in their object, opened the door of my house, displaying in the hall all my firearms, and my people close at hand ready to use them.

But my little band became more and more reduced, for when the chief of my followers, the Méjebrí, 'Alí el A'geren, saw a fresh storm gathering against me, he disclaimed any farther obligation toward me, notwithstanding the salary which he continued to receive. But, as I had given him up long before, this farther manifestation of his faithlessness did not make a great impression upon me. On the other hand, I had attached to myself, by the present which I had bestowed upon him, the eldest brother of the family upon whose good-will, under the present circumstances, a great deal depended.

Thus approached the 27th of February, when the real character of the mission from Hamda-Alláhi, of which Hámedu had only been the forerunner, was disclosed. Having been in a lazy and rather melancholy mood the whole day, I was reclining on my simple couch in the evening, when I was surprised by the sheikh's nephew entering abruptly, and, although betraying by his sad and serious countenance that something very grave oppressed his mind, yet squatting silently down without being able or feeling inclined to say a word. Scarcely had he left me, when my Tawáti friend, Mohammed el 'Aísh, who continued to show me a great deal of kindness and sympathy, called me into the sheikh's presence. I was ushered in with great precaution through the hall and up the narrow winding staircase, and found the three brothers in the terrace-room engaged in serious consultation.

After I had taken my seat they informed me that the Fullán were making a last attempt against my safety, and that, together with Kaúri, the former emír, a distinguished nobleman of the name of Mohammed el Férreji, had arrived in Kábara accompanied by a troop of about one hundred men, and that the latter messenger had addressed to my host two letters of very different character and tenor, one being full of manifestations of friendship, and the other couched in most threatening terms, to the effect that something serious would happen if he did not send me off before he (Férreji) entered the town. But no active course of proceedings was resolved upon, although Mohammed, who was the most energetic of the three, proposed that we should mount on horseback and pass the night on the road to Kábara, partly in order to prevent the inhabitants of the town from joining the Fullán in that place, in conformity with the order which they had received, partly in order to intercept any thing that might come from the hostile camp. While proposing this energetic measure,

the chief of A'zawád was playing with his four-barreled musket, which, even under these momentous circumstances, excited my curiosity almost more than any thing else, as I had never seen any thing like it in Europe. It was of excellent workmanship, but I could not say of what peculiar character, as it did not bear any distinct mark of nationality. Of course I suspected, when I first beheld it, that it had belonged to the late unfortunate Major Laing, but I was distinctly assured by all the people, though I would scarcely believe it, that this was not the case, and that it had been purchased from American traders at Portendik. At present it was rather short, the uppermost part having been taken off in consequence of an accident; but it was, nevertheless, a very useful weapon and not at all heavy. It was made for flints, there being only two cocks, but a cannon to each barrel.

Having discussed various proposals with regard to my safety, with characteristic slowness, and coupling serious observations with various amusing stories, Sídi Mohammed sat down and wrote a formal protest in my favor, and sent it to the Emír Kaúri. However, I doubt whether, on a serious inquiry, this paper would have been regarded by Christians as very flattering to their position in the world; the principal argument brought forward by my noble friend and protector for not dealing with me in so cruel a manner being, that I was not "ákáfir" than the "ráís," meaning that I was not a greater "káfir," or unbeliever, than Major Laing; for, besides not being very complimentary, it left it open to our adversaries to reply that they did not intend to treat me worse than the Major had been treated, who, as is well known, having been forced to leave the town, was barbarously murdered in the desert.

A messenger from the emír having arrived, the sheikh himself made a long speech, telling him under what circumstances I had reached this place, and that now I had once placed myself under his protection, there was nothing but honorable peace, both for himself and his guest, or war. Upon this the messenger observed, in an ironical manner, that, El Férreji (who had been sent to compromise with the sheikh) being a learned man like himself, every thing would end well; meaning that they would know, if not able to succeed by force, how to vanquish him with arguments taken from their creed. Another protest having been sent to Táleb Mohammed, who, as I stated before, although nothing but a merchant, exercised a great political influence in this anarchical place,

I went home to refresh myself with a cup of tea, and then made preparations for the eventual defense of my house, and for hiding the more valuable of my effects: after which I returned to the residence of El Bakáy, about midnight, and found the holy man himself, armed with a double-barreled gun, about to enter the great segífa, or parlor, which he had allotted to his faithful and discreet store-keeper, Táleb el Wáfi. Here we sat down; and soon about forty men gathered round us, armed partly with spears and partly with muskets, when, after a great deal of useless talk as to what was to be done, it was agreed upon to send one messenger to the Tawárek chiefs, Rummán and Mushtába, whose acquaintance I had made on a former occasion, and who at present were encamped in Mushérrek, a locality rich in pasture-grounds and well protected by three branches of the river, to the southwest of the town—and another messenger to our friends the Kel-úlli, in order to summon these people to our assistance.

Meanwhile the sheikh, seated on the raised platform of clay, which occupied the left corner of the parlor, entertained the sleepy assembly with stories of the prophets, especially Músa and Mohammed, and the victories achieved by the latter, in the beginning of his career, over his numerous adversaries. The quiet of the listless assembly was only disturbed for a time by a shriek issuing from the northern part of the town, and every body snatched his gun and ran out; but it was soon found that the alarm was caused by our own messengers, who, on leaving the place, had disturbed the repose of the inhabitants of the suburb, or "A'beraz," the latter supposing them to belong to a foray of the predatory and enterprising Welád 'Alúsh, who were then infesting A'zawád.

Having thus sat up the whole night, full of curious reflections on these tragi-comic scenes, I returned to my quarters about five o'clock in the morning, and endeavored to raise my exhausted spirits by means of some coffee. However, our precautions, insufficient as they might seem to a European, had had their full effect, and the Púllo messenger did not dare to enter the town before noon, and even then, although joined by about sixty horsemen from the townspeople, was afraid to traverse our warlike quarter.

Meanwhile Sídi Mohammed and A'lawáte had left the town with a troop of armed men, under the pretext of observing the movements of the enemy, but, perhaps, in order to show them that

they themselves did not coincide with all the views of the sheikh. Going then to the residence, I found nearly two hundred people assembled there, most of them armed, and including among their number even the Púllo, Mohammed ben 'Abd-Alláhi, who did not conceal the greater friendship he felt for the sheikh than for his own countrymen, the Fúlbe of Hamda-Alláhi. While I was there, Mohammed S'aíd, the officer who had been sent to capture me on a previous occasion, was dispatched as a messenger by Férreji, the new officer; and, under the present circumstances, disguising all hostile intentions, he was desirous to know what was the reason of this show of arms; such not being in accordance with the sheikh's former character, and it being rather his duty to bestow hospitable treatment upon his old friend, El Férreji.

Although this was rather a curious distortion of facts, I was still more astonished at the answer of the sheikh, who replied that he had only followed the example of his two brothers. But the business was not settled in this manner. Late in the evening there was another serious consultation in the terrace-room of the sheikh, and Sídi A'lawáte was dispatched to Férreji to elicit from him an indication of his real intentions. Sídi Mohammed, meanwhile, in order to pass away the time, opened a cheerful and jocose conversation, by questioning me respecting the social position and the various relations of the other sex in my own country—a subject which always possesses a great deal of attraction, even among the most serious of the Mohammedans.

Having then been obliged to withdraw, as A'lawáte had pretended that he could only communicate his message from the officer sent from Hamda-Alláhi to El Bakáy himself, I returned home; but, long after midnight, I received a visit from the latter, who came to inform me that Férreji had brought nothing but favorable letters from Hamda-Alláhi, having written, as he said, the threatening letter from Kábara merely at the instigation of the Sahelíye, or merchants from Morocco; and that he himself, on his part, had assured Férreji that, if Sheikho A'hmedu left me alone, I should be forwarded on my home-journey after a short delay; but adding that the Fúlbe ought to assist him from the public revenue, in order to hasten my departure.

The same day I witnessed an interesting episode in the private life of these people. The sheikh's mother-in-law having died, he went to pray for her soul at the "ródha," or sepulchre, of Sídi Mukhtár, a sacred locality a few hundred yards on the east side

of the town, which in my career in this place was to become of greater importance to me. Such is the reverence which these Arabs have for the female portion of their tribe. There are, moreover, several women famed for the holiness of their life, and even authoresses of well-digested religious tracts, among the tribe of the Kunta.

Political circumstances were not quite so favorable as my host wanted to represent them to me; as, like many other people, he was not very particular, when endeavoring to obtain a good object, about saying things that were not quite true; and the following day, when Férreji paid a visit to the sheikh, he designated me as a war-chief and a "mehárebi," or freebooter, who ought not to be allowed to remain any longer in the town. Altogether it was fortunate that El Bakáy had provided for the worst by sending for the Kel-úlli, who arrived in the course of the afternoon, about sixty strong, with great military demonstrations and beating of shields. It was on this occasion that I first made the acquaintance of this warlike tribe, who, notwithstanding their degraded position as Imghád, have made themselves conspicuous by totally annihilating the formerly powerful tribe of the I'gelád and I'medídderen, who in former times ruled over Timbúktu and were hostile to the Kunta. The Kel-úlli are distinguished among all the tribes of the neighborhood by three qualities which, to the European, would scarcely seem possible to be united in the same person, but which are not unfrequently found combined in the Arab tribes, viz., "réjela," or valor; "sírge," or thievishness; and "dhiyáfa," or generous hospitality.

CHAPTER LXXII.

GREAT CRISIS.—OBLIGED TO LEAVE THE TOWN.—MILITARY DEMONSTRATION.

THERE was now a fair opportunity offered me of leaving the town in an honorable way, under the protection of the friendly Kel-úlli, who for this very purpose had brought with them from the encampment my four camels; but the sheikh missed this favorable occasion by relying too much upon the promised arrival of the great Tawárek chief Alkúttabu. As for our friends the Tademékket, to whom A'hmed Wádáwi, the learned follower of

the sheikh, had been sent as a messenger, they did not come along with him, but sent word that they would follow him as soon as their presence was required, their chief A'wáb having gone to raise tribute from the degraded tribe of the Idélebó.

Uncertain as my situation was under these circumstances, I felt cheered by the not very improbable chance of my departure; for at length the last cause which had delayed me so long seemed to be removed by El Bakáy's wife giving birth to a child on the 4th of March. All political as well as domestic circumstances therefore seemed to conspire in rendering it possible for him to accompany me for the distance of some days; and he had really assured me the night before, when I was engaged in a consultation with him till near morning, that I should leave on the following Tuesday; but, having had too much insight into his dilatory character, I told him very plainly that I did not believe a word of it, as he had disappointed me so often. And I had reason to be satisfied with my skepticism, as the phantom of the "tábu," or the great army of the Tawárek, with whose assistance he hoped to triumph over his enemies, did not allow him to adhere to any fixed plan. Now the "tábu" was really approaching; and it was merely some unforeseen circumstance, probably owing in part to the machinations of the party publicly or secretly opposed to the authority of the sheikh, which prevented the great chief of all those westerly Tawárek from reaching Timbúktu, and crowning all the hopes and wishes of my protector.

It was in the afternoon of the 5th that we received undoubted news of the approach of the tábu, the shepherds seeking to secure their flocks by flight, and all those who had reason to fear the wrath or anger of their mighty liege lord endeavoring to reach the islands and creeks of the river as a place of safety. A messenger who arrived from Bamba stated that the tábu had really reached the town of E'gedesh, a few miles beyond Bamba; nay, even the state of the atmosphere seemed to confirm the news of the approach of a numerous host, as it was entirely enveloped in thick clouds of dust. But the sheikh was a little too rash in sending on the 6th a message to El Férreji, giving him official information of the arrival of Alkúttabu. That officer answered, in a manly way, that he must not think of frightening him, and that he himself, if necessary, was fully able to summon an army from Fermágha and from Dár e' Salám, the capital of the Province of Jimbálla on the other side of the river; that he had come to drive

me out of the town, and that he would at any cost achieve his purpose; and although the sheikh's rival, Hammádi, seemed to be frightened and came to sue for peace, yet Sídi Mohammed was wearied with his brother's continual procrastination, and from that day forward did all in his power to make me leave the town under any condition, and banish me to the tents.

There is no doubt that, in the event of the "tábu" not arriving, the sheikh's situation became more dangerous in consequence of the arrival of his brother 'Abidín, who entered the town amid a demonstration of firing and music on the afternoon of the 7th. All the three brothers went out on horseback to meet him; but this man, who was bent upon following a policy entirely opposed to that of El Bakáy, took up his quarters with Hammádi, the adversary of the latter. Even the eldest brother was so little satisfied with the sheikh's present policy, that, when I called upon him about midnight of that same day, a very serious conversation arose between the two brothers, Sídi Mohammed asking El Bakáy whether they were to fight the Fullán on account of a single individual, and one too of a foreign religion; and reproaching him at the same time with the fact that his preparations did not advance, while on his part he did not think any preparations were necessary at all, as he was sure that not even the tribe of the Igwádaren, who are settled near Bamba, would do me any harm. But the sheikh endeavored to gain time by telling his brother that he would send the following day for the horses from Kábara, and that he would write a letter to some chiefs on the road through whose territory I had to pass.

Having been a quiet spectator of this dispute, I returned to my quarters, and in order to provide against any accident I packed up the remainder of my luggage and made every thing ready for starting. Meanwhile, Sídi Mohammed and A'lawáte, in order to further their plans, had the same afternoon an appointment with 'Abidín and Hammádi, where they probably determined as to the course to be pursued with regard to me: and El Bakáy, who went the same evening to pay a visit to to 'Abidín, seemed to have given a kind of half promise that I should leave in the afternoon of the 10th. But having obtained a short respite, in the course of the following day, he delayed my departure from day to day, expecting all the time the arrival of Alkúttabu.

Meanwhile, Sídi Mohammed had made a serious attack upon my religion, and called me always a káfir. But I told him that I

was a real Moslim, the pure Islám, the true worship of the one God, dating from the time of Adam, and not from the time of Mohammed; and that thus, while adhering to the principle of the unity and the most spiritual and sublime nature of the Divine Being, I was a Moslim, professing the real Islám, although not adopting the worldly statutes of Mohammed, who, in every thing that contained a general truth, only followed the principles established long before his time. I likewise added, that even they themselves regarded Plato and Aristotle as Moslemín, and that thus I myself was to be regarded as a Moslim, in a much stricter sense than these two pagan philosophers. I concluded by stating that the greater part of those who called themselves Moslemín did not deserve that name at all, but ought rather to be called Mohammedán, such as we named them, because they had raised their prophet above the Deity itself.

Being rather irritated and exasperated by the frequent attacks of Sídi Mohammed and A'lawáte, I delivered my speech with great fervor and animation; and when I had concluded, Sídi Mohammed, who could not deny that the Kurán itself states that Islám dates from the creation of mankind, was not able to say a word in his defense. As for El Bakáy, he was greatly delighted at this clear exposition of my religious principles, but his younger brother, who certainly possessed a considerable degree of knowledge in religious matters, stated, in opposition to my argument, that the Caliphs El Harún and M'amún, who had the books of Plato and Aristotle translated into Arabic, were Met'azíla, that is to say, heretics, and not true Moslemín; but this assertion of course I did not admit, although much might be said in favor of my opponent. At all events, I had obtained some respite from the attacks of my friends; and having thus the support of them all, in the afternoon of the following day, the 10th of March, we went quietly to the tents in order to celebrate the "Sebúwa" (corresponding to the baptism of the Christians) of the new-born child. On this occasion I noticed that the water in the outlying creeks which we passed had only fallen about three feet since the 17th of February, which is less than two inches per day; but it is probable that the water of the principal branch decreases more rapidly than that of these winding backwaters.

The camp was full of animation, the Gwanín el Kohol, a section of the Bérabísh, having taken refuge in the encampment of the sheikh from fear of the Kél-hekíkan, with whom they were

on hostile terms. It was highly interesting for me to be thus brought into close contact with these people, who owe allegiance to the chief that had murdered Major Laing; and, well aware that I could not fail to entertain a strong prejudice against them, they all thronged round me on my arrival, and hastened to assure me of their friendly disposition. They were armed with double-barreled guns, a weapon which, owing to the trade with the French, is now common through the whole of this part of the desert, the long single-barreled gun, the only favorite weapon with the Arabs to the north, being here regarded with contempt as befitting only the slave. In general, the people were of middle stature, although some of them were fine tall men and of a warlike and energetic appearance, having their shirts, mostly of a light blue color, tied up over their shoulder and girt round the waist with a belt, the powder-horn hanging over the shoulder, quite in the same style as is the custom of their brethren nearer the shores of the Atlantic. Their head was uncovered, with the exception of their own rich black hair, or guffa, which, I am sorry to add, was full of vermin.

The same evening, although it was late, my host, who was certainly not wanting in hospitality, slaughtered five oxen, and in consequence we partook of supper about an hour after midnight. But that was not at all unusual here; and nothing during my stay in Timbúktu was more annoying to me, and more injurious to my health than this unnatural mode of living, which surpasses in absurdity the late hours of London and Paris.

Early the next morning two more head of cattle were slaughtered, and enormous quantities of rice and meat were cooked for the great numbers of guests, who had flocked here together from the town and from all parts of the neighboring district. Amid such feasting the name of Mohammed was given to the new-born infant. The way in which the guests dealt with the enormous dishes, some of which were from four to five feet in diameter, and could only be carried by six persons, bore testimony to the voracity of their appetites; one of these immense dishes was upset, and the whole of the contents spilt in the sand.

But the people were not long left to enjoy their festivity, for just while they were glutting themselves a troop of Kél-hekíkan, the tribe who waged the bloody feud with the Gwanín, passed by, throwing the whole encampment into the utmost confusion. When at length it had again settled down, the festivities proceeded, and

Mohammed el 'Aísh, with some of his countrymen from Tawát, rode a race up the slope of the downs toward the tents, firing their guns at the same time; but altogether the exhibition was rather shabby, and some of the men were very poor riders, having probably never been on horseback before, as they were natives of the desert where the camel prevails. The inhabitants of Timbúktu, who possess horses, are continually pestered with the request to lend them to strangers; and, with regard to these animals, a sort of communism prevails in the town; but they are of a very poor description, only the sheikh himself possessing some good horses, brought from the Gibleh, or western quarter of the desert.

The Kél-hekíkan formed also a subject of anxiety to us in the evening, and, after a long and tedious consultation, it was decided to send some people to watch the movements of those freebooters. Having been met with, they declared they should feel satisfied if the sheikh would consent to deliver up to them the person who had first slain one of their companions, for this had been the beginning of the feud with the Gwanín, although the murderer belonged to the Túrmus, and not to that other tribe which had taken up the quarrel. In consequence of these feudal relations I had an interesting conversation with the sheikh, and Fandaghúmme, one of the chiefs of the Tademékket who had likewise come to join this festival, about the "fed'a," or the price of blood, many of the Tawárek tribes refusing to accept any fed'a, but peremptorily requiring bloodshed. I have already mentioned these freebooters, the Kél-hekíkan, on a former occasion; and it is remarkable that this very tribe, which at present is most distinguished by its lawless and sanguinary habits, and which, in consequence of the almost uninterrupted state of warfare in which they are engaged, was at the time reduced to about forty full-grown men, exhibits the finest specimens of manly vigor and stately appearance which are to be found in this whole region.

Notwithstanding the importance which the day possessed for my protector, the stay in the camp, deprived as I was of books or any other source of amusement, and of even the smallest European comfort, became more and more tedious to me. My material privations also were not few, especially as I had not even taken coffee with me this time, so that I had nothing to refresh myself with in the early part of the morning. However, I tried to pass my time as cheerfully as possible, and took some interest in the appearance of a man who had likewise come out to enjoy the

hospitality of the sheikh. This was the Sherif Múláy Isay, who, on account of his white skin, was almost suspected by the natives to be of European origin. In the course of the day the sheikh showed me some rich gold trinkets belonging to his wife, manufactured in Waláta; and this was almost the only time that I had an opportunity of inspecting these gold ornaments. They formed a sort of diadem: and I understood my host to say that he wanted to have a similar one made for Queen Victoria, which, however poor in itself, I assured him would be valued by the English as a specimen of their native industry.

The stay in this place became the more disagreeable, as a high wind raised thick clouds of dust, and the leathern tent, in which Fandaghúmme was staying, was blown down, and I was therefore rather glad when, in the evening of the 13th, we returned into the town. Here, again, the news of the arrival of the "tábu" was a second time reported, and every body again thrown into a state of excitement; the Ergágeda, a tribe of Arabs or Moors, moving to and fro, while all the poor degraded tribes in the neighborhood, together with their herds of cattle and their flocks of sheep, fled again for refuge to the encampment of the sheikh, such as the Kél e' Sherí'a, the Kél-antsár, the I'denán, and the Kél-úlli. My protector himself was again to return to the tents on the morning of the 15th, when a serious business arose, the Fullán insisting with great pertinacity that I should leave the town this day, or else they would certainly kill me; for they would rather, they said, that the "tábu" should annihilate them all, than that I should remain a day longer in the town.

Next morning the Fullán and the merchants from the north assembled in the house of Mohammed el Férreji, and discussed with great energy what means they should adopt to drive me out, binding themselves by an oath that I should not see the sun set over the town. The officer Hámedu, the son of Mohammed Lebbo, even went so far as to rise in the assembly and swear that he himself would certainly slay me if I should stay any longer. The alarm which this affair caused in the town was very great, although matters of this kind in Negroland are never so serious as in Europe. A'lawáte, therefore, being informed of what was going on, entered the assembly and made a formal protest that I should see both sunset and sunrise in the town, but he pledged his word that I should leave it before the sun reached that height called dáhhar (about nine o'clock in the morning) by the Arabs,

and if I remained after that time they might do what they pleased with me.

March 17*th*. I had lain down rather late, and was still asleep, when Sídi Mohammed, before sunrise, sent word to me to mount in order to follow him out of the town; and he behaved very unpolitely when objections were raised to the effect that it would be better to wait for El Bakáy. Soon after he came up himself on horseback before my door, sending one of his brother's principal and confidential pupils, whom I could scarcely expect to do anything contrary to the wishes of his master, to bid me mount without farther delay, and to follow him to the "ródha," or the sepulchre of Sídi Mukhtár, where El Bakáy would join us. Seeing that I had nothing to say, while as a stranger I could neither expect nor desire these people to fight on my account, I mounted, fully armed, and with two servants on horseback followed Sídi Mohammed on his white mare.

All the people in the streets through which we passed cautiously opened their doors to have a peep at me. The ruling tribe also were not inactive: and they had mounted several horsemen, who followed close upon our heels, and would probably have made a demonstration if we had halted at the "ródha." But my conductor, instead of staying there, as I had been made to believe, led on straight to the tents. Numbers of Tawárek families, carrying their little property on half-starved asses, met us on the road, flying westward, and confirming the fact that the approach of the tábu was not merely an idle rumor. The encampment also, which had been chosen at another spot, presented a very animated scene, a large hamlet, consisting of matting dwellings, or seníha, inhabited by the Kél-úlli and the I'gelád, *protégés* of the sheikh, being closely attached to it. The consequence was, that although the whole locality, formed by a sandy ridge with a slight depression full of trees, presented a more cheerful aspect than the former encampment, by degrees it became rather narrow and confined. Having received the compliments of my new friends, I endeavored to make myself as comfortable as possible; but not much repose was granted me, for, about three o'clock in the afternoon, Mohammed ben Khottár, the sheikh's nephew, arrived with a verbal and peremptory message from the former to his elder brother, Sídi Mohammed, to the effect that the Fullán were about to storm my house in the town, in order to seize my luggage which I had left there; and desiring him instantly, and without the slightest

delay, to bring me back, as all these proceedings were the consequence of his (Sídi Mohammed's) indiscretion.

Roused by this angry message, the noble son of the desert repented what he had done to the detriment of his brother's interest, and calling together by strokes of the tobl, or great drum, which hung ready on the top of the sandy slope, all the people capable of carrying arms, he mounted his mare, with his four-barreled gun before him, while I, with my two servants, followed behind.

Thus it appeared as if I was destined once more to enter Timbúktu, and this time under very warlike circumstances. We went at the beginning at such a rate, that it seemed as if we were about to storm the place directly; but on reaching the first creek of the river we made a short halt, while my Mohammedan friends said their prayers, and at last came to a stand on an eminence, whence we sent a messenger in advance. Sídi A'lawáte came out of the town to meet us. Meanwhile darkness set in, and we again halted on another eminence in sight of the town, and sent a second messenger to the sheikh. We were joined after a while by the people from Tawát, who informed us that El Bakáy had left the town with a numerous host of followers, but that they themselves did not know whither he was gone. Messengers were therefore dispatched tc endeavor to find him.

In the mean while the Tawárek whom we had with us beat their shields in their usual furious manner, and raised the war-cry; the night was very dark, and I at length fired a shot, which informed our friends of our whereabouts. We found the sheikh close to the town south of the "ródha," with a large host of people, Tawárek as well as Arabs, Songhay, and even Fullán. The Fútáwi, Ism'aíl, who, from his knowledge of colonial life in St. Louis or Ndér, afforded me a constant source of entertainment as well as vexation, welcomed us with a song, and all the people gathered around us in motley confusion. The spectacle formed by this multifarious host, thronging among the sand-hills in the pale moonlight, was highly interesting, and would have been more so to me if I could have been a tranquil observer of the scene; but, as I was the chief cause of this disturbance, several of my friends, especially the Imám, Háj el Mukhtár, whom I had known in Bornú, made their way to me, and begged me to beware of treachery. The sheikh himself dispatched his most trustworthy servant to inform me that I had better keep in the midst of the Tawárek, whom he himself thought much more trustworthy than the Arabs. The

Kél-úlli forthwith formed a square round me, but at the same time made a joke of it, trying an experiment as to the warlike disposition of my horse, by pushing against me with one side of the square, while beating their shields, till, being thrown back upon the other side, I spurred my horse and drove them to their former position. Excited by this animated scene, my noble charger, to the great amusement of this turbulent host, began to neigh from sheer delight.

Meanwhile the brothers had dismounted, together with their trusty councilors, and were wasting the time in useless consultation, while some Fullán horsemen were roving about and kept me on my guard; but one of them was dismounted against his inclination. His horse received a wound either from the stump of a tree or from a spear, and thus he remained the sole victim of this glorious and memorable night's campaign.

At length, having moved to and fro for some time, we approached the outskirts of the A'beraz, and there took up our position. But the Fullán and Songhay, who had likewise assembled at the beating of the alarm drum, being arranged in front of us, notwithstanding their cowardly disposition, it did not seem likely that we should be allowed to get inside the town without bloodshed, and I protested repeatedly to the sheikh that nothing was more repugnant to my feelings than that blood should be shed on my account, and perhaps his own life be endangered.

Meanwhile numerous messengers were sent backward and forward, till my protector and host, whose feelings had been deeply wounded, declared that he would allow me to remain outside the town, if the Fullán would withdraw their force so as to put every thing in his own hands, and would promise to leave my house untouched. And he strictly kept his word; for, while he himself entered the place with A'lawáte, he allowed me to return to the tents in the company of his elder brother. We did not arrive at the encampment before three o'clock in the morning, for we lost our road in the pale moonlight, and became entangled among the numerous creeks of Bóse-bángo, while we suffered at the same time greatly from hunger, and the coolness of the night. Such was the sole result of this night's campaign.

The following day we received the news from an Urághen, who arrived from the east, of the tábu having returned eastward, in consequence of a serious quarrel having broken out between the tribes of the Tarabanása and the Tin-ger-égedesh, who composed

part of the army; and in consequence of the obstinacy of A'khbi, the chief of the Igwádaren, who had refused to acknowledge the authority of his liege lord, and to come forth from his place of retreat, the island of Kúrkozáy, in order to do homage to Alkúttabu. The ruling tribe of the Awelímmiden gave vent to their anger by plundering the poor inhabitants of Bamba, or Kasbah, a place situated about half way between here and Gógó. That dreaded host having retraced its steps, and thus disappointed the hopes of my protector, all the poor people who had put themselves under the protection of the sheikh felt reassured, and again brought out their little property, which they had secreted in the various tents of the encampment. The I'gelád lagged a little longer behind, and in the evening assembled in considerable numbers before my tent in order to have a talk with me. On the whole they behaved very decently.

Seeing that I was now restricted to a stay in the encampment, I had sent my servant, the Gatróni, into the town in order to bring out my luggage. He returned in the evening without having accomplished his errand, but in the company of the sheikh himself, who informed me that he did not wish the luggage to be brought out of the town before he was ready to accompany me himself on my journey, as he was afraid that his two brothers still wanted to get something more out of me than they had done. But as he had sworn in the first paroxysm of anger that he would at all hazards bring me back into the town, I told him, in order to console him, that I would once more re-enter the place in the dark, quite by myself, stay a short time in my house, and then return to the camp, in order that his oath might be fulfilled. But he would not allow me to expose myself to any danger on his account, as the rules of his creed made it easy for him to get rid of the obligation thus contracted against his conscience, by subjecting himself to the penance of a three days' fast. He informed me now that the Fullán officer, Férreji, had accompanied him on leaving the town as far as the "ródha," giving him every assurance of his friendship, and that thus every thing would end well; and he hoped to obtain for me favorable conditions from the Fullán for any future European or Englishman visiting this place. Together with the sheikh, Sídi A'lawáte also had come out, and he behaved in a rather friendly manner to me, offering his services toward hastening my departure, which I gladly accepted, without, however, putting any confidence in him; for I was well aware that he liked my property better than myself.

Seeing that I was obliged to resign myself in patience, and had still to wait here some time, I sent one servant and two of my horses into the town. Since the waters had retired, the flies had become such a terrible plague that they threatened the life of man and beast, and it was chiefly this nuisance that rendered my stay here so uncomfortable. It was likewise almost the ruin of the horse, which I was obliged to keep with me in case of any emergency. It is on account of this pest that none of the people of the desert, whose chief property consists in camels, are enabled to visit the town at this period of the year.

Not only flies, but other species of insects also, became now exceedingly abundant in this desert tract, after it had been inundated and fertilized by the waters of the river; and a countless number of caterpillars especially became very troublesome, creeping about the ground, and getting upon the carpets and mats and every other article. While thus the inconvenience of the open camp was manifold, my amusements were rather limited, and even my food was poorer than it had been before. The famous "rejíre" had been supplanted, from want of cheese, by the less tasteful "dakno," seasoned, in the absence of honey, with the fruit of the baobab or monkey-bread tree. In the morning, however, it afforded me some amusement to observe the daughters of the I'gelád driving out to the pasture-grounds their parents' asses, and to witness the various incidents in the daily life of these people. But they were soon to leave, as well as the Kél-úlli, both tribes returning to their quarters farther eastward.

All my friends, with whom I had had only so short an acquaintance, thus taking leave of me, I was extremely glad when a brother of Mohammed ben 'Abd-Alláhi came out of the town and paid me a visit. It was from this man, whose name was Dáúd, that I obtained a great deal of important information with respect to the quarter north of the river, between Hamda-Alláhi and Bághena. I also met here another person, who gave me a curious piece of information with regard to the Rás el Má, the great north-westerly creek of the river, which I have already mentioned repeatedly, and of which I shall say more in the Appendix,* although I was not enabled to understand its whole purport. In reference to that basin, he said, that when the waters had decreased very considerably, a bubbling was observed at the bottom

* Appendix X., which contains all that I know about the western half of the desert between Timbúktu and the Atlantic.

of the basin; but whether this referred to sources of living water, or to some other phenomenon I could not make out distinctly, although I imagine the former to be the case.

March 21*st*. This was a very important day in various respects. First, it was highly remarkable for its atmospheric character, as beginning the "nisán," that is to say, the short rainy season of spring. This peculiar season I had not observed in the other more southerly parts of Negroland which I had visited, but it is also observed in other tropical regions, especially in Bengal, although that country is certainly placed under different conditions, and reaches farther northward. We had two regular falls of rain this day, although of no great abundance, this phenomenon being repeated for about seven days, though not in succession. Meanwhile the flies became quite insupportable, and almost drove me to despair.

But the day was also important in another respect, as the sons of Sídi Mohammed, El Bakáy, and his brothers, attempted to bring about a friendly understanding among themselves; and I was not a little surprised in the morning of this day, on being informed by Sídi Mohammed, who acted as my guard here, that I was to accompany him back to the "ródha," the venerated cemetery a few hundred yards east of the town, where Sídi Mukhtár lies buried; for it thus seemed as if there was still some prospect of my again coming into collision with the townspeople. Galloping on the road with Dáúd, the brother of 'Abd-Alláhi, who accompanied us, and beating him easily on my fine "Blast of the Desert," as I styled my horse, which was still in tolerable condition, I followed my companion, and we took our post at the southern side of the tomb of the ancestor of the holy family. Although I had passed it repeatedly on former occasions, I never until now inspected it closely. I found it a spacious clay apartment, surrounded by several smaller tombs of people who were desirous of placing themselves under the protection of the spirit of this holy man, even in the other world.

Gradually we were joined by the relations and friends of the sheikh, A'lawáte appearing first and saluting me in his usual smiling manner; then the sickly Mohammed ben 'Abd-Alláhi, who was regarded almost as a member of the family; next followed Hammádi, who greeted me and received my compliments in return; then the Sheikh el Bakáy; and, lastly, 'Abidín, whom I had not seen before. He looked rather older than the sheikh,

with expressive sharply cut and manly features, besides a rather fair complexion, fairer than my host. He was clad in a bernús of violet color, and it appeared remarkable to me that, although I had placed myself exclusively under the protection of his brother, to whom he as well as Hammádi was vehemently opposed, yet he behaved very friendly toward me.

All the parties having assembled we were regaled with a luncheon, at which I was the first to be helped. The people then having said their prayers of "'aser," while I retired behind the sepulchre, in order not to give any offense, we went to a greater distance from the town, in an easterly direction, in order to get out of the way of the people who had come from the town on this occasion, when the various members of the family of Mukhtár sat down upon the ground in a circle, and began a serious private consultation, in order to settle their political affairs; but, although it lasted for more than an hour, it did not seem to lead to the desired end, and broke up abruptly. The sheikh had endeavored to persuade me to pass this night in the A'beraz, or the suburb of the town; but this I had refused to do, being afraid of causing another disturbance, and, as he promised that he would come out of the town with my luggage on the Friday following, I returned with Sídi Mohammed to the tents.

Honorably as I was treated on these different occasions in consequence of the great exertions of my protector, yet the Fullán had obtained, throughout the whole affair, a slight advantage in political superiority, and they followed it up without hesitation and delay by levying a tax of 2000 shells upon each full-grown person, under the pretext that they did not say their Friday prayers in the great mosque as they were ordered to do. This is one of the means by which the conquering tribe was endeavoring to subdue the national spirit of the native population, by making them celebrate the great weekly prayer in the mosque which had originally been built by the Mandingo conqueror Mansa Músa, and which they themselves had made the centre of their establishment in the town. Even in previous times it had always been the centre of the Mohammedan quarter. They were supported in this endeavor by the precepts of Islám, according to which a Moslim, even if he says his ordinary prayers at home, is obliged, when staying in the town and not prevented by disease, to say his Friday prayers in the Jám'a.

When the Fullán conquered the place they purposely increased

the ruin of the old native mosque of Sán-koré, which is situated in the northern quarter, and afterward prevented its being repaired, till, by the exertions of the Sheikh el Bakáy, especially on his visit to Hamda-Alláhi some years previously, the inhabitants of the town had been allowed to repair that mosque at their own expense. This had been accomplished at the cost of 600 blocks or rús of salt, equal to about £200.

Besides levying this tax upon the inhabitants in general, they also devised means to subject to a particular punishment the Arab part of the population who had especially countenanced the sheikh in his opposition against their order to drive me out, by making a domiciliary search through their huts, and taking away some sixty or eighty bales or sunníye of tobacco, an article which, as I have stated on a former occasion, forms a religious and political contraband under the severe and austere rule of the Fúlbe in this quarter.

March 24th. This was the day on which the sheikh had promised to bring out my luggage, but, to my great disappointment, he came empty-handed; and again he had much to say about the expected arrival of Alkúttabu, the chief Somki, it was stated, having been called from A'ribínda to meet his liege lord at Ghérgo (pronounced Rérgo) with fifteen boats. But, as the sequel showed, this was a mere stratagem of that crafty chief, who intended to make an unexpected foray upon his foes the Kél-hekíkan, in which enterprise he was perfectly successful, killing about a dozen of that already greatly reduced tribe. While the sheikh boasted of the innumerable host which his friend the Tárki chief carried with him, I was greatly amused at learning from an Urághen, who had come to pay us a visit, that Alkúttabu had only 300 fighting men with him at the time. I also observed with a certain degree of satisfaction that my kindly host became aware of what I was subjected to day by day; for, while on a visit to my tent, one of the flies that tormented me stung him so severely as to draw blood; and I then showed him my poor horse, which was suffering dreadfully, although at times we lighted a small fire in order to afford him some relief.

During my stay here, I had become better acquainted with Sídi Mohammed, and I had convinced myself that he was a straightforward man, although certainly not very friendly disposed toward Christians in general. Next morning, therefore, when he and the sheikh were consulting together, I complained bitterly of

their breaking their word so repeatedly and putting off my departure so continually. They then endeavored to soothe my disappointment, and, as they were going into the town, wanted me to go along with them, but I declined. In consequence of this remonstrance they sent me from the town the sheikh's nephew, who had been ill for several days, to bear me company and to take care of me, and this was a great treat in my solitary situation, as I had nobody to speak to. However, new difficulties appeared to arise with regard to my departure, and, during the next few days, I received several curious messages, the real purport of which I was quite at a loss to understand. But El Bakáy at length promised that I should only have to wait two days longer, when he would go with me himself; but it was not till the very last day in March that he returned from the town to the camp, and, although he at length brought my luggage with him, my real departure was even then still far remote.

During this time I had especially to contend against the intrigues of my head man 'Alí el A'geren, who seemed to find the stay in Timbúktu at my expense (where he himself was quite safe and well off, and could do what he liked) quite pleasant and comfortable. He was therefore in no hurry to leave, but rather tried every means in his power to counteract my endeavors for a speedy departure. An extraordinary degree of patience was therefore necessary on my part, and I was obliged to seek relief from the tediousness of my stay here in every little circumstance that broke the uniform tenor of my monotonous life.

A great source of entertainment to me were the young sons of my protector, Bábá A'hmed and Zén el 'Abidín, who were continually wrangling about all sorts of articles, whether they belonged to the one or the other; my tent and my horse forming the chief objects of their childish dispute. And I was greatly amused, at times, at the younger boy placing himself at the entrance of my tent, and protesting that it was Zén el 'Abidín's tent, and preventing his elder brother from approaching it. The plate opposite gives a fair idea of the whole life of this desert camp, with its liberty, its cheerfulness, and its tediousness.

Our camp also afforded me at times some other amusement; for although the Tawárek had returned to their usual seats, the Gwanín were still kept back here by their fear of the Kél-hekíkan, and they occasionally got up a national play, which caused a little diversion. But I did not like these people nearly so well

CAMP OF THE SHEIKH EL BAKÁY.

as the wild I'móshagh; for, having become degraded by being subjected to the caprices of stronger tribes, they have almost entirely lost that independent spirit which is so prepossessing in the son of the desert, even though he be the greatest ruffian.

One afternoon they collected round my tent and began boasting of what they had done for me. They told me that the Fullán had written to their sheikh, Weled 'Abéda, accusing the Gwanín that, in the night when El Bakáy was bringing me back to Timbúktu, they had been fighting against them, and, among other mischief, had killed a horse belonging to them; and that their chief had answered that his people had done well in defending me, and that nobody should hurt me after I had once succeeded in placing myself under the sheikh's protection. And this, be it remembered, was the self-same chief who had murdered Major Laing; and one or the other of these very Gwanín, with whom I had dealings every day, were perhaps implicated in that very murder. I was thus led to inquire of these people whether there were no papers remaining of that unfortunate traveler, and was told that they were all scattered or made away with; but I learned, to my great surprise, that there were letters for myself in A'zawád, which had arrived from the east; and although these people were not able, or did not feel inclined, to give me full information about this matter, which was of so much interest to myself, the fact proved afterward to be quite true; but it was a long time before I got possession of those letters.

Nature now looked more cheerful; and, after the little rain that had fallen, spring seemed to have set in a second time, and the trees were putting forth young leaves. The river having now laid bare a considerable tract of grassy ground, the cattle again found their wonted pasture of rich nourishing "býrgu" on its banks, and were thus able to furnish their masters with a richer supply of milk. This was a great point toward hastening my departure, as the télamíd (or pupils of the sheikh) had reason to expect that they would not be starved on the road. The fact that the tribes which we had to pass on our road eastward were entirely without milk, which forms their chief support, had exercised some influence upon them.

Meanwhile the turbulent state of the country grew worse and worse, since the Awelímmiden had shown such signs of weakness; and the Tin-ger-égedesh were said to have fallen upon the tribe of the Takétakayen settled in A'ribínda, and to have killed six of

their number. The chief, Somki, also made at the same time a sanguinary attack upon the Kél-hekíkan; and the state of feud and hostility among the Igwádaren had reached an extraordinary height, for besides the common animosity which this tribe had displayed against their former liege lord, Alkúttabu, two different factions were opposed to each other in the most bloody feud, one of them being led by A'khbi and Wóghdugu, and the other by Téni, to whom were attached the greater part of the Tarabanása and the Kél-hekíkan.

This chief, Téni, rendered himself particularly odious to the sheikh's party by keeping back a considerable amount of property belonging to the Gwanín, among which were a dozen slaves, more than fifty asses, and three hundred and sixty sheep. A very noisy assembly was held, in the evening of the 1st of April, inside my "zeríba," or fence of thorny bushes with which I had fortified my little encampment, in front of my tent. All the Gwanín assembled round my fire, and proposed various measures for arranging their affairs and for subduing the obstinate old Téni. One speaker was particularly distinguished by the cleverness of his address and his droll expressions, although I thought the latter rather too funny for a serious consultation. However, this man was not a Berbúshi, but an I'do 'Alí, and therefore could not present a fair specimen of the capabilities of this tribe.

This same chief, Téni, was also the cause of some anxiety to myself, as it was he who, as I have stated on a former occasion, when a young man, was wounded in the leg by Mungo Park; and I was therefore rather afraid that he might take an opportunity of revenging himself upon me. There is no doubt that, in the murderous assault upon Major Laing in Wádi Ahénnet, the Tawárek were partly instigated by a feeling of revenge for the heavy loss inflicted upon them by Mungo Park in his voyage down the Niger. At this very moment the dreaded chief, with part of his people, was here in the neighborhood, and caused great anxiety to Míni, a younger brother of Wóghdugu, one of the chiefs of the Tarabanása, who had come on a visit to the sheikh. Our frightened friend, in consequence, was rambling about the whole day on the fine black horse which my host had made me a present of, in order to spy out the movements of his enemy. He even wanted me to exchange my horse for two camels, in order that he might make his escape.

This man, who was an amiable and intelligent sort of person.

gave me a fair specimen of what trouble I should have in making my way through those numerous tribes of Tawárek along the river; for, when he begged a present from me, I thought a common blue shirt, or "rishába," of which kind I had prepared about a dozen, quite sufficient for him, as I had had no dealings whatever with him, and was under no obligation to him; but he returned it to me with the greatest contempt, as unworthy of his dignity.

My supplies at this time were greatly reduced, and in order to obtain a small amount of shells I was obliged to sell a broken musket belonging to me.

Under all these circumstances I was extremely glad when, in the evening of the 3d of April, the provision bags of the sheikh, of which I was assured the half was destined for my own use, were brought out of the town. But, nevertheless, the final arrangements for my departure were by no means settled, and the following day every thing seemed again more uncertain than ever, the kádhi, Weled F'aámme, having arrived with another body of sixty armed men, and with fresh orders to levy contributions of money upon the inhabitants, in order to make them feel the superiority of the ruler of Hamda-Alláhi. At the same time the people from Tawát set all sorts of intrigues afoot, in order to prevent the sheikh from leaving the town, being afraid that in his absence they should be exposed to continual vexation on the part of the ruling tribe; for although the Sheikho A'hmedu, in sending presents to Timbúktu, had not neglected El Bakáy, yet he had shown his preference for Hammádi, the rival of the latter, in so decided a manner, that my friend could not expect that in leaving the town his interests would be respected;* and I had to employ the whole of my influence with the sheikh in order to prevent him from changing his plan.

But, gradually, every thing that my host was to take with him on such a journey, consisting of books and provisions, was brought from the town, so that it really looked as if El Bakáy was to go himself. His horses had been brought from Kábara on the 9th, and several people, who were to accompany us on our journey eastward, having joined us the following day, the sheikh himself arrived on the 11th, and our encampment became full of bustle. My own little camping-ground also was now enlivened with all my people, who had come to join me; and my small store of

* The present sent by the Sheikho A'hmedu consisted of 800 measures of corn to El Bakáy, and as much to Hammádi, besides ten slaves to the latter.

books, which had been brought from the town, enabled me to give more variety to my entertainment.

A rather disagreeable incident now occurred. The Zoghorán officer, the companion of Férreji, had came out on some errand, while I was staying with the three brothers in the large tent, which had been erected for Sídi Mohammed. I wanted to leave, but Bakáy begged me to stay. I therefore remained a short time, but became so disgusted with the insulting language of the Zoghorán, that I soon left abruptly, although his remarks had more direct reference to the French, or rather the French and half-caste traders on the Senegal, than to the English or any other European nation. He spoke of the Christians in the most contemptuous manner, describing them as sitting like women in the bottom of their steam-boats, and doing nothing but eating raw eggs: concluding with the paradoxical statement, which is not very flattering to Europeans, that the idolatrous Bámbara were far better people, and much farther advanced in civilization than the Christians. It is singular how the idea that the Europeans are fond of raw eggs (a most disgusting article to a Mohammedan), as already proved by the experience of Mungo Park, has spread over the whole of Negroland, and it can only be partially explained by the great predilection which the French have for boiled eggs.

Altogether my situation required an extraordinary amount of forbearance, for A'lawáte also troubled me again with his begging propensities. But when he came himself to take leave of me, I told him the time for presents was now past; whereupon he said, that he was aware that if I wanted to give I gave, meaning that it was only the want of good-will that made me not comply with his wish. I assured him that I had given him a great many presents against my own inclination. He owned that he had driven a rather hard bargain with me, but, when he wanted me to acknowledge at least that he had done me no personal harm, I told him that the reason was rather his want of power than his want of inclination, and that, although I had nothing to object to him in other respects, I should not like to trust myself in his hands alone in the wilderness.

The difficulties which a place like Timbúktu presents to a free commercial intercourse with Europeans are very great. For while the remarkable situation of the town, at the edge of the desert and on the border of various races, in the present degenerated condi-

tion of the native kingdoms, makes a strong government very difficult, nay, almost impossible, its distance from either the west coast or the mouth of the Niger is very considerable. But, on the other hand, the great importance of its situation at the northern curve or elbow of that majestic river, which, in an immense sweep encompasses the whole southern half of North-Central Africa, including countries densely populated and of the greatest productive capabilities, renders it most desirable to open it to European commerce, while the river itself affords immense facilities for such a purpose. For, although the town is nearer to the French settlements in Algeria on the one side, and those on the Senegal on the other, yet it is separated from the former by a tract of frightful desert, while between it and the Senegal lies an elevated tract of country, nay, along the nearest road a mountain chain extends of tolerable height. Farther: we have here a family which, long before the French commenced their conquest of Algeria, exhibited their friendly feelings toward the English in an unquestionable manner, and at the present moment the most distinguished member of this family is most anxious to open free intercourse with the English. Even in the event of the greatest success of the French policy in Africa, they will never effect the conquest of this region. On the other hand, if a liberal government were secured to Timbúktu, by establishing a ruler independent of the Fúlbe of Hamda-Alláhi, who are strongly opposed to all intercourse with Europeans, whether French or English, an immense field might be opened to European commerce, and thus the whole of this part of the world might again be subjected to a wholesome organization. The sequel of my narrative will show how, under the protection of the Sheikh el Bakáy, I endeavored to open the track along the Niger.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

ABORTIVE ATTEMPT AT DEPARTURE FROM TIMBU'KTU.

I HAD been obliged to leave the town on the 17th of March, in consequence of the brothers of the sheikh having deemed such a step essential for the security of the town, and advantageous to their own personal interest. Since that time my departure had been earnestly discussed almost daily, but, nevertheless, amid in-

finite delays and procrastinations, the 19th of April had arrived before we at length set out from our encampment, situated at the head of the remarkable and highly-indented creek of Bóse-bángo.

Notwithstanding the importance of the day, my excellent friend the Sheikh el Bakáy could not even then overcome his habitual custom of taking matters easy. He slept till a late hour in the morning, while his pupils were disputing with the owners of the camels which had been hired for the journey, and who would not stir. At length my friend got up, and our sluggish caravan left the encampment. There were, besides our own camels, a good many asses belonging to the Gwanín, and laden with cotton strips. It was past eleven o'clock, and the sun had already become very troublesome, when we left the camp. The chief was so extremely fond of his wife and children, that it was an affair of some importance to take leave of them. I myself had become sincerely attached to his little boys, especially the youngest one, Zén el 'Abidín, who, I am led to hope, will remember his friend 'Abd el Kerím; but, notwithstanding my discontent at my protector's want of energy, I could not be angry with him, and, when he asked me whether he had now deceived me or kept his word, I could not but praise his conduct, although I told him that I must first see the end of it. He smiled, and turning to his companion, the old Haiballah (Habíb Allah), who had come from A'zawád to spend some time in his company, asked him whether I was not too mistrustful; but the event unluckily proved that I was not.

The vegetation in the neighborhood of Bóse-bángo is extremely rich, but, as we advanced, gradually the trees ceased, with the exception of the kálgo, the bush so often mentioned by me in Háusa, and which here begins to be very common. I was greatly disappointed in my expectation of making a good day's march, for, after proceeding a little more than three miles, I saw my tent, which had gone in advance, pitched in the neighborhood of an encampment of Arabs belonging to the tribe of the Ergágeda. Here we staid the remainder of the day, enjoying the hospitality of these people, who had to pay dearly for the honor of such a visit; for the pupils of my friend, who had capital appetites, required a great deal of substantial nourishment to satisfy their cravings, and, besides a dozen dishes of rice, and a great quantity of milk, two oxen had to be slaughtered by our hosts. These Arabs, who formed here an encampment of about twenty-five spacious tents, made of sheepskins or fárrwel, have no camels, and possess only a few

cows, their principal herds being sheep and goats, besides a large number of asses. They have been settled in this district, near the river, since the time when Sídi Mukhtár, the elder brother of El Bakáy, established himself in Timbúktu, that is to say, in the year 1832.

Although I should have liked much better to have made at once a fair start on our journey, I was glad that we had at least set out at all, and, lying down in the shade of a small kálgo-tree, I indulged in the hope that in a period of from forty to fifty days I might reach Sókoto; but I had no idea of the unfavorable circumstances which were gathering to frustrate my hopes.

The whole of this district is richly clothed with siwák, or 'irák (*Capparis sodata*), and is greatly infested with lions, for which reason we were obliged to surround our camping-ground with a thick fence, or zeríba; and the encampment of the sheikh, for whom an immense leathern tent had been pitched, with his companions, horses, and camels, together with the large fires, presented a very imposing appearance. I was told that the lion hereabout has no mane, or, at least, a very small one, like the lion of A'sben.

Thursday, April 20th. The first part of this day's march led through a flat country, which some time before had been entirely inundated. Even at present, not only on the south side of the path, toward the river, were extensive inundations to be seen, but on the left, or north side, a large open sheet spread out. Having passed numbers of Tawárek, who were shifting their tents, as well as two miserable-looking encampments of the Shémman-A'mmas, whose movements afforded some proofs of the disturbed state of the country, we ascended the higher sandy bank, where I first observed the poisonous *euphorbia*, called here "abári e' sebúwa," or "táboru," which generally grows in the shade of the trees, especially in that of acacias, and is said frequently to cause the death of the lion, from which circumstance its name is derived. Pursuing our easterly course, and keeping along the sandy bank, with a deep marshy ground on our right, we then reached a group of two encampments, one belonging to the I'denan, and the other to the Shémman-A'mmas, and here halted during the hot hours of the day. Both the above-mentioned tribes are of a degraded character; and the women were any thing but decent and respectable in their behavior.

Having here decided that it was better to go ourselves and fetch the rest of our party whom we had sent in advance from Bóse-

bángo, instead of dispatching a messenger for them, although the place lay entirely out of our route, we started late in the afternoon, leaving our camels and baggage behind. Returning for the first mile and a half almost along the same road we had come, then passing the site of a former encampment of the two chiefs named Mushtába and Rummán, whom I have mentioned before, we entered the swampy ground to the south along a narrow neck of land thickly overgrown with dúm palms and brushwood, and thus affording a secure retreat to the lion. In the clear light of the evening, encompassed as the scenery was on either side, by high sandy downs toward the south on the side of the river, and by a green grassy ground with a channel-like sheet of water on the other, it exhibited a very interesting spectacle highly characteristic of this peculiar watery region.

Having kept along this neck of land, which is called Temáharót, for about two miles, and reached its terminating point, we had to cross a part of the swamp itself which separates this rising ground from the downs on the bank of the river, and which less than a month previously had been impassable, while at present the sheet of water was interrupted, and was only from three to three and a half feet in depth at the deepest part. We then reached the downs, and here again turned westward, having the low swampy ground on our right and an open branch of the river on our left.

This whole tract of country is of a very peculiar character, and presents a very different spectacle at various seasons of the year. During the highest state of the inundation, only the loftiest downs rise above the surface of the water like separate islands, and are only accessible by boats during the summer; while the low swampy grounds, laid bare and fertilized by the retiring waters, afford excellent pastures to innumerable herds of cattle. Even at present, while the sun was setting, the whole tract through which we were proceeding along the downs was enveloped in dense clouds of dust, raised by the numerous herds of the Kél-n-Nokúnder, who were returning to their encampment. Here we were most joyfully received by the followers of the sheikh, who had been waiting already several days for us, and I received especially a most cordial welcome from my young friend Mohammed ben Khottár, the sheikh's nephew, whom I esteemed greatly on account of his intelligent and chivalrous character. He informed me how anxious they had been on my account, owing to our con-

tinued delay. Having brought no tent with me, a large leathern one was pitched, and I was hospitably treated with milk and rice.

The Kél-n-Nokúnder are a division of the numerous tribe of the I'denán, and although in a political respect they do not enjoy the privileges of full liberty and nobility, yet, protected by the Kunta, and the Sheikh el Bakáy in particular, they have succeeded in retaining possession of a considerable number of cattle. All of them are tolba, that is to say, students; and they are all able to read. Some of them can even write, although the I'denán can not now boast of men distinguished for great learning as they could in former times.

All these people who come under the category of tolba are distinguished by their fair complexion, and do not possess the muscular frame common among the free I'móshagh. Their fair complexion is the more conspicuous, as the mên, with scarcely an exception, wear white shirts and white turbans. All of them took a great interest in me, and looked with extreme curiosity upon the few European articles which I had with me at the time. After some little delay the next morning we left the place, and at that time I little fancied that I was soon to visit this spot again. It is called Ernésse, or Núkkaba el kebíra, the great (sandy) down.

Having this time excellent guides with us who knew the difficult ground thoroughly, after leaving the sandy downs we struck right across the swampy meadow grounds, so that we reached our encampment on the other side of Amalélle in a much shorter time than on our out-journey, while by continual windings we almost entirely avoided the swamps; but, without a good guide, no one can enter these low lands, which constitute a very remarkable feature in the character of the river. One of the Kél-n-Nokúnder, of the name of Ayóba, whom I had occasionally seen in the town, and who was not less distinguished by his loquacity than by his activity, here received a small present from me, as well as some of the I'denán, who, during my absence, had treated my people hospitably.

Starting in the afternoon, after a march of about eight miles, at first through a low swampy country, afterward through a sandy wilderness with an undulating surface and with high sandy downs toward the river, we reached an encampment of Kél-úlli, the same people who had repeatedly protected me during my stay in the town, and, on firing a few shots, we were received by our friends with the warlike demonstration of a loud beating of their shields.

The hospitable treatment which they exhibited toward us in the course of the evening really filled me with pity on their account, for, having no rice or milk, they slaughtered not less than three oxen and twenty goats, in order to feast our numerous and hungry party, and make a holiday for themselves. Thus, having arrived after sunset, great part of the night was spent in reveling, and the encampment, with the many fires, the numbers of people, horses, and beasts of burden, in the midst of the trees, formed a highly interesting scene.

In the course of the evening I received a visit from my protector. I had promised him another handsome present as soon as he should have fairly entered with me upon my home-journey, and he now wanted to know what it was. I informed him that it consisted of a pair of richly ornamented pistols, which I had kept expressly for the occasion: but instead of at once taking possession of them, he requested me to keep them for him till another time; for he himself was no doubt fully aware that our journey was not yet fairly begun; and its abortive character became fully apparent the following day, when, after a march of less than seven miles, we encamped near the tents of Téni, or E' Téni, the first chief of the Tarabanása.

The locality, which is called Téns-aróri, was of so swampy a character that we looked for some time in vain for a tolerably dry spot to pitch our tents, and it had a most unfavorable effect upon my health. Here we remained this and the two following days: and it became evident that as this chief persisted in his disobedience to his liege lord Alkúttabu, the other more powerful chief, A'khbi, whose mutinous behavior had been the chief reason of the former not coming to Timbúktu, would certainly follow his example. The fact was, that, irritated against their superior chief, or more probably treating him with contempt on account of his youth and want of energy, after the death of his predecessor, E' Nábegha, they had fallen upon his mercenaries, especially the Shémman-A'mmas, and deprived them of their whole stock of cattle.

This was the first time that I saw these more easterly Tawárek in their own territory; and I was greatly astonished at their superior bearing in comparison with the Tademékket and I'regenáten, both in their countenance and in their dress. They were also richly ornamented with small metal boxes, made very neatly, and consisting of tin and copper: but it was in vain that I endeavored to obtain some of them as a curiosity. They wore also a rich pro-

fusion of white rings, which are made of the bones of that very remarkable animal the "ayú," or *Manatus*, which seems to be not less frequent in the western than in the eastern branch of the Niger. As a token of their nobility and liberty all of them carried iron spears and swords, the degraded tribes not being allowed to make use of these manly weapons.

The encampment consisted of about thirty leathern tents, of great size; and, besides the Tarabanása, a party of the Kél-hekíkan of Zíllikay were encamped. This was a less favorable circumstance; for, while as yet I had been always on the best footing with these Tawárek, the latter proved rather troublesome: and I got involved in a religious dispute with one of their chiefs named Ayúb, or Sínnefel, against my inclination, which might have done me some harm. On his asking me why we did not pray in the same manner as themselves, I replied that our God did not live in the east, but was every where, and that therefore we had no occasion to offer up our prayers in that direction. This answer appeared to satisfy him; but he affected to be horrified when he heard that we did not practice circumcision, and endeavored to excite the fanatical zeal of the whole camp against me. I, however, succeeded in partly effacing the bad impression thus caused, by making use of a Biblical expression, and observing that we circumcised our hearts, and not any other part of our body, having expressly abolished that rite, as it appeared to us to be an emblem of the Jewish creed.

I also told them that if they thought that circumcision was a privilege and an emblem of Islám they were greatly mistaken, as many of the pagan tribes around them, whom they treated with so much contempt, practiced this rite. This latter observation especially made a great impression upon them; and they did not fail to remark that I always knew how to parry any attack made against my creed. But, in other respects, I was very cautious in avoiding any dispute, and I was extremely lucky in not having any thing to do with an arrogant relative of the sheikh, of the name of 'Abd e' Rahmán Weled Síd, who had lately come from A'zawád to stay some time with his uncle, and obtain from him some present.

With the small present which I made to each of the Tarabanása I got on very well with them; but as for their women, who, as was always the case at these encampments, came in the evening to have a look at me, and, if possible, to obtain a small present, I

left them without the least acknowledgment. Among the whole tribe I did not observe one distinguished in any manner by her beauty or becoming manners.

The chief behaved so inhospitably that my companions were almost starved to death, and I had to treat several of them; but, in acknowledgment, I received some useful information.*

Tuesday, April 25th. At length we left this uncomfortable and unhealthy camping-ground, and had some difficulty in turning round the swamp which is here formed, and farther on in traversing a dense forest which almost precluded any progress. Having then passed along a rising sandy ground, we had again to cross a most difficult swampy tract, overgrown with dense forest, which at times obliged us to ascend the high sandy downs that bordered the great river on our right, and afforded a splendid view over the surrounding scenery.

Gradually we emerged from the dense forest upon the green border of a backwater which stretched out behind the sandy downs, which were enlivened by cattle. Marching along this low verdant ground we reached a place called Taútilt at eleven o'clock. Here Wóghda, the father-in-law of Wóghdugu, had just pitched his tents, and part of his luggage was, at the moment of our arrival, being carried over from the island of Kóra, where the chief Sául had encamped, and the shores of which were enlivened by numerous herds of horned cattle.

Such is the remarkable mode of life adopted by these southern sections of the mysterious veiled rovers of the desert. Totally metamorphosed as they are by the character of the new region of which they have taken possession, they wander about and remove

* A complete list of all the tribes and sections of the I'móshagh or Tawárek will be given in Appendix XI. Here I will communicate the family relations of those chiefs of the Igwádaren, which are of importance for understanding clearly the political state of things in this part of the Niger, and which may be of some use to any future expedition. First, A'khbi, the principal chief of this tribe, is a son of Sálem, son of Hemme, son of Akhéum. His rival is Sadáktu, the nephew of Simsim, who is a son of El A'mmer (the name of Sadáktu's father I do not know), son of Walaswaríslar, son of Akhéum. Associated with A'khbi is El Wóghdugu, a chief of a section of the Tarabanása, a very chivalrous man, and a great friend of the Sheikh el Bakáy, and son of E'g el Henne, son of Mansúr; El Wóghdugu's brothers are Míni, Mohammed, Aníti, and Lubéd. Another chief of the Tarabanása, and a deadly enemy of El Wóghdugu, although allied with A'khbi, is E' Téni, son of Agánte, son of Kháwi, son of Mansúr, son of Ag e' Sa'ade, son of Awédha. E' Téni's sons are: Umbúnge, Imbékke or Bába, Asátil, and Innósara; sons of a brother of E' Téni are: Babaye and Bubákkeri. Another great man related to E' Téni is U'gast, son of Shét, son of Kháwi.

their encampments from one island to the other, and from one shore to the other, swimming their cattle across the river. They have almost renounced the use of the camel, that hardy animal which afforded their only means of existence in those desert regions which had formerly been their home.

It was a highly interesting camping-ground. This branch of the river, which was about two hundred yards broad, and at present from six to eight feet deep, was enlivened by several boats, together with a good number of cattle, apparently rather averse to entering the water, which in summer usually dries up; the Tawárek busily arranging their little property and pitching their tents, or erecting their little booth-like huts of matting; then behind us the dense forest, closely enveloped by climbing plants. The principal branch of the river is from two to three miles distant.

We had scarcely arrived when the cheerful little Wóghda started from his tent with a sudden bound worthy of a public exhibition, in order to receive his friend the Sheikh el Bakáy. We encamped in the shade of the large trees, close to the border of the water, where we were soon visited by several Songhay people who inhabit a small hamlet on the island of Kóra, where they cultivate tobacco. This article constituted in former times the chief branch of cultivation all along the river, but at present, since the conquest of the country by the Fúlbe, it has become a contraband article, so that the people from Timbúktu come stealthily hither in order to buy from these people their produce with cotton strips or tári.

This chief, Wóghda, had been present, when quite a boy, at the attack which the Igwádaren at E'gedesh made upon Mungo Park, whom all the old men along the river know very well, from his large strange-looking boat, with his white sail, his long coat, his straw hat, and large gloves. He had stopped at Bámba in order to buy fowls, of which he appears to have endeavored to obtain a supply at every large place along the river. Wóghda farther asserted that it was on this occasion that the Tawárek killed two of the Christians in the boat; but this seems to be a mistake, as it appears evident that two of the four valiant men who, solitary and abandoned, in their boat, like a little fortress, navigated this river for so many hundred miles in the midst of these hostile tribes, were killed much lower down.

The people have plenty of asses, and a sword-blade of the com-

monest German or Solingen manufacture fetches every where two of these animals, which are sold for at least 6000 shells each in the town. But the more conscientious Arabs do not trade with the Tawárek, whose property they well know, for the greatest part, to be "harám," or forbidden, because taken by violent means.

It had been announced that we were to start in the afternoon, but there was no reason for hurrying our departure, and we quietly encamped here for the night, when we were visited by a great number of the Welád Molúk, whose encampment was at no great distance from ours. They were short, thick-set men, with fair complexions and expressive prepossessing features, but some of them were suffering dreadfully from a disgusting disease, which they attributed to the bad quality of the water. One or two of them, at least, had their nose and part of their face entirely eaten away by cancers, and formed altogether a horrible spectacle.

Much more agreeable was a visit which I received from the Tawárek chief Sául, the leader of the Kél-Támuláit, a very stately personage, who remained the greater part of the night with us, engaged in animated conversation with the sheikh. The following morning, while we were arranging our luggage, he and another chief of the name of Khasíb came to pay me their compliments, and sat for a long time near me in order to observe my habits.

At length we were again on our march, following the windings of the river, which at times spread out to a fine sheet of water, but at others became hid behind sandy downs. On our left we had a well-wooded country, now and then changing into a low swampy ground, and enlivened by guinea-fowls. In this place we met a fine tall Tárki, mounted upon one of the highest "mehára" I had ever seen. It was Wóghdugu, the most valiant of all the southern Tawárek, Awelímmiden, Igwádaren, and Tademékket taken together, and a sincere and faithful friend of the Sheikh el Bakáy. He was a fine, tall, broad-shouldered man, of six feet four or five inches, and evidently possessing immense muscular strength, although he was by no means fat at the time, and even pretended not to be in the enjoyment of good health.

Numerous deeds of valor are related of this man, which remind one of the best age of European or Arab chivalry. He is said, at the time when the Tawárek conquered the town of Gúndam from the Fúlbe, to have jumped from his horse upon the wall of that place, and catching upon his shield the spears of all the enemy

who were posted there, to have opened a way for his comrades. A few days before, he had been surprised, when quite alone, by a party of from ten to twelve of his private enemies, the followers of E' Téni, but he succeeded in defending himself against them, and catching upon his shield all their iron spears, he reached the river, and made good his retreat in a boat.

Led on by this interesting man, and by a brother of his of the name of Mohammed, we soon reached a place named Izéberen, so called from two sandy downs rising from a flat shore, and at times entirely insulated. Inland, a large swampy backwater leaves only a narrow neck of land dry.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

RETROGRADE MOVEMENT TOWARD TIMBU'KTU.

THE locality of Izéberen, where we had encamped, was not at all inviting, as it was but scantily provided with trees. Here we gave up our journey eastward, and again commenced our retrograde movement toward Timbúktu. I was now filled with the saddest forebodings; for, after three or four days spent in vain dispute between the sheikh and A'khbi, the chief of the Igwádaren, who was encamped here, the latter persisted in his rebellious conduct against his liege lord, Alkúttabu; and, instead of restoring what he had taken from the tribes placed under the protection of the latter, he made up his mind to follow the instigations of the sheikh's enemy and rival, Hammádi, and to throw himself into the arms of the Fúlbe and of the chief of Hamda-Alláhi. He thus caused an immense disturbance in this whole region; and in fact a bloody war broke out soon after my safe departure.

The encampment at Izéberen, to which this sad remembrance attaches, was tolerably enlivened with some interesting people, including as well some kinsmen of A'khbi, as more especially the sons of E'g el Henne, Wóghdugu, and his brethren, Mohammed, Aníti, and Míni, all of whom are of a very cheerful disposition, and (as far as it possible for a Tárki to be so) even amiable men. Among the former there was a boy named Kúngu, whose arrogance at first was a little troublesome, but eventually he became one of my best friends, and even now occupies a foremost place in my remembrance. He was a nephew of A'khbi's, and his father

had been distinguished for his valor and warlike enterprise, but had been killed in battle at an early age, like most of the kinsfolk of this chief, so that the boy was brought up and educated by his mother, Tatináta, who was a daughter of A'wáb, the chief of the Tademékket, whom I have repeatedly mentioned on former occasions.

A'khbi himself was a man of about forty years of age, good-looking, but of an overbearing character. His father, Sálem, who had died a few months before at a very advanced age, had been distinguished by his intelligence, while A'khbi, as soon as he acceded to power, had broken his allegiance to his liege lord and entered into open hostilities with him. He had allowed his own small tribe, which scarcely numbered more than two hundred fighting men, to be divided into two hostile encampments, and in consequence of that feud had sustained a very heavy loss among his own followers. His quarrel with Alkúttabu was evidently a consequence of the intrigues of the Fúlbe and Hammádi, who, seeing that the political power of the Sheikh el Bakáy was based upon his friendship with the chief of the Awelímmiden, used all his endeavors to raise up an adversary to the latter; and the progress of this struggle, of which I did not see the end, may have been productive of great changes in the political relations of Timbúktu.

The endeavor to preserve the unity of the whole tribe of the Awelímmiden, which my protector had sincerely at heart, and thus to keep up the friendly relation of this tribe with that of the Igwádaren, induced him to postpone my interests and to return once more westward, in order to exert his utmost to settle this serious affair; for the very tribe of the Igwádaren, from the first, when they were settled in A'zawád, had been the protectors of the Kunta, the tribe to which the family of Mukhtár belonged, and had especially defended them against the hostilities of the I'gelád, by whose subjection the former had founded their power. El Bakáy could not but see with the most heartfelt sorrow his former supporters likely to become the auxiliaries of his enemies; and his brother, Sídi Mohammed, whom he had left to fill his place in Timbúktu during his absence, had sent an express messenger from the town, requesting him to come, in order that he might consult with him upon the state of affairs.

As for myself, being anxious about my own interest, and fearing even for my life, which I was convinced was seriously threat-

ened by another return toward Timbúktu, I employed every means in my power to persuade my friend to allow me to pursue my journey eastward, in the company of those pupils and followers of his whom he had promised to send along with me. But he would not consent to this, and I felt extremely dejected at the time, and could not but regard this retrograde journey to Timbúktu as a most unfortunate event.

Just at this time the news was brought, by way of Ghadámes, of the French having completely vanquished the Shaamba, and made an expedition to Wárgelá and Metlíli. In consequence of this report, the fear of the progress of these foreign and hated intruders into the interior of these regions became very general, and caused suspicion to attach to me, as these people could not but think that my journey to their country had some connection with the expedition of the French. But, taking all the circumstances into account, I found afterward that my friend was altogether right in postponing for the time my journey eastward.

Sunday, April 30th. This was the sad day when, with the most gloomy forebodings, I began my return-journey toward the west. There had been the most evident signs of the approach of the rainy season, which, in the zone farther to the south, had already set in, when, after so many reiterated delays, I was obliged once more to return toward that very place which I had felt so happy in having at length left behind me.

My protector was well aware of the state of my feelings, and, while the people were loading the camels, he came to me, and once more excused himself on account of this retrograde movement. There were, besides myself, some Arabs of the tribe of Gwanín, who wanted to go on to Ghérgo in order to buy tobacco, and who now likewise were obliged to return once more to the westward, as they had no guarantee for their security in making the journey alone.

The splendid river along the banks of which lay our road, and which here was about half a mile across, afforded the only consolation in my cheerless mood. The junction of the two branches, as seen from this spot, presented a very fine spectacle. The gerredh-trees also, which were in full blossom, attracted my attention.

Keeping a little nearer to the sandy downs, we soon reached the place of our former encampment in Taútilt. Having then passed along the small backwater of Barkánge, the volume of which had greatly decreased in these few days, we encamped about

four miles beyond, in the open swampy ground which we had had such difficulty in crossing on our outward journey. It is called Erásar. In this low ground, between two swamps, and about 800 yards from the bank of the river, without the shade of the smallest tree, the Igwádaren had encamped. It was owing to these swampy sites that I was afflicted with those severe rheumatic pains from which I afterward suffered so much in Bórnu, and which I occasionally feel even now.

The place was the more disagreeable as we remained here the three following days, El Bakáy endeavoring all the time to persuade the chief A'khbi to restore the property which he had taken from the subjects of his liege lord. I was, in the mean time, anxious to keep up a friendly intercourse with the people with whom I was thus brought into contact, although most of the Igwádaren had already gone on in advance to their new retreat, and at that time were collected at Ernésse, while the straightforward and fearless chief Wóghdugu and his friend Shamuwél were still behind. I took a great interest in the name of the latter, for I thought that the names of Shamuwél, Sául, and Daniél—all being of frequent occurrence among this tribe, while, as far as I am aware, none of them is found among the Arabs—tend to confirm the closer relation which these Berbers keep up with the Canaanitic tribes than with the Arabs. There was, in particular, a man of the name of Sáma, who was very friendly with me. On reading with him some writing in "Tefínaghen," or the native Berber character, I became aware that this word signifies nothing more than tokens, or alphabet; for as soon as the people beheld my books, and observed that they all consisted of letters, they exclaimed repeatedly, "Tefínaghen—ay—Tefínaghen!" and my little friend Kúngu, who had just learned the Arabic alphabet, was very anxious to know something about the value of the letters. I here, also, had proof of the great dislike which the Tawárek have to the name of their father being mentioned, for, when the little Haibálla, the companion of the son of the sheikh, mentioned the death of Kúngu's father, the little fellow flew into a great rage, and was ready to kill him on the spot.

I received, besides, a great deal of information from a young man who had lately come from the north, in order to study under the sheikh. He belonged to the Welád Yo'aza, a section of the tribe of the Méshedúf, which originally appears to have been of pure Berber extraction, being identical with the celebrated tribe

of the Masúfa, but who, at present, have become Arabicized. He was evidently a man of a good family; but being now rather scantily supplied with food, he took refuge with me, in order to enjoy my hospitality. On this occasion I learned from him a great deal with regard to some districts of the desert with which I had been unacquainted.

In the same encampment we received full confirmation of the news with regard to the progress of the French toward the south, and of their having taken possession of Wárgelá. The excitement produced in consequence was very great, and made my situation extremely difficult and dangerous. The Sheikh el Bakáy came twice in the same afternoon to me, expressing his intention of uniting the strength of the Tawátíye and the Awelímmiden in a common attack upon the French. But I endeavored to show him the absurdity of such a proceeding, telling him that they themselves would gain nothing by such inconsiderate conduct, and would only furnish a fresh pretext to the French for penetrating farther into the interior. Moreover, I gave it as my opinion, that the latter, unless instigated, would not undertake such a thing as a military expedition to these distant regions, but would endeavor to open commercial intercourse with them in a peaceful manner. There the matter stopped for the moment.

Thursday, May 4th. All the exertions of the sheikh to persuade A'khbi to return the property which he had taken by force from the tribes placed under the protection of the Awelímmiden being in vain, the latter broke up his encampment, in order to pursue his journey westward in search of new protectors and allies. To prevent the mischief which might result from this course, my friend followed, and I was obliged reluctantly to accompany him. The river had fallen considerably since I had last visited this district, and the scanty foliage of the lower part of the trees in the swampy tract which we traversed in the beginning of our march bore evident testimony to the higher state of the water some time before.

Leaving then our former camping-ground in Tensaróri on one side, we encamped after a march of a little more than six miles, on ground which was still so extremely damp that almost all my luggage was spoiled, while it likewise exercised a most unfavorable effect upon my health. We had previously had evident signs of the approach of the rainy season; but, to-day, we had the first regular shower accompanied by a thunder-storm, and rain fell

round about us in a much more considerable quantity. The Tawárek were well aware that this was the real beginning of the rainy season, giving vent to their feelings in the words "ákase yúse"—"the rainy season has set in;" but my Arab companions, who repeatedly assured me that long before the setting in of the rainy season I should certainly reach Sókoto, would not acknowledge this as a regular rain, but qualified it as quite an exceptional phenomenon connected with the setting of the "Pleiads," and calling it in sequence, "mághreb el thrayá."

There was a great dread of lions in our encampment. I especially was warned to be on my guard, as my camping-ground, which I had surrounded with a fence, closely approached a jungle of rank grass; but we passed the night unmolested.

Friday, May 5th. Although I had been promised that we should certainly not pass this place on our return westward, nevertheless, in the morning the order was suddenly given to decamp; and on we went, A'khbi in the van and we in the rear, passing many small temporary encampments of the Igwádaren, who were exiling themselves from their own country. Having thus made a short march of about four miles, through a country now rising in sandy downs, covered with siwák and dúm bush, at other times spreading out in low swampy meadow-grounds, and leaving I'ndikuway on our left, we encamped again in the midst of a swamp, at a short distance from the bank of the river. Fortunately, there was some rising ground, opening a fine view over the river, which here formed an arm of about 600 yards in breadth, while the opposite shore of A'ribínda exhibited a very pleasant background. Cautiously I pitched my tent as high as possible, with the door looking toward the river, in order to console myself with the aspect of the stream. A beautiful jéja or caoutchouc tree, here called énderen, which I scarcely remember to have seen any where else in the whole of this district, gave life and animation to the encampment. A few miles toward the west, the high sandy downs of U'le Tehárge formed also an object of great interest.

It was extremely fortunate that the ground of this encampment did not present such a uniform level as in our last day's ámazágh, for in the afternoon we were visited by a violent tempest, which threw back the fence that we had erected around our camping-ground upon ourselves and our horses, and threatened to tear the tent to pieces: then, having made the round of the whole horizon, it returned once more from the north and discharged itself in a

terrific shower, which lasted more than two hours, and changed the whole of the lower part of the plain into a large lake.

This thunder-storm afforded evident proofs of the full power of the rainy season; and as I had not yet even begun my long journey eastward, through districts so full of large rivers and of swampy valleys, my feelings may be more easily imagined than described. I felt very dissatisfied with the Sheikh el Bakáy, and he, on his part, was well aware of it. His own trustworthy and amiable character inspired me with the confidence that I should at length get safely out of all my trouble; but an immense amount of Job-like patience was required, for we staid in this encampment the five following days.

But we had a little intercourse with some remarkable persons which gave me some occupation. The most interesting of the passers-by were three noble ladies of the tribe of the Kél-hekíkan, well mounted on camels in an open cage, or jakhfa, of rather simple structure, with the exception of the rich ornament on the head of the animal, as is represented in the accompanying wood-cut.

But the ladies themselves afforded an interesting sight, being well formed, of rather full proportions, though very plainly dressed. Then the whole of the Igwádaren, male and female, passed by close to my tent. There were, besides, the Kél-terárart and the Kél-tamuláit, or, as the Arabs called them, A'hel e' Sául; and I had a long conversation with a troop of eight horsemen of the latter, who, in the evening, came to my tent in order to pay their respects to me. I reciprocated fully their protestations of friendship, and requested one of the two kinsmen of the chief Sául, who were among this troop, to accompany me on my journey eastward, promising to see him safe to Mekka. But, although he

greatly valued my offer, he was afraid of the Aréwan or Kélgerés, and of the inhabitants of A'ír.

There was a great congregation of different chiefs with the Sheikh el Bakáy, and he flattered himself that he had made peace between inveterate enemies, such as E' Téni and Wóghdugu; but the sequel showed that he was greatly mistaken, for these petty tribes can not remain quiet for a moment. Great numbers of the Shémman-A'mmas were hovering round us, all of them begging for food. But my spirits were too much imbittered to exercise great hospitality from the small stock of my provisions, which were fast dwindling away. Indeed, the stores which I had laid in, in the hope that they would last me until I reached Say, were almost consumed, and I was very glad to obtain a small supply of milk, which I usually bought with looking-glasses, or rather rewarded the gifts of the people by the acknowledgment of such a present. But these people were really very miserably off, and almost in a starving condition, all their property having been taken from them. They informed me that the Igwádaren had plundered twelve villages along the Eghírrëu, among others those of Bámba, E'gedesh, Aslíman, and Zómgoy.

The river was enlivened the whole day long with boats going up and down, and some of the people asserted that these boats belonged to the Fúlbe, who were looking out for an opportunity of striking a blow. The whole world seemed to be in a state of revolution. The news from the north of the advance of the French, the particulars of which, of course, could not but become greatly exaggerated, as the report was carried from tribe to tribe, excited my friend greatly, and the several letters, written by the people of Tawát who were resident in Timbúktu, having reference to the same event, with which the messenger whom he had sent to that place returned, did not fail to increase his anxiety.

All these people seemed to be inspired with the same fear, that the French might without any farther delay march from el Goléa, which they were said to have occupied, upon Timbúktu, or at least upon Tawát. On the whole it was very fortunate, indeed, that I was not in the town at this conjuncture, as in the first excitement these very people from Tawát, who previously had taken me under there especial protection, and defended me repeatedly, would have contributed to my ruin, as, from their general prejudice against a Christian, they lost all distinction between English and French, and represented me as a spy whose proceedings were connected with that expedition from the north.

They now urgently requested the sheikh to write a letter to the whole community of Tawát, and to stimulate them to make an attack upon Wárgelá conjointly with the Hogár and A'zgar; but I did all in my power to prevent him from acceding to such a proposal, although he thought that I was greatly underrating the military strength of the people of Tawát. However, although I succeeded in preventing such a bold stroke of policy, I could not prevent his writing a letter to the French, in which he interdicted them from penetrating farther into the interior, or entering the desert, under any pretext whatever, except as single travelers. He also wanted me to write immediately to Tripoli, to request that an Englishman should go as consul to Tawát; but I told him that this was not so easily done, and that he must first be able to offer full guarantee that the agent should be respected.

In my opinion it would be better if the French would leave the inhabitants of Tawát to themselves, merely obliging them to respect Europeans, and keep open the road to the interior; but although at that time I was not fully aware of the intimate alliance which had been entered into between the French and the English, I was persuaded that the latter neither could nor would protect the people of Tawát against any aggressive policy of the French, except by peaceable means, as Tawát is pre-eminently situated within the range of their own commerce. If both the English and French could agree on a certain line of policy with regard to the tribes of the interior, those extensive regions might, I think, be easily opened to peaceful intercourse. Be this as it may, under the pressure of circumstances, I found myself obliged to affix my name to the letter written by the sheikh, as having been present at the time, and candor imposed upon me the duty of not signing a wrong name.

All this excitement, which was disagreeable enough, had, however, one great advantage for me, as I was now informed that letters had reached my address, and that I should have them; but I was astonished to hear that these letters had arrived in A'zawád some months previously. I expostulated very strongly with my friend upon this circumstance, telling him that if they wanted friendship and "imána," or security of intercourse with us, they ought to be far more strict in observing the conditions consequent upon such a relation. I then received the promise that I should have the letters in a few days.

Wednesday, May 10th. Our hosts the Kél-gógi removed their

encampment, and we followed them, although my protector had repeatedly assured me that in our retrograde movement we should certainly not have to pass the fine caoutchouc-tree that adorned our encampment. Leaving the high sandy downs of U'le-Tehárge, on the banks of the river, we kept around the extensive swampy meadow-ground which spreads out behind them, several small encampments of the wandering Tawárek enlivening the green border of the swamp. Crossing, then, some rising ground beyond the reach of the wide expanse of shallow backwaters connected with the river, we came to the well-known creek of Amalélle, and followed its northerly shore till we reached its source or head, where our friend A'khbi had taken up his encampment in the midst of a swampy meadow-ground, which afforded rich pasture to his numerous herds of cattle; for, as I have had occasion repeatedly to state, the Tawárek think nothing of encamping in the midst of a swamp.

As for ourselves, we were obliged to look out for some better-protected and drier spot, and therefore ascended the sandy downs, which rise to a considerable elevation, and are well adorned with talha-trees and siwák, or *Capparis sodata*. Having pitched my tent in the midst of an old fence, or zeríba, I stretched myself out in the cool shade, and, forgetting for a moment the unpleasant character of my situation, enjoyed the interesting scenery of the landscape, which was highly characteristic of the labyrinth of backwaters and creeks which are connected with this large river of Western Central Africa.

At the foot of the downs was the encampment of our friends the Tawárek, with its larger and smaller leathern tents, some of them open and presenting the interior of these simple movable dwellings; beyond, the swampy creek, enlivened by a numerous herd of cattle half immersed in the water; then a dense border of vegetation, and beyond in the distance, the white sandy downs of Ernésse, with a small strip of the river. I made a sketch of this pleasant and animated locality, which is represented in the plate opposite. The scenery was particularly beautiful in the moonlight when I ascended the ridge of the downs, which rise to about 150 feet in height. In the evening I received a little milk from the wife of one of the chiefs of the Kél-gógi of the name of Lámmege, who was a good-looking woman, and to whom I made a present of a looking-glass and a few needles in return. The Tawárek, while they are fond of their wives, and almost entirely abstain

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from polygamy, are not at all jealous; and the degree of liberty which the women enjoy is astonishing; but, according to all that I have heard, instances of faithlessness are very rare among the nobler tribes. Among the degraded sections, however, and especially among the Kél e' Súk, female chastity appears to be less highly esteemed, as we find to be the case also among many Berber tribes at the time when El Bekrí wrote his interesting account of Africa.*

Meanwhile my good and benevolent protector was in a most unpleasant dilemma, between his regard for his own interest and his respect for myself. He severely rebuked the Tárki chief for having disturbed the friendly relation which had formerly existed between himself and me; for since our retrograde movement, in order to incite my friend to a greater degree of energy, I never went to his tent, although he repeatedly paid me a visit. At length, after mature consideration, the sheikh had decided that I, together with the greater part of his followers, should go to Ernésse, there to await his return, while he himself intended to approach still nearer to Timbúktu, although he affirmed that he would not enter the town under any condition.

Thus we separated the next morning, and I took leave of the friends whom I had made among the tribe of the Igwádaren. These people were leaving their former homes and their former allies, in order to seek new dwelling-places and new friends. There was especially the little Kúngu, who, early in the morning, came on his white horse to bid me farewell. We had become very good friends, and he used to call daily to talk with me about distant countries, and the different varieties of nations as far as he had any idea of such things. He was an intelligent and chivalrous lad, and with his long black hair, his large expressive eyes, and his melancholy turn of mind, I liked him much. When I told him that he would yet become one of the great chiefs of the Tawárek, and a celebrated warrior, he expressed his fear that it would be his destiny to die young like his brothers, who had all fallen in battle at an early age; but I consoled him, and promised that if any friend of mine should visit these regions after me I would not fail to send him a present for himself. He regretted having left the neighborhood of Bámba, which he extolled very highly on account of its fine trees and rich pasture-grounds; but

* El Bekrí, ed. de Slane, p. 182. والزنا عندهم مباح

he spoke enthusiastically of the Ráfar-n-áman, or, as the Arabs call it, the Rás el má, with the rich grassy backwaters and creeks which surround it, especially the valley called Tisórmaten, the reminiscences of which filled his boyish mind with the highest delight.

Thus I took leave of this young Tárki lad, after having given him such little presents as I could spare. Swinging himself upon his horse by means of his iron spear, he rode off with a martial air, probably never to hear of me again. I took the opposite direction, along the shore of the creek Amalélle, accompanied by a guide whom A'hmed el Wadáwi had brought from Ernésse, and followed by Mohammed ben Khottár the sheikh's nephew, Sídi Mohammed the sheikh's son, and almost the whole of his followers. However, the company of all these people did not inspire me with so much confidence that my friend and protector would not tarry long behind, as the fact of the presence of his favorite female cook, Díko, who accompanied us, and whose services my friend could scarcely dispense with; and I thus agreed in the opinion of his confidential pupil, Mohammed el A'mín, who, knowing well the character of his teacher, disputed with energy with those among my companions who thought that the sheikh would send us word to join him in the town.

I therefore cheerfully enjoyed once more the very peculiar character of this river district, with its many creeks, small necks of land, and extensive swamps. Since we had last visited this place the waters had retired considerably, and the extensive swampy lowlands between Temáharót and Ernésse had become quite dry, so that we had to cross only a narrow channel-like strip of water. Following then the sandy downs, we soon reached the well-known encampment of the Kél-n-Nokúnder, where I was hospitably entertained with a bowl of ghussub-water. I was disposed to enjoy in privacy the view over the river, while lying in the shade of a siwák, but the number of Tawárek who were passing by did not allow me much leisure, for the tents of Sául, as well as those of El Wóghdugu, were at a short distance. But these people, conscious of their having deserved punishment at the hand of their liege lord, were frightened away by the rising of a simúm, as it is popularly believed in the country that this wind is the sign of the approach of the great army, or tábu, of the Awelímmiden, and they all started off the next morning.

The river, which is here very broad, forms a large low island

called Banga-gúngu, the "hippopotamus iaiand," while a smaller one, distinguished by a fine tamarind-tree, is called Búre. I endeavored in the afternoon to reach the bank of the river itself; but it is beset with a peculiar kind of grass of great height, armed with such offensive bristles that it is almost impossible to penetrate through it. In the latter part of the cold and during the hot season, a path leads along this low grassy shore, but, during some months of the year, the water reaches the very downs. It is a fine spot for an encampment, the air being good. But the whole site consists only of a narrow sandy ridge, backed toward the north by an extensive swamp, the border of which is girt with the richest profusion of vegetation, interwoven with creeping plants, and interspersed with dúm bush. This place is called "úggada," and forms a haunt for numbers of wild beasts, especially lions, and the inhabitants gave an animated description of a nocturnal combat which, two days previously, had raged between two lions on account of a lioness.

It had been decided that we should await here the return of the sheikh; but, after we had passed the following day in this place, our friends the Kél-n-Nokúnder, already satisfied with the honor of entertaining so many guests for one day, endeavored to escape from our hands, and, without having given us the slightest warning, on the morning of Saturday suddenly removed their encampment. Fortunately they went eastward, in which direction I would have followed them to the end of the world. Thus my companions, the télamíd, rushed after them like hungry vultures after their prey. I had my things packed in a moment, and we followed them along the same narrow neck of downs on which our route had lain in coming from Amalélle; but, instead of traversing the swamp by the ford northward, we kept along it toward the east, where the downs gradually decrease in height, being overgrown with colocynths, and, farther on, with túrsha, or *Asclepias gigantea*, and the blue *Crucifera* or daman-kádda. Farther on they cease entirely, and give way to a low shore, which, during the highest state of the inundation, forms a connection between the river and the swampy background stretching out behind the downs.

Here, where the river takes a fine sweep to the southeast, and forms several islands, was situated in former times a town of the name of Belesáro, but, at present, nothing but groups of a beautiful species of wild fig-tree, called here duwé, mark this spot as the former scene of human industry.

Crossing then a low swampy ground, overgrown with rich býrgu and rank reed-grass, we reached the high sandy downs of U'le-Tehárge, which had already attracted my attention from our encampment in Tehárge. On the highest part of these downs the Kél-n-Nokúnder chose the place for their new encampment, and I fixed upon a former fence, wherein I pitched my tent, which from this elevated position was visible over a great part of the river. But my young friend, the sheikh's nephew, imbued with the superstitious prejudices of his mother, always greatly objected to my using the former dwelling-places of other people, as if they were haunted by spirits.

It was a beautiful camping-ground, elevated about 150 feet above the surface of the river, over which it afforded a magnificent prospect, the river here forming a very noble sheet of water. It is asserted, however, that in summer it is fordable at the place called E'nsowéd. A little beyond the end of the downs, where it formed another reach toward the south, the river presented the appearance of an extensive lake. Nearer the opposite shore a low grassy island called Rábara stretched out, and another narrow strip of ground called Wáraka was separated from the shore, on our side, by a narrow channel, and overgrown with the finest býrgu. Toward the south, the steep sandy downs were bordered by a strip of rich vegetation, behind which a green swampy plain stretched out, intersected by an open channel, which separated us from the main, where another village of the Kél-n-Nokúnder was lying, the barking of whose dogs was distinctly heard.

The small creek which separated the island of Wáraka from our shore was full of crocodiles, some of which measured as much as eighteen feet, the greatest length which I have ever seen this animal attain in Central Africa; and swimming just below the surface of the water, with the head occasionally peeping forth, they greatly threatened the security of the cattle, who were grazing on the fine rank grass growing on the border of the creek. In the course of the day these voracious and most dangerous animals succeeded in seizing two cows belonging to our hosts, and inflicted a very severe wound upon a man who was busy cutting grass for my horses.

This man had attached himself to my party in order to return to Háusa, which was originally his home. But there was a great difference of opinion as to whether he was at liberty to go, although he was a liberated slave, and I was given to understand that his

company might involve me in disputes with his former masters; for, in general, even liberated slaves are supposed to observe some sort of duty to their former employers. Nevertheless, I had allowed him to stay, but was now obliged to send him back to Timbúktu, as almost the whole of his foot had been carried away by the monster, so that he was entirely unfit for the journey, and required immediate relief.

The view of the river was the more interesting, as a strong northeast wind, or, as the Tawárek say, "erífe," ruffled its surface so considerably that it crested the waves with white foam, and presented a very animated appearance, the magnificent sheet of water, the green island and shore, and the high ridge of the wide sandy downs forming a most pleasing contrast.

There was, also, no lack of intercourse: Sometimes it was some fishermen of the Songhay who solicited my hospitality in the evening; at others, it was a troop of Tawárek horsemen, who came to see the Christian stranger of whom they had heard so much. The most remarkable among them were the horsemen of the Kél-tabórit and the Kél-támuláit,* with whom I had a long conversation, in the course of which I endeavored to make them understand that the whole of this extensive region, of which they knew only a small part, was "nothing but a large island or gúngu" ("gúngu ghás"), in the great salt sea, just as the island of Rábara, opposite to us, was with regard to the Niger, or the Eghírrëu, the only name by which this river is known to all the Berber tribes. They thus became aware that the dominion of the sea was of some importance, as it gave access to all these countries, whereas before they had only looked with a sort of contempt upon people living only, as they thought, in vessels on the sea; and they

* Two of the Kél-tabórit gave me the following list of places from hence along the river as far as A'nsongó, and, as it contains a few names with which I did not become acquainted in the right place, and moreover presents various forms, I will here insert it: Ejíji, Yó Kaina, Karre, Gówa, Káma, Kokíshi, Bogánne, Serére, Aríbis, Anrabéra, Ajíma, Terárwist, Kórsejáy, Tédafó, Ajáta, Aútelmákkoren, Tekánkant, Insámmen, E'm-n-tabórak, Asíya, Samgoy, Tághemart, Kóyaga, Taúsa, Burrum, Tén-ézede, Há, Gógó, Borno, Bára, Enejéti, Tufádafór, Ebélbelen, A'nsongó. At the same time I learned the localities along the road from A'nsongó, or probably from Búre to Dóre, the chief place of Libtáko, which is a track not unfrequently followed by the inhabitants of the districts on the left bank of the Niger: Inbám, Ejérar, Támbelghú, Akhabélbel, E'nkulbá, Wendu (Dóre). Akhabélbel, or Khalébleb, is the name of a large lake or backwater, which is also touched at in going from Gógó to Dóre, and which seems to deserve the full attention of European explorers.

were not a little surprised when I told them that we were able to come up this river from the sea. They likewise had heard, and some of them perhaps had even seen, something of that adventurous Christian who, fifty years ago, had navigated this river, and who, even after this lapse of time, remains a mysterious and insoluble enigma to them, as to the place from whence he so suddenly appeared, and whither he was going.

The influence of conversation is great among these simple dwellers of the desert, and the more we talked the more friendly became the behavior of my visitors, till at last they asked me why I did not marry one of their daughters and settle among them. On the other side of the river there were encampments of the Imedíddiren and Terféntik, and some of the latter paid our hosts a rather abrupt visit, taking away from them a head of cattle, so that the sheikh's nephew, Mohammed ben Khottár, was obliged to cross the river in order to obtain damages from them. The Kél-n-Nókúnder, who in former times had been greatly ill-used by the free Imóshagh, have been imbued by their protectors, the Kunta, with such a feeling of independence that they are now not inclined to bear even the slightest injustice, and they had certainly some right to demand that, at the very moment while they were treating so large a party belonging to their protector they should not themselves suffer any violence. However, I heard, to my great surprise, that they likewise pay zek'a to the Fúlbe, or Fullán. My friend, who had some trouble in persuading the freebooters from beyond the river to restore the property, represented them to me as fine tall men, kinsfolk of the Tarabanása, but very poor. It is really surprising that a family of peaceable men should exercise such an influence over these wild hordes, who are continually waging war against each other, merely from their supposed sanctity and their purity of manners.

The interesting character of the locality did not suffice, however, for our material welfare, and my companions made serious complaints on account of the scanty supply of food which they received from our hosts; and for this reason they were almost as eager to hear some news of the sheikh as I myself.

From our former encampment in Ernésse I had sent my servant, Mohammed el Gatróni, into the town in order to procure me a supply of the most necessary provisions, as my former stock was entirely consumed; and it was fortunate, on this account, that I had saved 5000 shells, which I was able to give him for this pur-

pose. He now joined us again in this place on the 14th, and, of course, every one hastened to learn what news he had brought from the town and from the camp of the sheikh. He had arrived in Timbúktu a little before sunset, and, having finished without delay his purchases of the articles wanted by me, immediately hurried away to the camp of my protector; for, as soon as the news of the arrival of my servant had got abroad in the town in conjunction with the return of the sheikh to his camp, the utmost excitement prevailed among the townspeople, who fancied that I myself was returning, and, in consequence, the alarm-drum was beaten. My servant also informed me that the Tawátíye themselves were greatly excited against me, as if I had had any thing to do with the proceedings of the French against Wárgelá; and he assured me that, if I had still been in the town, they would have been the first to have threatened my life. He had only slept one night in the camp, and then left early the following morning, and therefore knew nothing about our protector's coming, but he confirmed the fact that there were letters for me. Fortunately, on returning, he had been informed that we had changed our camping-ground, and finding a guide, he had been able to join us without delay. The suníye of negro-millet fetched at the time, in the market of Timbúktu, 4500; a large block of salt of about 60 lb. weight, 5000; and kóla nuts, from 80 to 100 shells each. With my limited supply of means it was fortunate that I never became accustomed to the latter luxury.

CHAPTER LXXV.

FINAL AND REAL START.—CREEKS ON THE NORTHERN BANKS OF THE NIGER.—GHE'RGHO.—BA'MBA.

Wednesday, May 17th. About noon the whole encampment was thrown into a state of the greatest excitement by the arrival of two of the sheikh's followers, who informed us that our friend had not only left the camp, but had even passed us, keeping along the northern border of the swamp which stretched behind our camping-ground. All was joy and excitement, and in an instant my tent was struck and my luggage arranged on the backs of the camels. But we had to take a very roundabout way to get out of this place, surrounded and insulated as it was by deep swamps,

for with our horses and camels, together with our heavy luggage, we could not think of crossing the creek which entirely cuts off the downs of U'le-Tehárge. We were thus obliged to return all the way to Belesáro, almost as far as our previous fording-place between Amalélle and Ernésse. Here, cutting through the swampy plain (which at present at this spot was for the greater part dry) along the localities called Tín-éggedád, and farther on Oráken, we at length, having gained firm ground, were able to change our direction to the east along Elíggedúf and Ewábe. We had just marched three hours when we found ourselves opposite our encampment on the downs, separated from them by the swampy ground of about half a mile in extent.

Uncertain as to the direction which our friend had taken, we now began to rove about, here and there, in search of him; but there was no inducement to tarry long, as, by the breaking up of a great number of encampments of the Tawárek, an innumerable host of small flies had been left in this district without occupation and sustenance, and thus, left destitute of their usual food, greedily attacked ourselves. Leaving then behind us the low downs, which were thickly covered with dúm bush, the resort of a numerous host of guinea-fowl, we entered again low swampy ground, and at length, after having traversed a thickly-wooded district, ascertained the spot whither the sheikh had betaken himself, which was at a place called A'kale, the eminence on the bank of the river being called E'm-aláwen. But, when we at length reached it, we found the holy man sleeping in the shade of a siwák, or *Capparis*, and the noise of our horses, as we came galloping along, was not sufficient to awaken him from his deep slumber. Such was the mild and inoffensive character of this man, in the midst of these warlike and lawless hordes.

Waiting till my protector should rise from his peaceful slumber, I sat down in the shade of a rich siwák, enjoying the faint prospect of my journey home, now opening before me.

At length my friend awoke, and I went to him. He received me with a gentle smile, telling me that he was now ready to conduct me on my journey without any farther delay or obstruction, and handing me at the same time a parcel of letters and papers. There were copies of two letters from Lord John Russell, of the 19th February, 1853; one from Lord Clarendon, of the 24th of the same month; a letter from Chevalier Bunsen; another from Colonel Hermann; and two from her majesty's agent in Fezzán.

There were no other letters, either from home or from any of my friends; but there were, besides, ten Galignanis, and a number of the Athenæum, of the 19th March, 1853.

I can scarcely describe the intense delight I felt at hearing again from Europe, but still more satisfactory to me was the general letter of Lord John Russell, which expressed the warmest interest in my proceedings. The other letters chiefly concerned the sending out of Dr. Vogel and his companions, which opened to me the prospect of finding some European society in Bórnu, if I should succeed in reaching my African head-quarters in safety. But of the expedition to the Tsadda or Bénuwé, which had started for its destination some time previously to the date of my receiving these letters, I obtained no intimation by this opportunity; and, indeed, did not obtain the slightest hint of that undertaking, of which I myself was to form a part, till December, when it had already returned to England.

I thanked the sheikh for having at length put me in possession of these dispatches, but I repeated at the same time my previous remarks, that if he and his friends wanted to have "imána," or well-established peaceable intercourse with us, security ought first of all to prevail as to our letters, and I was assured that this parcel had been lying in A'zawád for at least two months. But the sheikh excused himself, stating that one of the chief men in that district, probably the chief of the Bérabísh, had kept them back under the impression that they might contain something prejudicial to his country; an opinion which, of course, could not fail to be confirmed by the proceedings of the French in the southwestern districts bordering upon Algeria. But, altogether, the history of this parcel was marvelous. It had evidently come by way of Bórnu; yet there was not a single line from the vizier, who, if all had been right, I felt sure would have written to me; moreover, the outer cover had been taken off, although the seal of the inner parcel had not been injured. But the reason, of which I, however, did not become aware till a much later period, was this, that, before the parcel left Sókoto, the news of the execution of the vizier had already reached that place, when the letter addressed by that person to myself was taken away, and probably also something else which he had sent for me. But it moreover happened that the man who was commissioned to convey the parcel to Timbúktu was slain by the Góberáwa, or Mariadáwa, on the road between Gando and Say, at a moment when the packet was by acc-

dent left in the hands of a companion of his, who, pursuing his route in safety, took it to A'zawád. But the death of the principal bearer of the letters addressed to me, in all probability, contributed not a little to confirm the rumor of myself having been slain near Marádi. However, at that time, and even much later, I had no idea that such rumors were current in the quarter which I had left.

Thursday, May 18th. It was with a very pleasant feeling that I at length found myself in the company of my noble host, again pursuing my journey eastward; and I enjoyed the peculiar features of the country with tolerable ease and comfort. The varied composition of our troop, among whom there were several well-disposed friends, afforded also much relief.

The country was the same that I had already traversed; but it presented some new features, as we followed another path. I was principally struck with the enormous size of the "retem," or broom, which here assumed the proportions of considerable trees of more than twenty feet in height, while the siwák, or *Capparis sodata*, was in great abundance.

Having rested, after a march of about ten miles, in a dense part of the forest, which is said to be frequented by lions, we pursued our march in the afternoon; when, proceeding along the swampy creek of Barkánge, which was now almost dried up, and passing Tautilt, we pitched our tents a little beyond the former ámazágh of the chief Wóghda, near a camp of the Welád-Molúk. The branch of the river at this spot was at present so shallow, that a flock of sheep was seen fording it toward the island; water-fowl, also, and especially such birds as live upon fish, were in immense numbers. Crocodiles were seen in abundance, and caused us some anxiety for the horses, which were pasturing on the fine rank grass at the border of the river.

The Tawárek having now left the banks of the river, the black natives seemed to be more at their ease, and several boats belonging to the Songhay crossed over to us from the island of Kóra. I had seen the male portion of the Arab tribe of the Welád-Molúk on a former occasion, but I here, for the first time, saw their wives and daughters, who, attracted by curiosity, came in the evening to catch a glimpse of the Christian stranger, and were roving about my tent, but I did not observe a single attractive person among them, and, feeling rather sleepy, paid but little attention to them.

Friday, May 19th. While the other members of our troop kept

more inland, I followed the bank of the river, which here, with its fine open sheet of water, presents a highly interesting aspect, till I reached our old camping-ground at Izéberen, from whence I had some difficulty in rejoining my friends, for the whole of this part of the river is full of backwaters and creeks, which renders the communication rather difficult to people who are not well acquainted with the character of the country, but on this very account they afford rich pasture-grounds after the river has begun to decrease. Unfortunately, even now, when we had finally entered upon our journey, the dilatory character of my host remained unaltered, and, after a march of seven miles, we halted near a small encampment of the Kél-n-Nokúnder, professedly as if we were to start again in the afternoon, but in reality in order to pass the night there. However, I was glad that we had at least gone beyond the place which we had reached on our former abortive start.

The locality was adorned with some luxuriant specimens of duwé and the tagelálet, or agáto. Under one of these fine trees, the dense foliage of which almost reached the ground, I passed the heat of the day in friendly conversation with some of the peaceable Tolba, who came to have a chat with me on religious topics. When the cool of the evening set in I pitched my tent near the bank of the open branch of the river, which was girt by a fine border of rank grass; but the river was here broken, and did not present that noble character which I was wont to admire in it.

Saturday, May 20th. We were to start at a very early hour, but the difficulty of making out the right path among these numerous swamps and creeks kept us back till all our companions were ready. We then had to turn round a very difficult swamp, which had now begun to dry up, and where we observed the first traces of the wild hog that I had hitherto seen along this part of the Niger. After we had left this swamp behind us, the river exhibited its truly magnificent character, and we proceeded close along the border of its limpid waters, on a beautiful sandy beach, our left being shut in by high sandy downs, richly clad with dúm palms and tagelálet.

It was here, for the first time, that I observed the traces of the zangway. This animal appears to be quite distinct from the crocodile, and perhaps resembles the American igwana. It is much smaller than the crocodile; and its footprint indicated a much broader foot, the toes being apparently connected by a continuous

membrane. Unfortunately I never obtained a sight of the animal itself, but only observed its footprints in the sand: it attains, as it seems, only to the length of from six to eight feet.

The well-defined character of the river, however, did not last long, and again there succeeded the low swampy shore, which occasionally obliged us to keep at a greater distance from the main trunk, while the vegetation in general was abundant. The predominant tree in this district, also, was the siwák, or *Capparis*, which, with its small berries, which were just ripening, afforded us occasionally a slight refreshment. They can, however, only be taken in small quantities, as they have a very strong taste, like pepper, and on this account are much pleasanter when they are dried, in which state they afford a not inconsiderable portion of the food of the nomadic inhabitants of these regions. Besides the siwák, or "tésak," there was also a great quantity of "retem," which is here called atárkit, or ásabay; farther on dúm palms became very prevalent.

Leaving, then, the locality called Tahónt on our left, we reached a very large grassy creek, which was enlivened by herds of cattle, and encamped on its border, in the shade of a dense belt of fine trees, woven together by an immense number of climbing plants. The whole bottom of the valley was at least seven hundred yards wide, and behind a smaller strip of water a larger open branch was observed, intersecting the rich grassy valley. It is very remarkable that neither the Imóshagh, or Tawárek, nor the Arabs, have, as far as I am aware, a name sufficiently expressive for these shallow vales; the Arabs in general calling an open creek of water "rejl," or "krá," and a less open one "bot-há;" while the Tawárek call them in general an arm, properly a leg, of the river, or "ádar-n-eghírrëu;" but the native Háusa name "fáddama" is far more significant. It was on this account that Caillié called the whole of these shallow creeks by the corrupted Jolof name, "marigot."

Close behind our encampment the ground formed a slight slope, and presented the site or tazámbut of a former Songhay place called Hendi-kíri, a place which is perhaps identical with Kambakíri, mentioned in the history of Songhay as the spot where a dreadful battle was fought between two rival pretenders.* It is difficult to imagine the different aspect which this country must have presented in former times, when all the favorable sites formed

* A'hmed Bábá, in Journal of Leipsic Oriental Society, vol. ix., p. 547.

the seats of flourishing dwelling-places, and animated intercourse was thronging along the track on the side of the river. It was a fine halting-place, characteristic of the whole nature of this region; but the ants were very numerous, and disturbed us greatly during our short halt.

After resting for about four hours we pursued our march eastward, keeping for the first mile close along the bot-há, which soon changed its character to a considerable open sheet of water. Leaving then this water, and crossing several smallér grassy creeks, and traversing a low sandy ridge, we reached another large backwater; and winding along it in a southeasterly direction, through bushes and dúm palms, we reached, after a march of about six miles, an interesting sandy headland called E'm-n-kúris, situated at the point where the creek joins the river, which here forms a fine sweep, changing its course from a westeasterly to a southnortherly direction.

On this open sandy promontory we chose the spot for our night's quarters, opposite an encampment of the Kél-antsár, which was situated on the other side of the creek, and enlivened by dúm palms. The river itself formed a fine open sheet, broken only by a small island, and, being animated by several boats, exhibited a grand spectacle. There was a good deal of consultation in the evening between the eldermen, or ámaghár, of the Kél-antsár and my protector, with regard to the course to be pursued under the present political circumstances of the country, these poor people scarcely knowing which party to follow amid the general confusion which prevailed. I learned on this occasion that the I'gelád, to whom the tribe of the Kél-antsár belongs, have three learned chiefs or judges, the most respected of whom, El Táher, lives at Rás el má. The night which we passed here on a rising ground just over the stream was beautifully fresh, while the elevation caused us to be exempt from the plague usual in these swampy lowlands.

Sunday, May 21*st.* While we were breaking up our encampment and loading our animals, the opposite camp of our friends was enlivened by numerous herds of sheep and goats, and we should have made a very interesting day's march, as we were now approaching a better-inhabited district, if it had not been for the hospitable treatment of our hosts, who, in order to satisfy their numerous visitors, had probably, the preceding night, mixed together all sorts of milk, so that almost all the people were seriously ill; and

the first part of our march presented so distressing a spectacle that most of my companions thought the milk had been poisoned.

Thus we passed a remarkable locality on a rising sandy bank behind a considerable creek, which by its name, Tamizgída, evidently indicates the site of a former dwelling-place, and is probably identical with the Tírka (or rather Tírekka) of Arab geographers,* if that identity does not apply to Ghérgo. Having passed this place, we followed the shallow water, which gradually widened, being intersected by fences and dikes for the purpose of cultivating rice and catching fish. Larger trees became gradually more scanty, indicating our approach to a still existing dwelling-place, as is generally the case in Negroland, the trees being consumed for fire-wood; but just as we came in sight of this place, which is Ghérgo (pronounced Rérgo), in order to avoid the heat during the midday hours, on an almost unprotected shore, we thought it better to halt in the shade of the last trees. I myself found shelter under the densely-woven foliage of a fine group formed by the union of a géza with an aghelál, where I had nothing better to do than to treat all my people with tea and coffee, in order to restore their wasted spirits and strength, as they had suffered greatly from their last night's diet.

Our road from this point to the town led along the border of the swampy lowlands, following a great many windings round the indented shore of the creek. Thus we reached, after a march of a little more than two miles, the bank opposite the village of Ghérgo, and began looking about for some time for a fit place to encamp, for the village itself, situated as it is behind a large backwater, could not be reached. The opposite shore is exceedingly bleak and unbroken, being destitute even of bush, while only three isolated trees dotted the ground for a great distance, and these were unfortunately too far off from the ford, where we chose our camping-ground, to be of any use to us during our stay.

Ghérgo is a place not without interest, and seems to be of considerable antiquity. According to tradition, it is stated to be seven years older than Túmbutu, or Timbúktu, and seems therefore well deserving of a right to be identified with one of the celebrated centres of life in these regions in the first dawn of historical rec-

* See the highly interesting account of this place, the great commercial *entrepôt* between Ghána in the west and Tademékka in the east, in El Bekrí, "Déscription de l'Afrique," p. 180. The express mention of the ants which he here makes is very important, as, in coming from Timbúktu, the first ants were observed by us near Hendi-kíri.

ord. It was originally situated on the main, occupying an eminence a little to the east of our encampment, till, in more recent times, the weakened and unprotected inhabitants were obliged to retire behind the backwater from fear of the Tawárek. Certainly, the insular nature of their dwelling-place is of a rather indistinct character; for, in general, with the exception of those years when the inundations of the river reach an extraordinary height, as had been the case this year, the smaller branch dries up to such an extent that a person may enter the place without wetting his feet; but this happens at a season when their tormentors, the Tawárek, leave the banks of the river and retire inland, so that they suffer but little from them. This year the high state of the inundation had inspired them with so much confidence that they had refused their boats to the tábu, or the army of their great liege lord himself. The river had risen to such an elevation that it had reached their very huts, which, separated into three distinct groups, are situated on a slightly rising ground.

The inhabitants, even in the present reduced state of the country, raise a good deal of rice and tobacco, though the cultivation ought to be much more extensive, if we consider the wide expanse of the low swampy ground which is reached by the inundation. The river, indeed, is at such a distance, that it is not seen at all, being hidden behind the sandy downs which form its inner bank. But it is remarkable that the nutritious grass, the býrgu, which I have so repeatedly mentioned, was almost wanting here, and the cattle of the village were obliged to be driven to a great distance, so that, notwithstanding the richness of the pasture-grounds in general, I was in want of milk.

We remained here the following day, and after a very cold morning, which seemed rather remarkable in the month of May, I took a walk up the gradually rising downs, which partly consisted of sand and gravel, partly exhibited a more stony character, and, contrasted with the wide green valley of the river, presented a bleak desert scenery with undulating ground toward the north, clad with nothing but isolated tufts of dry herbage. From the higher ground I had an interesting view over the whole village, situated in the midst of swampy creeks and bordered on each side by a solitary tree. I counted from this point about 350 huts.

On returning from my walk to our encampment I found a great number of the inhabitants of the place assembled, and, after they had paid their compliments to the sheikh, anxiously looking

out for the stranger in order to obtain his blessing also. But I did not find them sufficiently interesting to have much intercourse with them, for they have very little of that noble independent carriage which distinguishes, in such an eminent degree, their southeastern countrymen; and their stature, as well as their features, seemed to indicate plainly a very strong intermixture with Mósi slaves. It is not improbable that the whole indigenous population of this northern bank of the Niger originally belonged to the race of the Tombo. Most of these people wore closely fitting white shirts and trowsers, both made of a broad kind of cotton strip, or tári, of very coarse texture, while their head is generally encircled with a very rugged and poor turban, if we may so call it, of the same material, only a few of them being dressed in a more decent style. They had a good deal of butter, but dared not sell it, through fear of the Tawárek. I was not a little surprised at the large species of geese which they were breeding.

Tuesday, May 23*d.* We started in the cool of the morning, keeping close to the border of the swampy creek, which gradually becomes narrower, while the principal trunk of the river approaches. After a march of about a mile and a half we receded a little into the desert, which exhibited an immense number of footprints of the giraffe, generally three or four together. Here the vegetation was rather scanty, the ground in general being covered with nothing but low bushes; but, after we had approached a small ridge of sandy downs, we crossed a hollow, which, being the dried-up ground of a pond, or dhaye, was surrounded with dúm bush and tobacco-grounds.

We had been joined some time previously by a chief of the Kél-antsár, who invited us to spend the hot hours of the day with him. We therefore halted at an early hour by the side of his encampment, which was situated on a promontory close beyond the rich vale whence the district was called "eráshar;" Kírtebe and Tárashít we had left on one side. The people slaughtered a whole ox, and sent us a great many dishes of rice and sour milk. The whole tribe of the Kél-antsár is rather numerous, numbering upward of 1000 full-grown men, but they are scattered over a wide extent of country, reaching from Gógó to Rás el má, and even into the interior of Tagánet, the district between Timbúktu and A'zawád. We had intended to pitch our tent here, but we found the ground so extremely dry and hard that it would not hold the pegs.

Soon after starting in the afternoon, on descending from the eminence we had a fine view of the river, two branches of which united behind an island. But the scenery soon changed, and, leaving the river at some distance, proceeding first over sandy ground, and then crossing a large backwater which was at present tolerably dry, and following a large herd of cattle that were returning from their pasture-grounds, we reached another considerable ámazágh of the Kél-antsár, and encamped between them and the green swampy shore of the river. The place is called Zár-ho, but in the river lies the island of Kúrkozáy, which has obtained a kind of celebrity on account of a sanguinary battle which was fought there thirty-five years previous to the time of my visit, between the Tawárek on the one side, and the Songhay and Ermá, or Rumá, on the other. The people here seemed to be very rich in cattle, and supplied us with an enormous quantity of fresh milk.

Wednesday, May 24th. While we were loading our camels, the sky was overcast with thick clouds, and heavy rain evidently fell in A'ribínda, while with us the strong wind prevented the clouds from discharging their contents. I have repeatedly remarked upon the quantity of rain that falls on the southern side of the river compared with the northern. Dry as the country here appeared to be, we this day became more than ever entangled among the numerous backwaters which make the passage along the river so difficult, although they afford the richest pasturage to the cattle. The fault was that of our guide, who directed our course too far south from east, till, on becoming aware of our error, we had to cross two very considerable grassy creeks, the first having three and a half feet of water, and the last being still deeper. The tall rank grass of the býrgu entangled the feet of the horses, and caused them to fall, to the great discomfiture of their riders.

Having at length succeeded in crossing this double creek, we had still to traverse another grassy inlet, joining it from the north side, after which, all these swampy lowlands, uniting together, formed a very extensive fáddama, at the broadest part about two or three miles wide, the whole surface of the water being covered with water-lilies (*Nymphæa Lotus*). Beyond this extensive backwater, on a grassy island of the river, lies the hamlet Tabálit, and at a short distance from it another ádabay, of the name of A'baten. Here the extensive backwaters after a little

while cease, and allow the river itself to approach the sandy downs, which in this spot rise to a considerable height. They thus afforded myself and the sheikh's nephew a fine view over the river, which here forms a "large island," designated by this very name, "autel-makkóren," or "imakkóren;" it often forms the camping-ground for Tawárek tribes. The sandy downs, however, soon gave way to swampy backwaters, the indented outline of which gave to our march a very indistinct direction, and formed a remarkable contrast to the dreary rising ground on our left. The difficulties, however, after a while became more serious than ever, for we suddenly found ourselves on a narrow dike, destined to keep back the water for the cultivation of rice, situated in the midst of a swamp. For the people of Timbúktu, who were brought up in the swampy grounds, were not aware of any difficulty until we approached the opposite shore, when we found that the dike was intersected by a narrow channel, over which it was dangerous to leap our horses; and although my own horse accomplished the feat with success, many of the others refused to do so, so that most of the people preferred making their way through the swamp. As for myself, it was highly interesting to me thus to become aware of all the various features of this whole formation, although, for the sake of comfort, we ought to have kept farther inland.

When we at length left this swampy ground behind us, every thing bore testimony to the fact that we were approaching another little centre of life in this neglected tract, which, from a certain degree of civilization, has almost relapsed into a state of total barbarism. Dikes made for the cultivation of rice, and places where the býrgu, the rank grass of the river, was passed through a slight fire in order to obtain honey from the stalks thus deprived of the small leaves, were succeeded by small fields of tobacco and wheat. Nay, even barley was seen, an almost unheard of article in the whole of these regions. Meanwhile, the deep channels made for irrigating these grounds showed a degree of industry which I had not seen for a long time. At present, of course, they were dry, the stubble of the wheat and barley alone remaining in the fields, irrigation being employed only during the highest state of the river, when the water closely approaches these grounds.

Here, where an open branch of the river was seen dividing into two smaller arms, we obtained a view of the town of Bámba, or rather of its date palms, which waved their feathery foliage over

a sandy promontory. However, the sky was by no means clear. Soon we reached this spot, and I was highly delighted at seeing again some fine specimens of the date palm, having scarcely beheld a single one since leaving Kanó. The trees on the western side of the village are formed into groups, and in their neglected state, with the old dry leaves hanging down from under the fresh ones, formed a very picturesque spectacle. On the east side, also, where we were encamped, close to a magnificent tamarind, were two tall, slender specimens of this majestic tree; but altogether there were scarcely more than forty full-grown date palms. They are said to furnish a good kind of fruit, but, not having tasted them myself, I can not give an opinion as to their quality.

The village at present consists of about two hundred huts, built of mattings, and oval shaped; for, besides a small mosque, there are only two or three clay buildings, or rather magazines, one of which belongs to Bábá A'hmed, a younger brother of the Sheikh el Bakáy, who generally resides here; at present, however, he was absent.

Such is the condition of this place at present; but there can not be any doubt that it was of much more importance three centuries ago, as it is repeatedly mentioned in the history of Songhay; and its situation—at a point where the river, from having been spread, at least during a great part of the year, over a surface of several miles, is shut in by steep banks, and compressed at the narrowest point to from 600 to 700 yards—must have been of the highest importance at a time when the whole of the region along this large navigable river was comprised under the rule of a mighty kingdom of great extent, and even afterward, when it had become a province of Morocco.

This was evidently the reason why the place was fortified at that time, and probably it had formerly a strong fortress, constantly occupied by a garrison, which accounts for the Tawárek, even at the present day, calling the whole place by the name of Kásba. It also serves to explain the fact that the whole population of the village, even at the present time, consists of Rumá, the progeny of the musketeers who conquered this province for the Emperor of Morocco. But, while in former times they were the ruling race, at present they drag on a rather miserable existence, the protection of the Kunta being scarcely sufficient to defend them against the daily contributions levied upon them by the overbearing rulers of the desert. A short time previously the chief Sadáktu had driven away almost all their cattle.

While awaiting the camels I sat down on a cliff overhanging the steep bank, which here was about twenty-five feet in height, and enjoyed the splendid view over that great watery high road of West Central Africa. The waves of the river were raised by a strong wind, and offered considerable resistance to some light boats endeavoring to reach the opposite shore. My companions soon observed the interest which I took in the scene, and my amiable friend, the sheikh's nephew, joined me here to enjoy the pleasant prospect. He was glad to find that, since we were fairly proceeding on our journey, my mind had become far easier and more cheerful. He often spoke with me about my happy return to my native country, and I expressed to him the wish that he might accompany me, and witness for himself some of the achievements of Europeans. He had been to this place several times before, and had always taken great interest in the difference in the nature of the river, which, from spreading out over flat, swampy shores, with numerous backwaters, with a few exceptions, here becomes compressed between high banks; and he again repeated to me his account of the great narrowing of the river at Tósaye, where a stone might easily be thrown from one bank to the other, while, at the same time, the river was so deep that a line made from the narrow strips of a whole bullock's skin was not sufficient to reach the bottom.

While thus cheerfully enjoying the interesting scenery we were joined by several Rumá inhabitants of the village, who rather disturbed our silent contemplation. But their own character was not wholly uninteresting, for several of them were distinguished from the common Songhay people by the glossy lustre and the lighter hue of their skin; their features also were more regular, and their eyes more expressive. All of them wore, as an outward token of their descent, a red bandage about two inches wide over the shawl which covered the upper part of their face, and a leathern belt hanging loose over the right shoulder, ready to be fastened round the waist at the first signal of danger. Several of them were also distinguished by their better style of dress, which betokened a greater degree of cleanliness and comfort. As for smoking, all the inhabitants along the shores of this great river seemed to be equally fond of it. The pipe is scarcely ever out of their mouth. While smoking they keep their mouth covered, after the fashion which they have learned from the Tawárek. The head of the pipe sticks out from below the shawl.

BAMBA.

At length the camels arrived. They had been called back by mistake from the upper road which they were pursuing into the difficult swampy ground which we ourselves had traversed. A large comfortable dwelling of matting, or "búge," as it is called, was erected on the sand-hills for the sheikh and his companions; but I had my tent pitched near the fine group of date palms, and from this point I made the subjoined sketch, which will impart to the reader a tolerably correct idea of the place.

Here we remained the following day, when I was roused at a very early hour by the crowing of the cocks in Bámba, which could not but recall to my mind the fate of the enterprising but unfortunate Mungo Park, who is said by the natives to have staid here a couple of hours in order to provide himself with fowls, and thus to have given leisure to the Tawárek, lower down the river, to collect together and impede his passage; a story which is also related with regard to Gógó and some other places along the river, though it is more probable that his chief reason for making a halt near the principal places along the river was to open communication with the natives, and more particularly in order to make astronomical observations.

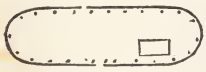
Rising at an early hour, while the sky was beautifully clear, I enjoyed an hour's pleasing reverie on my favorite rock of the previous day, overhanging the river. Although in full agitation the day before, this morning its surface was unruffled, and several boats were crossing over toward the island.

I afterward called upon my protector. One of his younger brothers, Sídi I'lemín, had the preceding day come to pay him a visit as he was passing through this country, and when I was ascending the sandy hill, on the slope of which their matting dwelling had been erected, he came out to meet me, and complimented me in a very cheerful manner. He was a respectable man, with a very pleasing countenance, and had with him his son, a most beautiful boy of seven years.

I could not help thinking what a noble family this was. They were all sons of Sídi Mohammed el Kunti, the chief who received Major Laing in A'zawád. First, Mukhtár, Bakáy's elder brother, who succeeded to his father when that chief had succumbed to an epidemic fever which raged in A'zawád, just at the time of Major Laing's arrival, and who died in 1847; then Sídi Mohammed, a man with a truly princely demeanor; then El Bakáy himself; next, 'Abidín, likewise well deserving the distinguished position

of a chief, although he differed in politics from El Bakáy; then Hámma, a man with whom I did not become personally acquainted, but who was represented by all as a noble man; Sídi I'lemín; Bábá A'hmed; and Sídi A'mmer. This latter is the youngest, but certainly not the least noble of the family. While on a visit to Sókoto, together with his brother, El Bakáy, he made a deeper impression upon the people and obtained their favor more generally than his elder brother. A'lawáte is the only member of this family who, with the exception of his learning, does not seem to contribute much to its honor; but, even in his case, we must take into account the customs of the country, and not judge of him according to our views of nobility.

The light dwelling which had been erected for my protector, simple as it was, was spacious and elegant, affording a very cool resting-place during the heat of the day. It was of an oblong shape, measuring about 20 feet by 9, with two doors opposite each other, a large angáreb forming a comfortable resting-place. The mats of which these huts are constructed are very large and excellently woven, the huts being supported by a frame-work of slender bushes. But the hut, although very pleasant, was too crowded, and, during the hot hours of noon, I retired to a group of magnificent gerredh-trees which overshaded the cemetery, lying at the southern side of the village, and, interwoven by a dense growth of creepers, afforded a most agreeable shade, such as I had never before observed in the case of this tree.



Together with the adjoining tobacco-fields, which were just exhibiting their freshest green, this cemetery formed a striking contrast to the barren country farther north, which, although broken by a dhaye, or pond, of considerable size, and excellently adapted for the cultivation of rice, has neither trees nor bushes, with the exception of two or three isolated date palms surrounding the border of the pond.

We had considerable difficulty in obtaining from the inhabitants a small supply of rice and butter, as they asserted that their means were so reduced that they were sustaining themselves entirely on býrgu, or native grass; but I had reason to suspect that they made this statement through fear of the Tawárek. At all events tobacco was the only article they offered for sale, the tobacco of Bámba, called "sherikíye," being far-famed along the Niger and much sought after, although it is not so good as the

"tábowé," the tobacco of E'gedesh. Of býrgu they have an unlimited supply; and I tasted here the honey-water which they prepare from it, but found it insipid, besides being slightly purgative, not unlike the maddi, or góreba water, in Háusa.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

THE DESERT.—COUNTRY ALONG THE BORDER OF THE RIVER.—GREATEST NARROWING.—SOUTHEASTERLY BEND.

A SLIGHT fall of rain, and then a thunder-storm, which, however, passed over our heads without discharging itself, delayed our departure in the afternoon, and, the camels having been sent to a great distance for a little pasture, it was past five o'clock when we left our camping-ground. A numerous crowd of Rumá, Songhay, and I'móshagh having assembled to witness my departure, I distributed a good many small presents among them, reserving the few articles of value which I still possessed for mightier chiefs.

Having crossed, after a march of two miles, a backwater much overgrown with grass, and at present almost dry, we had the fáddama or bot-há of the river close on our right, while the open water was at about an hour's march distance. Here a considerable amount of cultivation was seen, a good many grounds for corn and tobacco being laid out and connected with the river by channels, through which the water, during the highest state of the inundation, approached closely, and rendered irrigation very easy; but, unfortunately, a heavy thunder-storm, rising in a tremendous battery of clouds, and enveloping the whole country in a dense mass of sand, did not allow of any exact observations being made. The many channels which here intersected our road proved a disagreeable hinderance in our hurried march, and although the clouds passed by without bringing any rain, yet darkness set in before we had reached our destination, and, to my great disappointment, prevented my noticing the whole character of the district.

But the inconvenience soon increased when we entered upon the swampy, grassy border of the river; for, although a small fire, on the dry shore to our left, held out to my companions, who were traveling almost without supplies, the prospect of a rather poor supper, a long line of fires in the midst of the river promised them better fare. Without regarding, therefore, the difficulties of the

ground and the darkness of the night, we made straight for them. My friends were not even deterred when we reached a narrow dike scarcely fit for one horse, and in great decay, and which the guide declared to be the only path leading through a sheet of water separating us from the encampment. Thus we boldly entered upon this dike, but we had only proceeded a few hundred yards when it was pronounced, even by these people, so well accustomed to an amphibious life, to be totally impracticable, so that we were obliged to retrace our steps. While engaged in this most dangerous proceeding, my servant, the Gatróni, met with a serious accident, falling, with his horse, down the dike into the water; and although, with his native agility, he succeeded in extricating himself, with a few contusions, from his unpleasant situation, we had great difficulty in getting the horse out from the hollow into which it had fallen, my companions asserting that it was dead, and wanting to leave it behind. At length we got away from the dike, and, finding a ford through the water, we reached the encampment, which was pitched on a narrow neck of grassy land, and completely dazzled us with the glare of its many fires, coming, as we did, out of the darkness. From the opposite side of the river, two hamlets of Songhay, called Inzámmen and Takankámte, were visible likewise by their fires.

The encampment belonged to some Kél e' Súk, who manifested a rather thievish disposition; and, although not altogether inhospitable, they were unable to treat my companions well, as in the swampy lowland there was an entire want of fire-wood. It was one of those encampments which contributed in a great measure to ruin my health, partly in consequence of the heavy dew which fell during the night. Meanwhile my servant, who was a most faithful person, was searching the greater part of the night for his pistols, which in his fall he had lost in the swamp.

Friday, May 26th. While my companions still lagged behind in order to indemnify themselves for their lost supper by a good breakfast, I set off at a tolerably early hour, in order to get out of the swampy ground; and, fearing lest we might again be entangled in these interminable low grounds, we kept at a considerable distance from the river, over the gentle sandy downs, bare at first, but afterward clad with a considerable quantity of dry grass. But some of our companions who overtook us would not allow us to pursue our northeasterly direction, and led us back again to the border of a broad swampy sheet of water, which is called Terárart,

and at this spot formed a shallow water full of water-plants and geese, but gradually widening to a very extensive swamp, which again increased to a large open branch. The river, however, which was now almost at its lowest level, must present a very different aspect during the highest state of the inundation, when the downs of snow-white sand, which at present separated the principal trunk from the swamp, must appear like a narrow sand-bank in the midst of the water.

Behind these downs, but separated from the main branch by a smaller creek, called "the false river," Eghírrëu-n-báho, lies the hamlet E'gedesh, which at the present season was deserted, the inhabitants being scattered over the islands in the river. The three villages Garbáme, E'm-n-Tabórak, and Nshérifen, are situated on its opposite southern bank.

Exchanging at this remarkable spot our east-northeasterly direction for an east-southeasterly one, we encamped, after a march of three miles and a half, in the shade of a dense belt of underwood which girded its shores, and after a short time we were here joined by El Bakáy. A little more than a mile beyond this place, at the downs called Ghadír, this large backwater joins the river, and here, when we pursued our march in the afternoon, we ascended for a while a higher level, consisting of sandstone rock in a state of great decomposition; but after a march of three miles, again descended to its shores, the river being here full of green islands, with plenty of fine cattle. Two miles farther on, we encamped in a place called Tewílaten, or Stewílaten, at the side of a rather poor encampment of the Kél-Tebankórit. Notwithstanding their poor condition, the people slaughtered two oxen on our behalf.

I had this day still farther cause to feel satisfied that we were traveling along the north, and not along the south side of the river; for while we ourselves had but a slight shower, besides summer lightning the whole of the evening, in the course of the afternoon a considerable fall of rain took place beyond the river in A'ribínda.

Before we started I began conversing with the people of the encampment (the chief of whom, a man of renowned valor, is called Hammaláti) in a cheerful manner; whereupon they praised me as an excellent man, but made, at the same time, the candid avowal that the preceding night, when I did not speak a word, they felt a great antipathy toward me.

Having proceeded at a tolerable rate as far as this place, we here once more relapsed into our usual slow mode of progress; and after a short march of scarcely three miles over a ground strewn with pebbles and small stones, and clad only with scanty vegetation, we encamped close to the steep bank which descended toward the river opposite the island of Zamgoy, for here we were told was the residence of Sadáktu, the chief who had levied such heavy contributions upon the inhabitants of Bámba. As the country itself did not present any features of interest, it was some recompense to me for the delay we met with in this place that the character of the river was remarkable; and, in order to enjoy it as much as possible, I prepared myself a resting-place on the slope of the bank, which was thickly overgrown with small trees.

It is here that the beginning of the rocky district through which the river takes its course is first perceptible. The western end of a small island is entirely surrounded by large granite blocks, which have given to the island the remarkable name of Tahónt-n-éggish, clearly indicating that even the natives themselves regard this place, for him who comes down the river, as the "entrance-rock," or the beginning of the rocky district.

The island of Zamgoy lies nearer to the southern shore, and seems to be of considerable extent, densely clothed with trees, and containing a small hamlet or ádabay. Besides the view of the river, and a walk now and then over the desert ground in our neighborhood, where I observed the ruins of some stone dwellings, I had plenty of occupation during this and the three following days which we remained here in conversing with the natives.

Sadáktu himself was very unwell, and greatly wanted my medical assistance; but after I had made him feel the efficacy of my medicines so strongly that he declared every evil to be removed from his body, he did not reward my zeal with so much as a drop of milk. I therefore could not help observing, to the great delight of his subjects, that he was the most niggardly chief I had ever met with. There were, however, others who were more social and communicative, if not more liberal, than this chief. There was, first, a wealthy and good-looking man of the name of Jemíl, of the Kél-Burrum or the people of Burrum, who evidently originate in a mixture of free Songhay people and I'móshagh, and he himself seemed to unite in a certain degree the qualities of these different nations, while his rich dress and his *embonpoint* proved that he was not an austere inhabitant of the desert. A great deal

of trouble was caused me by another man of the name of Simsim, the son of Sídi A'mmer, and the eldest of seven brothers, a very rich A'móshagh, who was totally blind, but who, nevertheless, expected me to restore his sight; and it really seemed as if my friend El Bakáy confirmed him in this belief, in order to obtain from him some handsome presents for himself.

This person also had the stately appearance peculiar to all these easterly Tawárek, who seem to have enriched themselves with the spoil of the native Songhay population, the latter having in a great measure been reduced by them to the condition of serfs. Almost all of them had a very proud bearing, but nevertheless, upon nearer acquaintance, they proved to be of a very cheerful disposition; and, although of a wild character and of warlike propensities, they have an easy temper, and are not difficult to manage.

The poor inhabitants of Bámba, from whom Sadáktu had taken seventy cows and ten slaves, joined us here in the endeavor to recover their property. They earnestly begged me to be the mediator between them and that hostile chief; and I was very glad when, after a good deal of dispute, the chief returned half of the spoil. It was here also that I learned that the whole population of A'ír, under the command of Háj 'Abdúwa, had gained a great victory over the Dínnik, or Awelímmiden-wén-Bodhál, and the Aréwan, or Kél-gerés. The tribe of the Kél-fadáye enjoy a great name in this region; and it is evident that, in former times, they occupied a much more conspicuous position than they do at present. Even El Bakáy himself had taken a wife from that tribe; and I was also informed here that they lay claim to a descent from sherífs.

We had a storm almost every day during our stay in this place; but, although we ourselves had very little else than a disagreeable sand-wind, there seemed to be a very heavy fall of rain in A'ribínda. In one of these thunder-storms we nearly lost our camels, which, headed by one of their companions that had lately come from A'zawád, were making straight for that district, their beloved home, and had proceeded a distance of some miles before they were overtaken.

Wednesday, May 31st. At length we pursued our journey, but only for a short march of two hours; and I was so disgusted at the repeated delays and sham traveling, that I prayed earnestly that the Almighty would speedily deliver me from this sort of bondage. Throughout our march, the bare desert, here consisting

of stony ground, torn by many small channels, closely crept up to the fertile bed of the river, where a green swampy lowland girded the present reduced sheet of water. Among the stones with which the ground was covered, fine white and red striped rock was discernible; and I observed another island, with a rocky point, toward the west.

The ground where we encamped was bleak in the extreme, without any shade, although a few hundred yards in front of us there was a fine grove of gerredh; but as these trees adorned a cemetery, my companions, from superstitious motives, were too much afraid to choose that place for their encampment. Although our camping-ground was excessively hot, I was agreeably surprised to find the water of the river so pleasantly cool at a time when the sun was high, and could only attribute this phenomenon to the rocky character of the channel and to its considerable depth. Nevertheless, crocodiles, as well as river-horses, were numerous.

In this unprotected ground we remained not only this, but the following day, although the place was as uncomfortable for the people, who were almost scorched by the heat of the sun, as it was detrimental to the animals, who found nothing to eat here. The sheikh had gone in the morning to visit Sadáktu, in the island of Zamgoy, and from thence did not join us until late in the evening. It was one of the hottest days we had had; and it was here that, about noon, we discovered in my tent a large black, poisonous *arachnæa*, or spider, the body of which measured almost two inches in diameter, and whose like my companions from Timbúktu had never seen. The Tawárek were so disgusted at the sight, that while I was attentively looking at it, after we had killed it, they threw it hastily away with their swords, so that I did not see it again; but they told me that it was the most dangerous and abominable creature to be found in these regions.

The excessive heat rendered a thunder-storm which we had in the afternoon of the second day highly acceptable, especially as the heavy gale was followed by a light rain, which greatly relieved the burning heat of the sandy soil. It was highly amusing to me to observe also, this time, that although a large leathern tent had been pitched for the sheikh, nevertheless, as was always the case when a thunder-storm arose, every body hastened to carry his treasures, especially the saddles and books, under cover of my small European tent, which had now withstood more than four years' exposure to the weather, and was mended and patched in

such a manner that the original material was scarcely discernible.

Friday, June 2d. We at length left this place, but only to move on a distance of seven or eight miles, to an encampment of a wealthy man of the name of Sídi I'lemín, who, although belonging to the tribe of the Fúlbe, was living among the Tawárek, and had been settled in the place for a great many years. The contrast between the open river, bordered by the green grassy lowlands, which at present had been laid bare by the retiring waters, and the bleak desert which closely approached it, was very remarkable, especially a short distance before we reached the encampment, where an extensive sandy eminence excluded for a while the view of the river, and with a few scattered bushes of the poisonous fernán, and the short herbage called "ellob," made one fancy one's self transported into the heart of the desert.

Along the former part of our road the low shore of the river had been clothed with a profusion of excellent býrgu, but here there was none, and the poor camels again fared very badly. In the whole of this district along the river, where trees are very scanty, the camel is reduced to the diet of býrgu, although it by no means agrees with animals accustomed to the food of the young acacia-trees and the dry herbage of the desert. All circumstances considered, my camels were in a very bad condition, and there was good reason for my kind friend and protector looking about for some fresh animals to enable me to reach more favored regions. He therefore determined to set out from this point to the nearest of his "kissib," or herds of camels, while we were to wait for him at a place called Tin-sherífen.

The river, which, in its present state, was about 900 yards from our camp, had here a very shallow, and not at all an imposing appearance, although a few miles below it enters a very rocky district, where it is inclosed by steep banks and broken by islets and cliffs. Four boats were lying on the shore. The place was called Igómaren.

The encampment of Sídi I'lemín was large, consisting of very spacious leathern tents, where Tawárek and Fúlbe, and some Arabs also, were living together in peaceful community. Although they are tolerably wealthy, they have only asses, and no horses. A good many Tawárek joined us here the day of our arrival, and, while I rewarded the most respectable among them with a small present of some kind or other, I had some difficulty

in satisfying a more powerful lord of the name of Míki, the son of Elésa; and found it still more difficult to satisfy his companion, or "énhad," who, as is very often the case in Europe, raised his pretensions much higher than his master.

The blind Simsim also accompanied us to this place, and troubled me not a little with begging a remedy for his blindness. Among other chiefs, there was one whose name seemed to me rather remarkable, as he called himself El I'sfahání; but what he or his ancestors had to do with the famous town of I'sfahán I could not make out. Sídi I'lemín treated us well with a number of large dishes of rice, but the food being prepared without any salt, I was not able to enjoy it, and was the more grateful at being furnished in the evening with a rich supply of milk.

Saturday, June 3d. While my protector directed his steps toward the desert, I, with the greater part of his followers, continued my journey along the banks of the river, which had now almost become a second home to me, and with its many backwaters, islands, and cliffs, afforded me a never-failing source of interest. About half a mile beyond our encampment we passed the site of a former settlement or dwelling-place, after which the sandy downs receded a little from the bank, affording comfortable ground for a good number of Tawárek encampments. Having then left on our right an extensive swampy lowland, which, during the highest state of the river, becomes inundated, we reached the beginning of the rocky district, through which the river has to pass. After a very short march, we encamped in a place called Himberímme, on account of the indisposition of my friend Mohammed ben Khottár.

The slope where we halted was very handsomely adorned with fine shady tabórak, and the river was here free from rocks, being divided into two branches by a low sand-bank, while a mile higher up a mighty ledge of granite rocks projected into the water. But about 1000 yards below our halting-place the river presented a very wild aspect, a considerable rocky island, consisting of immense granite blocks, together with a rocky ledge projecting from the high bank, shutting in half the breadth of the river, and forcing it, with a direction from S. 30° E. to N. 30° W., into a channel of probably not more than 350 yards broad. This remarkable place, where the river, when it is full, must form a very powerful current, is called Tin-álshiden.

The heat of the day having passed by, we continued our march, cutting off the bend of the river over a ground which was at first

bare and destitute of vegetation, but after a while became overgrown with stunted talha-trees, a few siwák, and a great profusion of retem; till, after a march of two miles, the river again approached on our right, being here free from rocks, and bordered by a grassy lowland richly clad with the famous býrgu. On our left, a few tobacco plantations gave proof of a certain degree of industry on the part of the natives, although on this side only a nomadic encampment was to be seen, but on the opposite bank a hamlet appeared. The whole of this district belongs to Tinsherífen.

As the river takes here a very winding course, meandering along between steep banks, we again left it at some distance on our right, ascending from a low swampy inlet upon higher ground, where we passed another Tawárek encampment, and then, as darkness was setting in, we again descended to the green shore, where the river seemed to be obstructed by islands. Parallel with the bank, a shallow grassy swamp stretched along, and from beyond the southern bank, a little higher up, a village was seen. On the largest of the islands, which was at the same time the nearest to our side, was the residence of Kára, the father of a young man named Sála, one of the pupils of El Bakáy. This was the reason why my companions, notwithstanding the darkness of the evening, and although the island was at present separated from the main land by a deep channel, entertained the absurd idea of crossing over to the latter. It was only after much uncertainty, and a great deal of dispute, that we decided upon encamping on the narrow neck between the swamp and the river.

In this place we remained the four following days, my protector not returning until the third day, and my patience was again put to a severe trial. But, altogether, the stay here was not so uninteresting, as we received a great many visits from the inhabitants of this and the neighboring districts. First there came Kára, the governor of the island, a stately-looking old man, dressed in a fine white tobe, with a white shawl round his head. Having entered into conversation with me, he stated, without the subject being brought forward by myself, that about fifty years ago a Christian had come down the river in a large boat with a white tent, and the river being then full, had passed without any accident the rocky passage ahead of us. But he added that the Kél-terárart had attacked him at Zamgoy. Park had passed this place in the morning, while he (Kára) was encamped with his people on the sandy

downs of A'ribínda. This chief himself, although he was not at all hospitable, had really something in his demeanor which might indicate a descent from a nobler stock, but the rest of the inhabitants of the island had much the same appearance as the less noble tribes of the Tawárek in general. However, there is no doubt that the name of the whole district, Tin-sherífen, is taken from the supposed origin of these people—from sherífs. And here in this district, as well as in the neighboring one of Burrum, where the great river, after having made this remarkable bend into the heart of the desert, changes its easterly course into a southeasterly one, we must evidently look for the earliest Mohammedan settlers along the Niger.

I here also first came into more intimate relation with that remarkable tribe the Kél e' Súk, who seem to deserve a great deal of attention among these nomadic tribes, although I am not yet able to elucidate all the points connected with their history, for they themselves take very little interest in historical facts, and if there exist written records they are not generally known. But this much is certain, that these Kél e' Súk have been so called from a place, Súk, or at least generally called Súk,* situated at the distance of five days' journey from this point, and six from Gógó, which seems to have been a very considerable place in former times, but was destroyed in the latter half of the fifteenth century by Sonni 'Alí, the great predecessor of the still greater conqueror Háj Mohammed A'skíá. The original name of this place I did not succeed in making out, but it is no doubt that very place which, by El Bekrí† and other Arab geographers, after the name of the tribe, has been called Tademékket, and which, till the middle of the seventeenth century, ruled over this region.

This large and well-built town appears to have been the centre of various tribes, although I can scarcely conceive that my informants were right when they asserted that their ancestors had been living there, together with the Hogár and the Kélowí, as from this statement, if it were true, we should have in this place

* The reader need not be under the impression that the name "súk" indicates Arabic influence, for the word is of the most extensive Semitic range.

† El Bekrí, who is the only reliable authority, in the edition of de Slane, p. 181, *et seq.* The distance of nine days from Gógó, according to El Bekrí, is to be regarded as the rate for heavily-laden caravans, corresponding well to six days of light camels or mehára. See the itinerary from Tawát to this place, in the Appendix. Of the (erroneous) derivation of the name of the town, I have spoken on a former occasion. See *ante*, p. 335.

a much more remarkable example of a community founded by several Berber tribes together than is afforded by the history of A'gades. Be this as it may, the name of Súk has settled upon this tribe, who still form quite a separate body, being distinguished from the neighboring tribes for their learning and peaceable pursuits.

Besides several respectable men of this tribe, I received a visit also from Nássaru, a daughter of one of their chiefs named Khozématen. She was one of the finest women that I saw in this country. Her decent apparel contributed not a little to increase her beauty, for over her under-gown she wore an upper garment of red and black silk, in alternate stripes, which she occasionally drew over her head. Her features were remarkable for their soft expression and regularity, but her person rather inclined to corpulency, which is highly esteemed by the Tawárek. Seeing that I took an interest in her, she half-jokingly proposed that I should marry her; and I declared myself ready to take her with me if one of my rather weak camels should be found able to support her weight. As a mark of distinction I presented her with a looking-glass, which I was always accustomed to give to the most handsome woman in an encampment, the rest receiving nothing but needles. She returned the next day with some of her relations, who were equally distinguished for their comeliness, and who were anxious to obtain a glimpse of me, not less than of the Sheikh el Bakáy. These noble Tawárek ladies furnished a remarkable example of the extreme liberty which the females belonging to this tribe enjoy; and I was greatly astonished to see the pipe pass continually from their mouths to those of the men, and from the latter back again into the mouths of the women. In other respects, I can only hope that they surpass the female portion of the population of Tademékka, of whose virtue El Bekrí speaks in rather doubtful terms.

Less agreeable than the company of these people was the arrival of the blind Simsim, who, it seems, had been rather disappointed in his expectation of having his sight restored, although my friend had contrived to get from him a present of a camel and a female slave. We were here also at length joined by A'hmed Wadáwi, the principal pupil of the sheikh, whom I scarcely expected to see again; but, being fully aware of the slow and deliberate character of his master, he felt convinced that he could never come too late. Altogether I was glad that he had arrived, for,

although apt to make great pretensions, and being inspired with too great zeal for his creed, he was nevertheless a cheerful and good-natured man, and, on account of his considerable learning and his knowledge of the Tawárek chiefs, might be of great service to me after having separated from the sheikh. He had, besides, acquired some useful experience with regard to the difference between the straightforward and trustworthy character of a Christian and the treachery and cunning of an Arab; for having in the beginning constantly taken the part of my former guide, Weled A'mmer Waláti, against myself, he had been cheated in return for his friendship by that rascal, and, in order to get from him what was due to him, had been obliged to pursue him to A'ribínda. He brought the news from Timbúktu that the rebel chief A'khbi, whom we had been unable to persuade to return to his former allegiance, was collecting an army against Alkúttabu.

The whole time of our stay at Tin-sherífen the weather was excessively hot, the heat being felt the more severely, as there was not the slightest shade near our encampment; and as my tent was almost insupportably hot, in order to obtain a little shade I wandered to a considerable distance up the slope which rose behind our encampment, and here lay down under a small hájilíj, or tabórak. From this spot I had an interesting view over the river, which, on account of its peculiar features, here deserved my full attention, and even more than I was able at the time to bestow upon it, as, in the absence of my protector, my companions were rather anxious about my safety. My young and cheerful friend, Mohammed ben Khottár, was suffering all this time from severe indisposition, so that I had no one to rove about with me. A little lower down, the road recedes from the bank of the river for a short distance, and hence I am not able to lay down the river, between this place and Tósaye, with that minuteness of detail which it deserves, in order to facilitate navigation. Under other circumstances, I should have made a special drawing of this remarkable locality on a larger scale; but the assertion of the natives, that Park, in his large boat (his majesty's schooner Joliba), had passed through in December or January without accident, reassured me perfectly. Besides, as I myself had to travel all along the bank of the river by land, I had to take care not to excite too much the suspicions of the natives.

From this spot I had a clear prospect over the point where the river, issuing forth from between the islands, is shut in by two

masses of rock, called, I think, Shabór* and Barrór, which obstructed it like a sort of iron gate, although the passage between them, especially at high water, appeared to be open and clear. In summer, however, during the lowest state of the river, the difficulty of the navigation is greatly increased by the sand-bank which is formed a little above this strait between the islands and the bank. On the island where the chief Kála resided, also, a mass of rock, which at times, in the sunlight of the afternoon, appeared like a snow-white boulder of quartz rock, started forth like an artificial terrace. Higher up, the river was encompassed in its winding course by steep banks; but, in one spot, on the opposite shore, where the sandy downs formed a recess, a low grassy headland or island was formed, which at the time was enlivened by numbers of horses, cattle, and sheep, and was adorned by stately trees, especially a fine group of dúm palms; for dúm palms apparently begin to prevail here, and lower down the river are found occasionally in great numbers. The slope itself, from whence I overlooked this scenery, consisted entirely of rock. Quartz and mica slate were visible every where, and an uninterrupted ledge of the latter mineral set right across with an inclination toward east. The evenings were beautiful, and nothing afforded me greater delight than to walk along the fine sandy beach far into the river. During the lowest state of the water, this beach forms a junction between the main land and the island where Kála resided.

Our attention was also attracted to some young zangway, the small species of alligator, which every evening raised their cry from the swamp where they were left by their dams. It sounds like the barking of a dog, and it appeared to us as if they were bred purposely in this backwater, in order that they might not fall a prey to some larger animal in the river.

CHAPTER LXXVII.

TO'SAYE, OR THE NARROWING OF THE RIVER.—BURRUM; ANCIENT RELATION TO EGYPT.—GREAT SOUTH-SOUTHEASTERLY REACH.

At length, in the course of the 8th, my protector returned from his herd of camels, or, as the Arabs call it, "kissib," bringing with

* I am not quite certain whether Shabór may not be the name of the island and not of the rock.

him seven fresh camels. He was accompanied by a nobleman of the country, and a near relative of his, of the name of Sídi 'Alí. Soon after his arrival, he came expressly to ask me whether one of our steam-boats would be able to cross this rocky passage, and I told him that, as far as I had been able to investigate the character of the locality from this point, I thought there was not much difficulty for a small boat or launch, at least during the highest state of the river. In the evening he sent me a small bullock to cut up for our journey, and a short time afterward a camel, in order to supply the place of the most exhausted of my animals, and it now appeared as if we were fully prepared to pursue our journey at a more accelerated rate.

Friday, June 9th. Having taken leave of all the new friends whose acquaintance I had made here, I started at a rather late hour, first keeping along the shore, but, after having proceeded about 1400 yards, turning away, and, with a northeasterly direction, entering the stony slope of the desert plateau, which here consisted of black sandstone in a state of decomposition. At this spot, where I was obliged to keep away from the bank, the great rocky ledge, to which Barrór belongs, crosses the river. This rock, not being illumined to-day by the sun, exhibited the same black character which is peculiar to the whole locality, and there is no doubt that it intercepts the navigation for larger boats during a great part of the year.

The bare rocky slope was succeeded by sandy downs, which surrounded and inclosed small irregular vales, the bottom of which was formed of small black stones. A little farther on we passed the locality called Tin-rássen, where Sadáktu had once vanquished a superior force led by A'khbi, who, notwithstanding the close relation which subsisted between them, had come to attack him. The women, hurrying forth from the encampment, had met their kinsfolk with bare breasts, which they held forth to them as having suckled their kindred, and implored them, for the sake of their near relationship, not to shed the blood of their own kinsmen. But this appeal for mercy being without effect, Sadáktu and his handful of men, inspired with fear for the lives of their wives and children, and fighting with the courage of despair, had beaten the superior force of his arrogant relation, and killed nine free men of his tribe.

A little more than half a mile beyond Tin-rássen we again reached the river, at that remarkable place called Tósaye, or Tósé,

where the noble Niger is compressed between steep banks to a breadth perhaps of not more than 150 yards, but of such a depth that, as I have before observed, the bottom has not been found by the natives. Here the sheikh, who, as in general, had slept till late in the morning, overtook us, and seemed much interested when I told him that I thought a small, strong-built steamer might safely cross this obstructed passage, as, in the case of the current being too strong, it might be assisted by chains fastened to the rocks. The locality is of the greatest importance, on account of the intercourse between the desert and the province of Libtáko, as the Arabs of A'zawád in general prefer crossing the river at this point, which, although very deep, is easily passed by the camels and cattle, while in other places they have to swim for miles.

Immediately beyond this narrowing of the river the sandy downs cease, and a low stony level, of black, dismal color, stretched out before us. The river, winding along this tract in a north-easterly bend, and illumined by the dazzling light of the sun, scarcely appeared to be the same large and noble stream which I had admired higher up. The black, stony ground was torn by several small channels, and being only sparingly clad with the sad-looking, poisonous bush, the "fernán," exhibited a very melancholy appearance. But gradually, as we descended from this rough ground upon the green shore, clothed with the rank grass of the býrgu, the river again began to widen, and to assume its former noble character, while a little farther on a large island, called "A'dar-n-háut," was formed, separated from the main land by a narrow channel. We encamped opposite the place where the latter again joins the principal branch, and where, in the present low state of the river, a ledge of rock was seen projecting a considerable distance into the water, and numerous isolated cliffs starting forth from their middle course. I chose my camping-ground a few hundred yards from the shore, among the trees, where we found some shelter during the hot hours of the day; and I even remained here during the following night, although all the people tried to frighten me with the assurance that the lions which infest the neighborhood would not leave a bone of my horses and camels.

We were visited in this encampment by the inhabitants of the opposite island, who, although belonging to the mixed tribe of the Rumá, have a much better appearance than their brethren in

Bámba. Their chief, of the name of Mohammed, was greatly distinguished by his fine glossy skin, his beautiful black and lively eyes, and his regular Circassian features. The dress of these people, however, is every where the same—white shirts of the commonest and coarsest make, sewed together of narrow strips (only persons of higher rank adorn them with a little silk embroidery), and long white trowsers, besides a miserable bandage of native cotton tied round the head, over which some of them wore another bandage of red cloth. All of them had slung over their shoulders the open leathern belt with which they gird their waists in case of emergency. The intelligence of these people seemed very limited, and it was impossible for me to enter into any serious conversation with them. I was, however, fortunately enabled to buy some rice with cotton strips.

Saturday, June 10th. As if I was destined to spend my whole life in this region, we this day only moved on three miles, keeping close along the shore of the river, which here formed several islands, and gradually took a more southerly direction. The whole of this part of the river, the valley of which, including the islands, measures certainly more than three miles in breadth, is called Burrum, and was formerly one of the chief seats of the Songhay. There is a remarkable tradition that a Pharaoh once came from Egypt to this spot, and again returned. This story would at least imply an early intercourse with Egypt, and should not, I think, be viewed incredulously; for, if it had no foundation whatever, it would certainly attach to the capital of the nation itself, and not to a place which possesses no great historical importance. But, on the other hand, it is highly interesting to observe that this is the spot where the great river, which here makes a bend from a westeasterly into a southerly direction, is nearest to Egypt. Let it be farther taken into account that the inhabitants of the oasis of Aújila, which lies on the great commercial road from Egypt to these regions, were the first who opened this western part of Negroland to the intercourse of the Arabs. The whole history of Songhay points to Egypt; the itinerary of the route of the Nasamones, if rightly constructed, inclines to this quarter; and it is easily to be understood how Herodotus,* on receiving the news that so large a river was running eastward, in such a northerly latitude as nearly 18°, could conceive the opinion that this was the Upper Nile. Even in more modern times, we find

* Book ii., chap. xxxii., *τὴν ὁδὸν ποιευμένους πρὸς ζέφυρον ἄνεμον.*

Egyptian merchants established from the eleventh century in the town of Bíru, or Waláta, side by side with those of Ghadámes and Tafilélet; the principal commerce of Gágho and Kúkia was directed toward Egypt, and the large commercial entrepôt—Súk—of the tribe of the Tademékka, about one hundred miles from Burrum, on that great high road, was evidently founded for that purpose.

Formerly there were three villages, containing a considerable population, till, about eleven years ago,* the Fúlbe, under the command of 'Abd Alláhi, the uncle of the present ruler of Másina, who at that time was a very energetic and warlike chieftain, made an expedition to this place with about 6000 horse and 20,000 foot, while the whole of the Tawárek, the Awelímmiden, Igwádaren, and Tademékket, collected together near Tóndibi, did not dare to offer them open battle. Destroying, then, those villages of Burrum, the Fúlbe transferred the whole population, consisting of nearly 4000 people, into the neighborhood of Gúndam.

A good deal of rice is here cultivated, the cultivation of that article in this region being said to have proceeded from this very locality, a fact which is of the greatest interest as regards the ancient intercourse with Egypt. Even now, those among the rest of the inhabitants of Burrum who belong to the Tawárek tribe of the Tademékket are distinguished for their wealth and their more refined manners; and I here made the acquaintance of two eminent men among them, named E'nnas and Gedéma, the latter particularly remarkable for his corpulency.

At the place where we chose our encampment, the low grassy shore was greatly compressed, a steep bank of black sandstone rising to about thirty feet elevation close behind us, and forming at the top a flat level, strewn with black pebbles, which, if a person turned his back to the river, offered almost the same view as the most dreary part of the waste; but as soon as one directed one's eyes southward the picture was entirely reversed; a magnificent stream, studded with rich grassy islands and affording the most refreshing breeze, appeared in sight.

The sheikh had so many dealings with the inhabitants of the islands opposite our encampment, that he was obliged to stay here several days; but, in order to satisfy me, he made us move on a little. However, we only proceeded for about the distance of a mile, leaving this steep rocky bank behind us, the ground remain-

* This passage was written in 1854.

ing stony, clad with nothing but small stunted trees. Here we encamped again near the border of the green shore, where alone the soil was soft enough to admit the pegs, opposite a long sand-bank, which was the resort of numerous flocks of white water-fowl. Of course this sort of progress did not exactly suit my wishes, and, in order to soothe my discontent, El Bakáy, soon after we had encamped, paid me a long visit, in order to cheer me up, telling me that he had heard that there really had been, as I conjectured myself, a letter from Háj Beshír, with my parcel, and enumerating those of his pupils, or télamíd, whom he wanted to send along with me.

There being no stated market-place all along this river, the buying of provisions is sometimes accompanied with a great deal of trouble; and although the only produce of this district is rice, that article is never to be obtained in a prepared state. Nothing but kókesh, that is to say, rice in the husk, is procurable; and this is a circumstance not to be overlooked by Europeans who attempt the navigation of this river, as they must always be prepared to lose some time in getting ready and cleaning their rice. I here bought the néffeka of this kind of rice for two dr'a of tári, equal to forty shells. Butter fetched twenty dr'a per néffeka.

During our two days' stay in this place I received some valuable information from some Arabs of the tribe of the Welád Molúk, who were settled in A'ribínda, that is to say, on the southern bank of the river, and kept up a small trade with Libtáko, which is distant from here about ten days' march. The river being here so broad, it did not at all surprise me to hear from these people that, in average years, during the lowest state of the river, it is fordable in several places.

Far more interesting than the visit of these mixed Berbers was that of a man called Mohammed, who, with eight companions, was on his way from Gógó, his native place, to Bámba by water, in a middle-sized boat, thus proving that the water communication between those places was still kept up, notwithstanding the total political ruin of the country, and that, too, at the present season of the year, when the water was at its very lowest. He was a wealthy man, belonging to the mulatto stock of the Rumá, and spoke only Songhay. He also brought me the latest news from the districts farther eastward, and I was glad to hear that, owing to the rebel army of Zabérma having been beaten by the Governor of Támkala, the road by Say was open.

Tuesday, June 13th. Having had a thunder-storm during the latter part of the night, with a heavy squall of wind, but without rain, we started at a rather late hour along the grassy shore, which gradually becomes lower, and is filled with numerous small ponds, till, after proceeding a little more than a mile, rocky ground began to rise to the surface on our left. It soon assumed the form of steep cliffs, rising to the height of about 120 feet; but although during the inundation it is closely approached by the river, at present a narrow passage was left along the green shore. A heavy gale raised the waves of the river to a considerable height; but the sky was so overcast and enveloped in fog that nothing of the opposite shore was to be discovered.

Numerous small torrents had intersected the cliffs, while a thick bush of an unknown species lined the foot of them. A little farther on, while slightly decreasing in height, the rocks became more regularly stratified, presenting numerous crevices and caverns.

Having then passed a place where the cliffs formed a deep recess, the low grassy shore extending far into the river, we were obliged to ascend the higher level for a while, an open branch coming close up to the foot of the rocks. We, however, descended again after a little more than half a mile, near two magnificent sycamores, and encamped at 11 o'clock in the midst of a dense growth of dúm bushes, while the sheikh himself pitched his tent on the top of the downs, near an encampment of Kél-tenákse, a division of the Kél e' Súk, to whom belonged also another encampment upon an island in the river.

The sandy shore, thickly covered with dúm bush, was represented to us as the retreat of numerous lions, and we were warned not to encamp here; but we preferred exposing ourselves to this slight danger, as the strong wind did not allow us to pitch our tents on the top of the downs. We had scarcely made ourselves comfortable, when a great multitude of people belonging to the different tribes settled in the neighborhood—Tawárek, Kél e' Súk, Rumá, and Songhay gathered round us. Many of them had fine features, while others bore distinctly the African character. The Kél e' Súk, who seemed to presume upon their learning, scanty as it was, brought forward their religious prejudices, and I had a sharp disputation with them.

The whole of this district still belongs to Burrum. The Rumá seemed to have also a hamlet of their own in this tract on an island in the river, and appeared to be tolerably well off. A great

deal of rice is cultivated hereabouts. I bought some, and had it pounded by two females, one of whom, during her work, laughed and made merry almost without interruption, while her companion, who was of a more sullen temper, rendered herself guilty of theft, but was caught in the fact.

Almost all the slaves of these Tawárek wear nothing but a leathern dress, that of the females consisting only of a long apron, while the males very often provide themselves with a tight shirt or kilt of the same material.

From all that I observed, I must conclude that the state of the morals of these Tawárek slaves is very low, particularly those of the Kél e' Súk. The latter were formerly the inhabitants of fixed settlements on the borders of the desert, where a great deal of foreign commerce centred, and have thence contracted manners which were strange to their origin. But we must remember that, from the most ancient times, prostitution, as a proof of hospitality, has been in practice among various Berber tribes of North Africa.

Wednesday, June 14th. Having staid here during the forenoon, we started late in the day. My protector remained behind in order to settle some business, while I proceeded in advance with the most trustworthy of his pupils, first keeping close along the river, which here seemed to be of considerable depth quite near the shore, but farther on turning away to some distance from it, through the plain, which was here well clad with small talha-trees. Thus, after a march of about four miles from our former encampment, we ascended sandy downs, behind which a broad belt of swampy meadow ground stretched along at a distance of more than two miles from the river itself. The higher level soon became more rocky, being strewn with black pebbles, between which numerous footprints of the giraffe were visible. It was pleasantly undulating, a ledge of sandstone and calcareous rock intersecting it like a wall. Having here heard from a shepherd who was watering his flock at a small pond formed by the recent fall of rain that there was an encampment at some distance, we gave to our course a more southerly direction, and soon reached a village lying at the very brink of the steep bank of the river, consisting of huts, and inhabited conjointly by some Arabs of the tribe of the Bú-'Alí, and some poorer members of the tribe of the Kél e' Súk. The huts consisted of matting, and were very clean and well ventilated, each of them having two doors, one on the north and another on the south side, both of moderate dimensions.

It was late in the evening when we arrived here, and there being an entire want of trees, we had great difficulty in obtaining a little fire-wood; nor was there any good býrgu for the horses, the river, which here divided into two branches, being too deep to allow this rank grass, which prefers the swampy lowlands, to grow to any extent. The poverty of the inhabitants, also, could not at all satisfy the wants of my companions, who were very fond of a good supper; hence El Bakáy himself, who was well aware of this circumstance, had passed this locality, and, notwithstanding the lateness of the hour, directed his steps to another encampment farther on. This was also the reason of our following day's march being limited to a few hundred yards. We thus exchanged our encampment at Isábegen for that of El Bakáy's at Asákan Imbégge; but the change was by no means advantageous to us, as the high level presented here a most dreary aspect, being almost totally destitute of trees or shrubs. The border of the river, however, bore a very different character, and the swampy lowlands extended to a great distance, intersected by a dead water which at present had no connection with the river. The profusion of herbage which grew in this locality enabled me to buy here a good supply of butter, although the country in general appeared to be very bleak. A large island, also, is formed in the river, which is inhabited by Songhay, and called E'ha. The previous afternoon, we had observed ahead of us, to the east, a mountain chain called A'seghárbu, and we now saw it more distinctly, stretching from east to west 15° south.

We had scarcely pitched our tents when we were visited by a great number of Tawárek of the tribe of the Tin-ger-égedesh, who were encamped at a short distance with their chiefs Amáre and Sadáktu. They were distinguished by their noble countenance and superior style of dress, and in both respects resembled the Tarabanása, whose enemies they are. Most of them wore black tobes, the black alternately interchanging with a white band; and I counted not less than fifty of them, all decent-looking men. After a while I became very good friends with them, although the commencement of our intercourse was rather awkward. They had had some dealings with Mungo Park, whose policy it was to fire at any one who approached him in a threatening attitude;*

* It was this policy of Mungo Park, which he no doubt adopted much against his own inclination, that inspired Major Laing, when he heard of it in Tawát, with such ominous dread of the fate which might await himself. In one of his letters, which

and having lost some of their tribe by his well-directed balls, they kept at first at some distance from me, viewing me with a rather suspicious and malevolent eye. But when they observed that I had entered into cheerful conversation with some of their party they convinced themselves that I did not belong to the class of wild beasts, or "táwakast;" for such, from the reception they had met with from Park, they had supposed all Europeans to be. I even, to my great astonishment, found here, with one of the Kél e' Súk, the life of Bruce, published by Murray in 1835, and which most probably had been the property of Davidson, the Kél e' Súk having brought it from A'zawád, where it had been taken by Hámma, a younger brother of El Baḳáy, who, about the time of Davidson's journey, had paid a visit to Tawát and the country of the 'Aríb. It was almost complete, only ten leaves being wanting, and I bought it for three benáíg, or strips of indigo-dyed cotton. It had been used as a talisman, an Arabic charm having been added to it.

Here, as in general, I allayed the suspicions of the people, and made them more familiar by showing them some pictures of men of various tribes. Notwithstanding the great distance which separated my tent from the encampment, none of the women remained behind, all being anxious to have a look at this curious and novel exhibition; and having been sent about their business when they came in the daytime, they again returned toward night in such numbers that my people, being anxious for the safety of my small tent, which became endangered by these unwieldy creatures, endeavored to frighten them away with powder. But all was in vain; they would not stir till they had seen the pictures, which, in accordance with the disposition of each, excited their great delight or amazement. My custom, which I have mentioned before, of honoring the handsomest woman in every encampment with a looking-glass, created here a great struggle for the honor; but I was so unfortunate as to hurt the feelings of a mother by giving the prize of beauty to her daughter, who was rather a handsome person.

I had the opportunity of inspecting through the kindness of General Sabine, he exclaims, after having mentioned that he met a Tárki who had been wounded by Mungo Park: "How imprudent, how unthinking! I may even say how selfish was it in Park to attempt to make discoveries in this country at the expense of the blood of the inhabitants, and to the exclusion of all after-communication; how unjustifiable was such conduct!" It was on this account that Major Laing sent back the sailors that he had with him, and almost gave up his design of navigating the river below Timbúktu.

We remained here the following day, when we had, in the morning, a considerable fall of rain, which lasted several hours, and drenched the sheikh and his followers in their leathern tent, while my old and worn white bell tent, pitched in this open hammáda, withstood the rain beautifully, to the great astonishment of the Tawárek, who all came, soon after the rain was over, to see if I had not been swamped in my frail dwelling, which, before, they had looked upon with contempt.

I had afterward a very important controversy with the sheikh's people, in which I had to make use of all my energy in order to carry out my intention of following up the shores of the river: for the Kél e' Súk wanted to persuade the sheikh to enter here the open desert, and to make straight for the encampment of their chief, Khozématen, who, they said, would provide me with every thing necessary for my farther journey. They were seconded in their endeavor by all the eloquence of A'hmed Wadáwi, El Bakáy's favorite pupil, who asserted that, after the heavy rains that had fallen, the desert afforded plenty of herbage for the horses. But I opposed these arguments in the most determined manner, assuring the sheikh that, even if he should go, I would not, but that I should pursue my route straight along the river; and, in order to make an impression on his mind, I reminded him of the distinct promise which he had given me of conducting me to Gógó. The sheikh then, seeing that I was firm, adhered to his word, and it was therefore decided that a message should be sent to the chiefs of the Kél e' Súk to the effect that they were to meet us in Gógó, while we continued our march along the river.

Thus we left this cheerless camping-ground in the afternoon, and soon descended by a gradual inclination from the higher desert tract, which, however, after the heavy rain that had fallen in the morning, was full of pools of stagnant water. We then passed several encampments, till we reached the low grassy shore of the river, when the high ground on our left was intersected by several dry water-courses, and obliged us, although only for a short time, to exchange the green bottom for the rocky slope at a place where a branch of the river, which approached closely, was full of crocodiles.

Entering then an open grassy plain intersected by several channels, and making our way with difficulty through this swampy ground, called Erárar, we reached about dark an encampment of Kél e' Súk, at the border of an open branch of the river, which

was here about 400 yards broad. The locality was called Tabórak, though not a single tree was to be seen hereabouts; the whole district is here still called E'ha. The open river afforded a very pleasant sight, as, during the last few days, I had seen nothing but swampy creeks. Toward the southeast the watery plain was bounded by Mount Tóndibi, which juts out into the river in the shape of a promontory of considerable elevation. The locality, however, was so very unhealthy, that I could not long enjoy the fresh air outside, but was obliged to retire into my tent at an early hour.

Saturday, June 17th. On leaving our camping-ground in the morning we had to cross two small creeks, and then, keeping along the swampy plain, soon got entangled in a larger sheet of water, which stretched along the foot of Mount Tóndibi, and appeared to intercept our passage. We therefore thought it better to get out of the swampy ground, which here was full of water covered with water-lilies, and to ascend the sandy downs, where we passed another ámazagh of the Tin-ger-égedesh. There is no doubt that this swampy plain, for several months of the year, presents one uninterrupted sheet of water. Thus we ascended the northerly offshoots of Mount Tóndibi, which formed undulating sandy downs, stretching forth from the foot of the rocky mount, and richly clad with dúm bush; but we soon passed them, and descended again on the other side into the grassy swampy plain, at present dry, but intersected by a creek every now and then. The river was at a considerable distance.

A mile beyond we reached an encampment of the Kél e' Súk, consisting of reed huts, and at the instigation of the Wadáwi, in the absence of the sheikh, made a halt and unloaded our camels, when we suddenly received counter-orders, and, reloading our camels with great alacrity, proceeded on our march. The plain was here intersected by several winding channels, where we observed numerous herds of cattle and flocks of sheep belonging to the slaves of Khozématen, who, like all the Tawárek, were about to leave the river, and to enter the region of the desert, and the mountainous tract of A'derár, where, in consequence of the rains, fresh herbage was springing up.*

* I here subjoin a list of the names of the most celebrated wells and pasture-grounds of A'derár, some of which were, at a former period, the sites of wealthy towns: Amásin, A'raba, Tin-darán, Yúnhan or Gúnhan, Súk or e' Súk, Ijenshíshen, A'zel-adár, Kídal, a very fine district; E'n-dé-shedáit, Taghelíb, Marret, Talábit, Ta-

Here we ascended the sandy downs, keeping close along the green border of the bot-há, and passing two small encampments, till we descended again from the rising ground into the green bed of the valley, which was here about three miles broad, and richly overgrown with daman-kádda interspersed between the dúm bush, with which the small isolated sandy downs were adorned, besides a little "'ashur," tursha, or *Asclepias*. But we soon received another serious warning not to trust to this low swampy ground, for we suddenly observed a considerable sheet of water, which seemed to be connected with the principal river, extending in front of us, so that we were obliged to regain the higher ground.

While riding a while by myself I was much amused in observing our motley troop, consisting of about thirty individuals, some mounted on horses, riding singly or in pairs, others on camels, others again toiling along on foot, some armed with guns, and some with spears, and all in different attire, moving along this low swampy ground, where it rose a few feet above the deepest bottom, and was well lined with bush. It being then noon, the sun was very powerful, and when we reached the drier ground the heat became very troublesome. My companions, therefore, were well pleased when we reached a village of the Songhay, or rather of that division of them which is called Ibawájiten, or Ibáujiten, hoping that they should be able to get some refreshment; but the Songhay, now that they have lost almost all their national independence, and are constantly exposed to all sorts of contributions, are inhospitable in the extreme; and they pointed out to us the encampment of their chief at a considerable distance along the river, where we were to look for quarters. The whole district is called Abúba.

Following the example of my companions, who were lightly laden and not very cautious, I was induced once more to enter the swampy grounds; and, being obliged to cross two boggy channels, we regained with difficulty the sandy downs, which were enlivened with three separate groups of dúm palms, which adorned a cemetery. Here we encamped in a small field, inclosed with fernán, but at present empty, the locality being called Fágoná.

The situation on these high downs was so conspicuous, that my tent, being visible at a great distance over the valley, attracted a

dakkét, A'sway, An-emellen, An-sáttefen, Asheróbbak, Tin-záwaten, Tájemart, Eléwi, Dohendal, Tin-ajóla, E'n-rar, Ejárak, A'shu, A'lkit, Takelhút, Dafelliána, E'n-áfara.

great proportion of the neighboring population, among whom there were also some Rumá. A few of them were even mounted on horses, although of a very unseemly breed. They were seated upon a very awkward kind of saddle, which was merely thrown over the horse's back without a belly-band, and quite low behind. Their dress was also poor, and of the same character as that of the inhabitants of Bámba and Ghérgo. All these people belong to the tribe of the Ibawájiten, and were remarkable for more than ordinary ignorance. Many of them came to solicit medicine from me; and one can not wonder that, in such a locality, a great deal of sickness prevails, for the whole river is almost entirely lost in a broad shallow valley of about three miles in width, which, in its present low condition, bordered by steep banks, was nothing but a labyrinth of small creeks, intercepting swampy meadow grounds, although, during the higher state of the inundation, it must be filled up by the river, and form one large stream. Seeing so few trees hereabout, I was astonished to hear all the people speak of the number of lions which infested this district; they even begged us urgently to be upon our guard against them during the night.

Sunday, June 18th. Having heard nothing of lions or wild beasts during the night, we prepared early for our departure, but were detained some time, as the sheikh had again business to transact as a general pacificator; these Ibawájiten having purchased two of the slaves whom Sadáktu had taken from the people of Bámba, and not feeling inclined to return them. At length we started, but found it extremely difficult to avoid a wide swampy creek which deeply indented the country, while it afforded a beautiful field for the cultivation of rice, and even in the present decayed state of the country was not left wholly unprofitable. At length, having passed several small channels, we regained the border of the sandy downs, which were richly clothed with vegetation, although the melancholy-looking fernán bush here also vindicates its right beside the retem and the talha-tree.

We at length resumed our southerly direction, but were not allowed for any length of time to follow a straight course across this swampy ground, being recalled by some of our companions, who conducted us to a sandy promontory, with projecting granite blocks and dúm bushes, where the sheikh had made a halt, opposite an encampment of the Songhay, in the "Ammas," as the Imóshagh call the bottom of the valley. Although I was sorry to break off our march so soon, the view from this place was highly

interesting, as it afforded a distant prospect over the river, if I may so call a broad swampy valley, hemmed in by steep banks, inclosing in the midst an abundance of rank grass, and scarcely affording at the present time the aspect of an open sheet of water, smaller and larger creeks, and more extensive ponds being formed in every direction. But the most curious sight was that presented by the river a little higher up, where, corresponding to the deep gulf which we had turned round in the morning, there appeared on the opposite side another swampy gulf, the whole width of the valley at that place being scarcely less than eight miles. It is evident, from all that I saw here, that the navigable branch of the river runs on the side of A'ribínda, that is to say, the southern bank.

As it had been decided that we should remain here during the night, we had already pitched our tents, and made ourselves comfortable, when our companions, having been informed that in a neighboring encampment there was a better prospect of a good supper, suddenly started off, although a thunder-storm gathered with threatening appearance over our heads; but, fortunately, the encampment was not far distant, and the storm passed by without rain. This encampment belonged to the Kél e' Súk, and was very considerable. The next morning several very decent-looking men were introduced to me by my officious friend, A'hmed el Wadáwi, when they assured me that the whole road to Say was safe. All these people, who possess a small degree of learning, and pride themselves in writing a few phrases from the Kurán, were extremely anxious to obtain some scraps of paper, and I was glad to be still enabled, besides small strips of black cotton cloth and needles, to give away some trifling presents of this kind.

When we left the encampment, which was at about 800 yards from the outer bank of the river, the country assumed quite a different aspect, and we had soon to descend a rough rocky passage of blackened sandstone, interspersed with granite blocks, in a great state of decomposition, and, passing several encampments of Tawárek, of the tribe of the I'medídderen, we entered a plain richly wooded with talha, hájilíj, retem, fernán, and the poisonous euphorbia, which, as is generally the case, grew in the shade of the talha-trees.

We very nearly became embroiled in a serious quarrel with the inhabitants of one of these camps, who seized a small box which I had given to the sheikh, and which one of his young slaves was

carrying. I was riding in advance, and the people allowed me to pass unmolested, contenting themselves with putting some questions to me. The whole country was in a state of great agitation, a rumor having got abroad that I, in conjunction with the sheikh, was to establish here a new kingdom. But a few considerate admonitions from the more respectable members of the troop brought the Tawárek to reason; and it was very curious to witness the theatrical attitudes which one of these simple-minded but energetic original inhabitants of North Africa made use of, in order to demonstrate to the author of the riot the absurdity of his proceedings.

After some slight delay caused by this theatrical *intermezzo*, we put our little troop once more in motion, following our former southerly direction till we were overtaken by a messenger from the sheikh with the order that we were to approach nearer the river. Proceeding, therefore, in a southwesterly direction, we soon came to the exterior embankment of the river reached by its waters during the highest state of the inundation, and girt by a dense grove of dúm bush and talha-trees, but destitute of the nutritious býrgu.

In this locality, which is called Kókoro, we made a halt in order to wait for El Bakáy; but, as he did not come, and as we were unable to stay in this wilderness where no encampment was near, we moved on in the afternoon, with an almost exact southerly direction, toward Gógó, G'awó, or Ghágo, the celebrated capital of the Songhay empire. We first kept along the border of the green swampy creek, which farther on presented an open sheet of water, while on our left, between the dense dúm bush, dúm palms also began to appear. But about two miles farther on, leaving the creek for a while, we ascended sandy downs, where, from the deserted site of a former ámazagh, bearing evident traces of having been the resting-place of a numerous herd of cattle, my companions descried in the distance the tops of the palm-trees of Gógó, while I strained my eyes in vain, filled as I was with the most ardent desire of at length reaching that place.

Descending then into a slight depression, we reached a larger fáddama, which soon after was joined by a considerable branch from the northwest, gradually filling with water as we advanced, and forming an arm of the river. From beyond the other side a very comfortable-looking encampment became visible, and almost induced my companions to give up the plan of reaching the deso-

GHAGO, OR GOGO.

late site of the former capital of this Nigritian empire; but the fine tamarind-trees and the beautiful date palms burst now too distinctly upon our view to allow me to relinquish the pleasure of reaching them without farther delay. It was a most interesting and cheering sight to behold a large expanse of fields of native corn take the place of the desert. The whole country became one open cultivable level, uninterrupted by any downs; and I thought at that moment that we had bid farewell to the desert forever, and entered the fertile region of Central Negroland, an expectation which, however, was not fully realized by what I observed farther on. But here, at least, even in the present decayed state of the country, there were some remains of industry, and the stubble-fields of sába, or sorghum, were succeeded by tobacco plantations, and, after a slight interruption, by rice-grounds under water. However, darkness set in before we reached the miserable hovels of Gógó, and we encamped on a large open area, bordered round about by detached huts of matting, from which the ruins of a large tower-like building of clay arose to a considerable height, and by a fine grove of rich trees, running on into a dense underwood of siwák. The river was not visible from this point.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

THE ANCIENT CAPITAL OF SONGHAY AND ITS NEIGHBORHOOD.

Tuesday, June 20th. As soon as I had made out that Gógó was the place which for several centuries had been the capital of a strong and mighty empire in this region, I felt a more ardent desire to visit it than I had to reach Timbúktu. The latter, no doubt, had become celebrated throughout the whole of Europe on account of the commerce which centred in it; nevertheless, I was fully aware that Timbúktu had never been more than a provincial town, although it exercised considerable influence upon the neighboring regions from its being the seat of Mohammedan learning. But G'awó, or Gógó, had been the centre of a great national movement, from whence powerful and successful princes, such as the great Mohammed el Háj A'skia, spread their conquests from Kebbi, or rather Háusa, in the east, as far as Fúta in the west, and from Tawát in the north, as far as Wángara and Mósi toward the south.

Cheered at having reached this spot, I passed a tranquil night, and, rising early in the morning, lay down outside my tent, quietly enjoying the prospect over this once busy locality, which, according to the unanimous statements of former writers, was the most splendid city of Negroland, though it is now the desolate abode of a small and miserable population. Just opposite to my tent, toward the south, lay the ruined massive tower, the last remains of the principal mosque, or jíngeré-bér, of the capital, the sepulchre of the great conqueror, Mohammed. All around the wide open area where we were encamped was woven a rich corona of vegetation, among which, in the clear light of the morning, I discovered different species of trees that I had long ago lost sight of, such as date palms, tamarind-trees, ngáboré, or sycamores, and even the silk-cotton-tree, although the specimens of the latter plant were rather poor and of small growth.

Having enjoyed the scenery for some time, I went with my young Shúwa lad in order to obtain a sight of the river, of which, as yet, I had seen nothing here. Emerging from the fine group of trees, I found that only a very small creek, without an outlet at the present season, closely approached the town, while an extensive swampy lowland extended far into the river; but for several months in the year this lowland is inundated, with the exception, perhaps, of a few spots which rise to a greater height, and are adorned with talha-trees.

At present the name of G'awó is given not only to the site of the former capital, but also to the island, and even to the opposite shore of A'ribínda; and I once supposed that the chief part of the town was situated on the island, but this does not appear to have been the case; neither does it appear to have stood on the western bank. The fact is, that in former times there were two distinct quarters of Gógó, the quarter of the idolaters on the western bank toward Gúrma, and the royal and Mohammedan quarter on the eastern bank toward Egypt, whence Islám, with its accompanying civilization, had been introduced. In the course of time the latter quarter would gain over the former, which from the beginning, when pagan worship was prevalent, was no doubt the more considerable.

Even at present, when all this ground was left dry by the retiring waters and formed a rich grassy island, only a few huts were seen on the island, as well as on the shore of A'ribínda. But the present inhabitants appear scarcely to be in want of the

river, for only a single seaworthy boat was to be seen, and four others out of repair were lying on the shore. The natives, when I expressed my astonishment at the miserable state of their craft, complained that they had no wood for building boats. Between the huts and the little creek, which by means of a northerly branch serves to irrigate the rice-fields, there is a tobacco plantation. It is here that the finest trees are grouped together, and I now observed, that besides from twenty to twenty-five date palms, which were just full of fruit, bordering upon ripeness, there were two or three dúm palms.

Having thus surveyed the river, I took a turn round the hamlet, which altogether consists of about 300 huts, grouped in separate clusters, and surrounded by heaps of rubbish, which seemed to indicate the site of some larger buildings of the former city. While walking round the huts, the women came out from their "búge," or matting huts, and gathered cheerfully round us, exclaiming one above the other, "Nasára, nasára, Allah aákbar!" "A Christian, a Christian: God is great!" but they seemed to take a greater interest in my younger Shúwa lad than in myself, dancing round him in a very cheerful and fascinating manner. Some of them had tolerably regular features, and were tall and of good proportions. They were all dressed in the same style, very different from the dress of the women in Timbúktu, having a broad wrapper of thick woolen cloth of different colored stripes fastened below the breast, so that it came down almost to their ankles, and many of them had even fastened this dress over their shoulders by a pair of short braces, in the same way as men wear their trowsers in Europe, and others had simply fastened it from behind.

While I was thus walking round the village I met an old man who greeted me in the most cheerful manner, and attached himself to me. From what he intimated, I could not but conclude that he had come into close contact with the Christian who so many years ago navigated this river in such a mysterious manner; but, unfortunately, he was of weak understanding, and I could not make out half of what he said to me. I regretted this the more, as he conducted me through the heaps of rubbish to a long, narrow clay building at a short distance west from the mosque, where he wanted to show me something of interest, but the owner of the house refused me admittance.

Leaving then the farthermost huts on my right, I turned my

steps toward the jíngeré-bér, and endeavored to make out as well as I could the plan of this building.

According to all appearance, the mosque consisted originally of a low building, flanked on the east and west side by a large tower, the whole court-yard being surrounded by a wall about eight feet in height. The eastern tower is in ruins, but the western one is still tolerably well preserved, though its proportions are extremely heavy. It rises in seven terraces, which gradually decrease in diameter, so that while the lowest measures from forty to fifty feet on each side, the highest does not appear to exceed fifteen. The inhabitants still offer their prayers in this sacred place, where their great conqueror, Háj Mohammed, is interred, although they have not sufficient energy to repair the whole. The east quarter of the mosque evidently was formerly the most frequented and best inhabited part of the town, and is entirely girded with a thick grove of siwák bushes, which covers all the uninhabited part of the former city. The town, in its most flourishing period, seems to have had a circumference of about six miles. According to the statement of Leo,* it appears never to have been surrounded by a wall. The dwellings in general do not seem to have been distinguished by their style of architecture, with the exception of the residence of the king, although even that was of such a description that the Bashá Jódar, on conquering the town, wrote to inform his master, Múláy e' Dhéhebi, that the house of the Sheikh el Harám, in Morocco, was much better than the palace of the A'skia.†

When I returned to my tent from this my first excursion I found a great crowd of men assembled there, but was unable to make the acquaintance of any one who might give me some information about the place, and, on the whole, I did not succeed in entering into any amicable relations with the inhabitants of Gógó. Their sullen behavior seems to be accounted for by the fact, as I shall mention farther on, that they had behaved rather treacherously toward the Christian who had visited this place some fifty years before.

I endeavored also, although in vain, to buy Indian corn from the inhabitants, although it was perhaps the fear of the Tawárek which made them deny that they had any. Thus I found myself reduced to the necessity of providing myself with a supply of úzak, or eníti, that is to say, the seeds of the *Pennisetum dis-*

* L. vii., c. 3. † Journ. Leipsic Oriental Soc., vol. ix., p. 549.

tichum, which is generally used as an article of food by the Tawárek, my horses having fared very badly for some time.

It was not until the second day of our arrival that my protector, accompanied by Hanna, Khozématen, Hammalába, and the other chief men of the Kél e' Súk, who had come to have an interview with him, joined us. These people were mounted partly on camels, partly on horseback, and the large open area which spread out between the mosque and our tents thus became greatly enlivened, and it was not long before the messengers who had been sent to Alkúttabu returned with the answer that he would meet the sheikh in this place in three days. It almost appeared as if Gógó was again to acquire some slight historical importance as the place of meeting between the native chiefs of these disturbed regions and a European anxious to inspire the natives of these countries with fresh energy, and to establish a regular intercourse along the high road which Nature herself has prepared.

When all these people arrived, I was just busy laying down, as well as circumstances allowed, my route from Timbúktu to Gógó. which I was very anxious to finish, and to send off from here, and thus to secure the results of my exploration, in case of any mischance befalling myself. At that time, the legs of my table being broken, I was obliged to finish this map on a board placed upon my knees, and sitting on my mat, as I had at that period neither chair nor box. Having finished this business, I went with the sheikh, in order to pay my compliments to the Kél e' Súk, who had just concluded their prayers. The two chiefs, Khozématen and Hanna, principally claimed my attention. But, although they were very respectable men, it was a rather curious circumstance that both were blind, or nearly so; Hanna, who was the elder by two years, had only one eye, and Khozématen was totally blind; notwithstanding which, he felt confident that I was able to cure him.

Besides the transactions with these people, preparations for my home-journey were going on, although slowly; and the sheikh addressed a letter in my favor to the chiefs on the road along which I had to pass. It was couched in flattering terms, and could not fail to be of the greatest service to me after my separation from him.* Notwithstanding that a tolerable variety of business was on hand, the locality soon became loathsome to me on account of the great heat which prevailed. The shade which was afforded

* A translation of this letter will be given in Appendix XIV.

by the fine sycamores near the river was at too great a distance from my tent, and too much frequented by birds to be of any avail. I was therefore glad that the visit of some other people induced my host to interrupt our stay here by a small excursion.

These people were the Gá-béro, as they are generally called, or, according to their original nomenclature, Súdu-kámil, a numerous tribe of Fúlbe, who have been settled in these regions for several hundred years, and from fear of the persecution of the A'skíá, or Síkkíá, have exchanged their own native language for that of the inhabitants of the country. They had formerly enjoyed almost undisturbed liberty, in a state of nominal dependence on the Governor of Say; but some time previously they had been forced to acknowledge the supremacy of Hómbori, the governor of which place had made an expedition against them and killed some thirty of their number. They therefore desired the sheikh to come and extend his protection over them and impart a blessing to them. However, we did not leave this place till the afternoon of the 25th.

Having left behind us the area of the ancient town, and then traversed a plain clad with small talha-trees and dúm bush, we reached, after a march of about four miles, the grassy border of the river, and boldly entered the swampy grounds; for in the midst of these lowlands, from whence the river had retired, there were several clusters of matting huts, inhabited by Gá-béro and Rumá. Not having taken any tents with us, sheds were erected both for El Bakáy and myself, but they were in a miserable condition, and it was fortunate that a thunder-storm, which had hovered over our heads almost the whole of the afternoon, was moving northward, where a great deal of rain fell, and left us tolerably free from wet and wind.

Monday, *June* 26*th*. The inhabitants of the hamlet treated us rather inhospitably, and we set out at an early hour to pursue our march in the swampy vale. After proceeding for about a mile we passed a small hamlet, situated on a rising ground, adorned with dúm palms. Crossing several small channels, where the people were busy renewing the dikes encompassing the rice-fields, we reached the firm shore, which was adorned with dúm bush, fernán, kalgo, tursha, and damankádda. The river, which forms here a tolerably open sheet, is bordered on the side of A'ribínda by a steep bank, which, a little farther on, is succeeded by sandy downs. However, after a short time we were again obliged to enter the low, swampy ground, which at present formed a wide grassy gulf inclosed by hills.

The plain was cultivated with a good deal of sorghum, the blades of which were just starting forth, but the grain does not ripen before the period when the inundation covers this spot and transforms it into a lake-like widening of the river. Winding along between several channels which had not yet dried up, we were glad when we again reached the firm shore, where the rocky slope, from 80 to 100 feet elevation, closely approaches the open river. A party of Kél e' Súk were just pitching their tents here.

Keeping along the narrow slip of level shore, which gradually became more and more compressed, from which circumstance the locality is called Tin-shéran, we found ourselves, after a march of about a mile, opposite an encampment of the Gá-béro, spreading out on a flat sandy beach, which at present formed the border of a very extensive grassy plain, but which, when the river rises to a greater height, forms a sort of sand-bank, till it is overwhelmed, in its turn, by the rising waters of the Niger. These being the people who had invited us to come and pay them a visit, we chose our camping-ground on the high sand-hills forming the offshoots of the rocky slope, which here rose to the height of 200 or 300 feet. It was a beautiful open place, and the Gá-béro,* as soon as they observed us, began to beat their drum, or tobl, and prepared to cross over to us. To accomplish this, however, it was first necessary for them to borrow some boats, as they themselves did not possess any, from fear of the Tawárek, who might easily cross over to them and annoy them.

Having sent three oxen swimming across the river as a first token of hospitality, they began to raise a very neat matting dwelling for the sheikh; but my noble friend, with great courtesy, gave it up to me, and ordered another for himself. These people exhibited great superiority both in carriage and intelligence over the Songhay inhabitants, although their dress is not very different from that of the Fúlbe, being only a little fuller and less shabby. A few, such as their chief, Hanna, and his people, wear black tobes, with pockets of red cloth, like the Tawárek. Their wives dress like the Songhay women, wrapping a woolen shawl round the lower part of the body, below the breast, and fastening it over the shoulder.

They derive their descent partly from Fúta, and partly from the

* The Gá-béro are divided into the following tribes: the Shédibé, the Bwájil, the Sillánche (the latter probably so called from the well-known town Silla), the A'gades, and the Gorrong.

tribe of the U'rube settled in Másina. Some sherífs are also stated to have intermarried with them; and it was with considerable interest that I beheld among them several individuals with real Púllo features. They are greatly afraid, not less of the Fúlbe of Hómbori (the place mentioned in my outward journey, which is only four good days' march distant from here) than of the Kortíta, a division of the Songhay settled farther down the river. They were therefore most anxious to possess a double talisman against this twofold danger which threatened them, and received a blessing from me as well as from the sheikh; for although I told them repeatedly that the blessing of the sheikh was quite sufficient for them, they insisted upon receiving my own benediction likewise. I now learned that several of them had made my personal acquaintance on a former occasion, having been among the troop of natives who assisted me in crossing the dangerous swamp a few miles from A'ribínda.

In this place which is called Borno, or Barno, we remained the four following days; and I might have enjoyed the fine air and the charming view over the river, notwithstanding my eager desire to continue my journey without any longer delay, if it had not been that I was badly off for food, the rice with which we were supplied not being seasoned with salt, and there being an entire lack of milk. The communication with the opposite shore was rendered rather difficult by the great breadth of the open river, which, moreover, became repeatedly agitated by a thunder-storm, and was infested by several hippopotami, which at times were furiously snorting about in the river, as if in anger at our having disturbed their quiet retreat. The day of our arrival they had thrown the whole of our horses into disorder and put them to flight while they were pasturing near the shore. They even at times interrupted the intercourse between the two banks, and altogether exhibited a very noisy character, especially during the evening and in the course of the night, when they wanted to come out for their usual food. Two white "ar," a rather rare species of antelope in these quarters, were seen by some of my companions on the rocky heights above.

At times I was roaming about in the recesses of the rocky slope, which offered very charming views, one of which is represented in the plate opposite, or I had some conversation with people who were passing by. Among the latter were especially a troop of Sherífen, a section of the Kél e' Súk, but very dif-

BORNO ON THE NIGER.

ferent from the general character of that tribe, whose distinguishing features are humility and harmlessness. All of them came in full armor, and many were well dressed, and their general bearing bore testimony to an independent mind. It was curious, however, that the chief of these people mistook me for El Bakáy, and therefore paid his compliments to me first, probably in consequence of my beard being longer.

Saturday, July 1st. The herd of cattle which the Gá-béro were to make a present of to the sheikh having at length successfully regained their native shore, we set out on our return march to Gógó late in the afternoon, and keeping along the rocky slope, where it recedes inland, behind Tin-shéran, we halted for the night in an encampment of the Kél-gúnhan, which was very considerable, consisting of more than 100 leathern tents. The encampment was full of young slaves, such as I had rarely seen with any of these Tawárek; but, as I have observed on a former occasion, the Kél e' Súk do not seem as yet to have entirely forgotten their former residence in a large, luxurious place, and even at the present time indulge greatly in the traffic of slaves. Here, also, the slaves, male and female, were entirely clad in leather, but, on the whole, they were good looking, and appeared cheerful.

Sunday, July 2d. I again reached Gógó, while the sheikh remained behind in the encampment of another body of Kél e' Súk, situated on a sort of promontory projecting into the swampy plain, which we reached about five miles after setting out from the place where we had passed the night. Our march lay along the foot of the rocky slope, full of caverns and ravines, and enlivened with trees and bush, the swampy ground on our left being laid out in rice-fields, which the people were busy cultivating, and interrupted here and there by insulated rising ground clad with dúm bush.

On my arrival in my tent, I was glad, after my long abstinence from palatable food, to indulge in an excellent rejíre, the favorite drink made with cheese and dates, which is very acceptable in the desert country, but rather difficult to digest in the feverish regions of Negroland. Thus I began to prepare myself for my home-journey, which from henceforward I might confidently expect to pursue with more steadiness. I then went to pay a visit to my friends the Kél e' Súk, who, during our long absence, had grown very impatient, and, as it would seem, not without good reason. They received me very cheerfully, and in their excess of friendly

feeling made an endeavor to convert me to their creed; but, having received a direct refusal, they entreated me very earnestly to return to them as soon as possible, but this time by way of Tawát. However, I was obliged to tell them that it was very unlikely I should ever return, and more improbable still by way of Tawát, that road being extremely dangerous for us; but I informed them that I entertained no doubt that, if it were possible to get over the rapids which obstructed the lower course of the river, the English would not be long in paying them a visit.

All my friends, who now saw my departure near at hand, began to evince their attachment to me more strongly than ever, and in the evening, after I had dismissed El Munír and Inésa, the sons of Khozématen, both of them worthy young men, I had a very animated conversation with my friend Mohammed el Khottár over our tea, and I promised him a considerable number of Arabic books in the event of his paying a visit to England.*

The following morning, when I was lying outside my tent, as was my custom, enjoying the fresh air, all my friends gathered round me, and I had to read to them passages from various European books, including the Greek text of the Evangelists. The German principally attracted the attention of these people, the full heavy words of that language appearing to them somewhat like their own idiom, and they became highly elated when I recited to them from memory some verses of a favorite German poem.

All my people were so full of enthusiasm on account of a fair prospect of a speedy departure on our home-journey being held out to them, that they gave the Sheikh el Bakáy, when he joined us, in the course of the morning, in Gógó, a most hearty reception, and fired away a good deal of powder in honor of him. I afterward went with him to distribute some presents among the chiefs of the Kél e' Súk and some great men of the Awelímmiden who had arrived in the company of the sheikh. Khozématen received a fine black Núpe tobe and a black litham; Hanna, a túrkedí and a litham; the four Awelímmiden, viz., Bodhál, Ríwa, Alíso, and Sábet, each a litham, besides some smaller articles; and each of the sons of Khozématen and Hanna the half of a litham. Every one was content, although some of them would have liked to receive articles of greater value.

* This young man actually came to Tripoli in the course of last summer, but the unfortunate state of Indian affairs, and other circumstances, together with an illness common with people coming from the interior, which attacked both him and his companions, prevented his coming to this country.

There being no prospect that Alkúttabu would join us here, as we were told that he had gone to drive back a predatory expedition of the Kél-fadáye, I returned the fine black horse which the sheikh had made me a present of, and which I had destined for the chief of the Awelímmiden, to the former, who was going to visit that chief, in order that he might present it to him in my name. I also made ready the present which I intended to make to Thákkefi, the son of the former chief, and El A'gwi, a near relation of his.

The sheikh himself showed his consciousness of our approaching separation by assuming a lively air. In the evening I had a very animated conversation with him and Sídi A'hmed el Wádáwi, the most learned of his pupils, with regard to the shape of the earth, and succeeded, at length, in clearly demonstrating to him its globular shape and the circular motion of the whole system of the planets. He was not a little struck when, speaking of what was above the earth and under it, I told him that, with regard to the Omnipresent Being, such as we and they recognize the Almighty Creator of the universe to be, the idea of an above and below was not to be entertained, but that such expressions had only reference to human speculation. But although, as a Mohammedan, he could not entirely concur in such a doctrine, being overawed by the authority of the Kurán, yet, having before his eyes the beautiful panorama of the hemisphere, he became quite convinced that on the whole I was right, although, shut up within the narrow walls of his room in the town, he had always thought it both absurd and profane to assert such a thing.

Wednesday, July 5th. All was ready for our departure, when Thákkefi, the cousin of the present ruler of the Awelímmiden, and son of the late powerful chief E' Nábegha, joined us with a few of his companions, among whom Sohéb was the most conspicuous. The arrival of this important personage caused us fresh delay, which, however, on the whole, was agreeable to me, as he was authorized by Alkúttabu to grant me full franchise and perfect security for all Englishmen traveling or trading in their territory; and in the course of conversation he even made the remarkable proposal to me that the English should endeavor, by means of a strong expedition up the river, to establish regular intercourse with them.

Meanwhile the chiefs of the Kél e' Súk departed for their respective homes, holding forth the prospect that I myself might

soon follow. Thákkefi staid with me almost the whole of the day, inspecting my effects with the greatest curiosity and attention. He was a fine, tall man, possessed of great strength and remarkable intelligence, and had the most ardent wish to see more of our ingenious manufactures. I was very sorry that I was able to show him so little, as almost the whole of my supplies were exhausted. A spear had been thrust through his neck from behind in the sudden attack by the Kél-gerés at Tin-taláit, where his father was slain, and he was very anxious to obtain some efficacious plaster for his wound. Every thing went on so well in my intercourse with this chief, that in the afternoon of the day following his arrival the letter of franchise was written by Daniél, the secretary of Alkúttabu, and the day after Thákkefi himself called upon me in my tent. He appeared to have some particular object in view, and, having carefully secured the entrance of the tent, in order to prevent other people from overhearing our conversation, he expressed his desire and that of his uncle that the English might send three well-armed boats up the river, in order to establish intercourse with them. I took care to point out to him that, however anxious the English were to establish commerce and an exchange of produce with this region, yet the success of their endeavors was dependent on the circumstance whether they would be able to cross the rapids and the rocky passage which obstructed the river lower down, between Búsa and Rába, and that therefore I was unable to promise him any thing with certainty. I gave to this chief, who, besides being possessed of great vigor, had a good deal of good-nature about him, one tobe shaharíye, two black tobes, two black shawls, three túrkedís, a silk cord of Fás manufacture for suspending the sword, and several other smaller articles.

During our stay in this place I had laid down the course of the river between Timbúktu and Gógó on a tolerably large scale, as far as it was possible to do so, written a dispatch to government, and several letters to members of the Royal Geographical Society and other private friends, and, having sealed the parcel, I delivered it to the sheikh in order that he might forward it without delay upon his return to Timbúktu. I am sorry to say, however, that this parcel only arrived a few months ago, having been laid up at Ghadámes for more than two years.

Before leaving Gógó, I was anxious to ascertain exactly the nature of the river along this shore, as on our march both to and

from the Gá-béro we had kept at some distance from its bank, and I arranged with the sheikh's nephew to survey the shores of the river for some distance downward. When I was about to mount on horseback Thákkefi requested that I would put on my European dress, as he was anxious to see how it looked; but, unfortunately, instead of an officer's dress, which would certainly have pleased them very much, I had no European clothes with me except a black dress suit, which could only impress them with a rather unfavorable idea of our style of clothing; and although they approved of the trowsers, they could scarcely fail to think the shape of the coat highly absurd. But, having never before seen fine black cloth, they were surprised at its appearance, and, at a distance, all the people mistook it for a coat of mail, as most of them had been accustomed to see only red cloth.

Pursuing then my proposed excursion, I observed, also, below the village, some fine groups of date palms. I also assured myself that the creek of Gógó, at least at this season of the year, is quite unnavigable, although I could not understand why the modern capital of the Songhay empire was not built on the open river, the only advantage derived from its actual situation being that the small creek forms a kind of close harbor, which affords protection to the boats, and may easily be defended in case of need. As for the site of the former capital Kúkiya, or Kúgha, I am sorry I did not arrive at a distinct conclusion respecting it.

Having followed the bank as far as the point where the creek joins the principal branch of the river, I felt myself induced, by the precarious state of my companion's health, to retrace my steps. This indisposition of the sheikh's nephew influenced the choice of my companions on my return-journey, as it had been originally the sheikh's intention to send his nephew along with me as far as Sókoto. In his place another, but more distant relation of the sheikh, Mohammed ben Mukhtár, an energetic and intelligent young man, but of a less noble turn of mind, was appointed; and besides him, there was the Hartáni Málek, son of a freed slave, who was to return with the last-named messenger from Támkala; then Mústafa, and Mohammed Dáddeb, the latter a native of Timbúktu, who were to return from Sókoto, and A'hmed el Wádáwi, and Háj A'hmed, who were to return from Bórnu.

In the evening preceding our departure our camp exhibited a busy scene, as we were engaged in finishing our preparations for the journey, the sheikh undertaking the outfit of one half the

messengers, and I the other; but the presents, also, which the latter destined for the chiefs of Negroland, were delivered to me, in order that I might take them under my care. He had, besides, the goodness to supply me with some native cotton and tobacco, to distribute as presents to the Tawárek and Songhay on our road; he also gave a dress to each of my companions, I doing the same to those among his pupils who had been most attached to me. I even felt induced to make a present of a very handsome tobe from Sansándi, richly ornamented with silk, which I had intended to take with me as a specimen of that very interesting manufacture, to Sídi Mohammed, a son of the sheikh, who had accompanied us, and who, on account of our long absence from the town, was rather shabbily dressed at the time.

CHAPTER LXXIX.

SEPARATION FROM THE SHEIKH. — CROSS THE RIVER TO THE SOUTHWESTERN SIDE.—VARIOUS ENCAMPMENTS.—RIVER STUDDED WITH ISLANDS.—ANSO'NGHO.

Saturday, July 8th. At length the day dawned when I was, in reality, to begin my home-journey, for all our former movements along the river had rather resembled the wanderings of the natives themselves than the direct march of a European traveler, and, although I felt sincerely attached to my protector, and under other circumstances might still have found a great many objects worthy of my investigation and research in this region, I could not but feel greatly satisfied at being at length enabled to retrace my steps homeward, with a tolerable guarantee as to my safety. It was highly gratifying to me that when I left this place a great many people wished me a hearty farewell and a prosperous journey; nay, Thákkefi even commissioned me to offer his special regards to Queen Victoria, with whose name I had made him acquainted.

Having then pursued our march through the level tract along the river, which here forms a great northsoutherly reach, and which, from having been full of life, is now empty and desolate, we reached the site of the encampment of the Kél e' Súk on the sandy eminence which we had passed a few days before, but which was now deserted. From thence we descended into the

swampy ground toward the river, and here passed by a Songhay hamlet, the inhabitants of which received us with their usual inhospitality, and even refused us a little water—an unkind feeling which displeased me most from a young newly-married lady, who, standing in front of her neat hut of matting, with her fine figure and varied ornaments of all sorts of beads, presented quite an attractive appearance. Turning then round a creek filled with water we reached an encampment of Kél e' Sûk, and pitched our tent; for, although it was our intention to cross the river as soon as possible, yet, no boats having as yet arrived, we were so long delayed that evening came on before we could carry out our design; and, obstinately refusing to be separated from my luggage, I preferred crossing the river together with my people and effects the next morning. Our hosts possessing a great number of cattle, we were well treated, and I was able to indulge in plenty of milk. The Tawárek have a common name for the whole northeasterly bank of the river. They call the whole of it to the northwest of Gógó, Táramt, and to the southeast, A'ghelé.

Sunday, July 9th. This was the day when I had to separate from the person whom, among all the people with whom I had come in contact in the course of my long journey, I esteemed the most highly, and whom, in all but his dilatory habits and phlegmatic indifference, I had found a most excellent and trustworthy man. I had lived with him for so long a time in daily intercourse, and in the most turbulent circumstances, sharing all his perplexities and anxieties, that I could not but feel the parting very severely. Having exhorted the messengers whom he was to send along with me never to quarrel, and to follow my advice implicitly in all cases, but especially with regard to the rate of progress in the journey, as he knew that I was impatiently looking forward to my home-journey, he gave me his blessing, and assured me that I should certainly reach home in safety. Mohammed ben Khottár, who, in consequence of his serious indisposition, was prevented from accompanying me any farther, and the sheikh's eldest son, Sídi Mohammed, did not take leave of me until I was in the boat. When I had safely landed on the opposite shore I fired twice a farewell, in conformity with the request of the sheikh.

The river here, at present, was studded with sand-banks, which greatly facilitated the crossing of my camels and horses, although between the sand-banks and the southwesterly shore there was

a deep channel of considerable breadth. The locality where I touched the southwestern bank of the river is called Góna, a name identical with that of a place of great celebrity for its learning and its schools in the countries of the Mohammedan Mandingoes to the south. The sandy downs were lined with a fine belt of trees. Three different paths lead over these downs into the interior, the most important being the track leading straight to Dóre, the chief place of the Province of Libtáko, and joining, at a very extensive lake or backwater, called Khalébleb, the road leading to the same place from Burre to the south of the island Ansóngho, lower down the river. At present a broad swampy lowland spread out between the downs and the brink of the river.

The chief of my companions, A'hmed el Wádáwi, being once more called beyond the river into the presence of the sheikh, we did not leave this place till a late hour in the afternoon, keeping along the low swampy shore. After a while an open branch approached us from the river on our left, forming an island of the name of Berta. Here an animated scene presented itself to our eyes. An immense female hippopotamus was driving her calf before her and protecting it from behind, her body half out of the water, while a great number of "agamba" and "zangway," crocodiles and alligators, were basking in the sun on the low sand-banks, and glided into the water with great celerity at the noise of our approach.

Here the swampy shore presented some cultivation of rice, while on the opposite side the river was bounded by the rocky cliffs of Tin-shéran; but the sandy beach, which a week previously had been animated by the numerous encampments of the Gá-béro, was now desolate and deserted, and we continued our march in order to find out their new camping-ground.

While ascending a spur of rising ground called Gúndam, a fierce poisonous snake made a spring at my mounted servant, who was close behind me, but was killed by the men who fortunately followed him at a short distance. It was about four feet and a half long, and its body did not exceed an inch and a half in diameter.

Having then kept along the slope for a little more than a mile, we again descended into the grassy plain, and reached a considerable creek, forming a series of rapids gushing over a low ledge of rocks, and encompassing the island of Bornu-Gungu, where the Gá-béro were at present encamped. The creek being too consid-

erable to allow of our crossing it with all our effects we encamped between it and the swamp, in a locality called Júna-bária; and I here distributed among my companions the articles which I had promised them.

The river at this point was frequented by several hippopotami, one of which, in its pursuit of good pasturage in the dusk of the evening, left the shore far behind it, and was pursued by my companions, who fired at it, without, however, hurting it or preventing its reaching the water.

Monday, July 10th. It was a beautiful morning; and while the Wádáwi crossed over to the island in order to fetch a supply of rice, I had sufficient leisure to look around me. The shore on this side presented little of interest, and was only scantily adorned with trees, but the island was richly clothed with vegetation. The only interesting feature in the scenery was the opposite shore, with the imposing cliffs of Bornu, where we had been encamped some time before. When at length we started, we were soon obliged to leave the shore in order to avoid an extensive swamp, and approached the hills, at the foot of which we had to cross a small creek, which during a great part of the year forms the border of the river itself, and then continued along the downs. Numbers of people, who had their temporary abode in the swampy plain, came to pay me their compliments.

These people are called Gá-bíbi, a name which is said to have reference to their black tents, which distinguish them from the matting dwellings of the Gá-béro. I was here not a little surprised at the swarms of locusts which the wind drove into our faces, and which certainly indicated our approach to more fertile regions. Proceeding in this manner, we reached a fine camping-ground in an opening of the slope of the downs, through which a path led to the interior, thus giving to the herds of cattle access to the river, and therefore called Dúniyáme, "the watering-place of the cattle." A fine hájilíj afforded a cool shade, the vegetation in general consisting only of fernán, retem, and bú-rékkeba, and we at once decided to halt here, in order to await our guide, Hamma-Hamma, one of the Gá-béro, who had gone to visit his family, but had promised to rejoin us at this spot. The situation of our camping-ground afforded us an interesting prospect over the valley, and numbers of the inhabitants of the neighboring hamlets and camps visited us in the course of the evening, and even supplied us with a tolerable provision of milk late at night.

Tuesday, July 11th. The guide who was to accompany us as far as Say not having arrived, I had great difficulty in inducing my companions to set off without him; and we started at an early hour, keeping along the sandy downs, which a little farther on became adorned with the rich bush called "indérren" or "kól-koli," while ledges of rock obstructed the river. Gradually the downs decreased in height, and the melancholy-looking fernán succeeded to the fresh indérren, but its place was supplied for a while by the richer tabórak. The locality was called Alákke, and farther on, Dérgimi; but fixed settlements of any kind are at present looked for in vain in these districts. In A'ussa, however, on the northeastern side of the river, we left, first, a hamlet called Dergónne, and farther on a place called A'ghadór, which, as the name indicates, must have been formerly a walled place. West from Dergónne is probably the halting-place Shínjeri, and A'ghadór is most likely identical with a place called Eben-efóghan, said to be hereabouts. The opposite bank, gradually sloping down and being clad with large trees, bore the appearance of a pleasant, cultivable country, while the shore on this side the river likewise improved; altogether it seemed as if we had left the desert far behind us. I am not sure how the country here is called; but I think that the district called A'zawágh may reach down to the eastern border of the river. The Niger was for a moment entirely free from rocks, forming a magnificent open sheet of water, but farther on it again became obstructed by isolated cliffs.

Meanwhile, as we pursued our march steadily onward, at a short distance from the bank, in a S.S.E. direction, the Kél e' Súki, Mohammed e' Telmúdi, entertained me, from the back of his tall méhari, with a description of the power of the Tárki chief, El Khadír, the southern verge of whose territory we had passed on our outward journey, and now again turned round the northern side of it. The chief, at this time, was encamped about three days from here, toward the west, collecting, as we are told, an expedition against the principality of Hómbori, the governor of which claims dominion over the whole district. There are even here several settlements of Fúlbe, a troop of whom we fell in with, and recognized in them young noble people, who in their countenances bore evident traces of a pure descent. Their idiom was closely related to the dialect of Másina. During the spring, however, the Tárki chief generally frequents the banks of the river, which then afford the richest pasturage.

Gradually the green shore widened, and formed a swampy ground of more than half a mile in breadth, adorned by a line of trees which, during the inundation, likewise becomes annually submerged by the water. The valley is bordered on this side by steep banks of considerable elevation. As soon as I became aware of the swampy character of the plain, which greatly retarded the progress of my camels, I endeavored to strike across the swampy ground, and to reach the firm bank again, but had considerable difficulty in doing so.

The bank was adorned by a growth of the finest trees, which gave to the river scenery a peculiar character, and invited us to halt during the hot hours of the day. We therefore encamped opposite Tongi, a hamlet lying on a low swampy island, separated from us by a considerable open creek, and ruled over by a man of the name of Sálah, who was a brother of Hamma-Hamma, the very man who was to serve us as a guide, but who had broken his word. The people, who seemed to be called Dekíten, behaved very hospitably, sending us immediately upon our arrival cows' and goats' milk as a refreshment, and giving us, in the course of the afternoon, a bullock for our farther entertainment. I have already mentioned, I think, on a former occasion, how cruelly the inhabitants of these regions treat oxen which have been destined for slaughter, although in general they are rather mildly disposed toward animals. In conformity with their barbarous custom, my companions broke the hind legs of the animal which had been given us as a present, and allowed it to drag itself about in this state until they found it convenient to slaughter it.

While detained here the remainder of the day, I had the pleasure of meeting, among the people who crossed over to us from the island, an old man who had a very lively remembrance of Mungo Park, and who gave me an accurate description of his tall, commanding figure, and his large boat. He related, besides, the manner in which the Tawárek of the tribe of the I'de-Músa, the name of whose present chief is El Getéga, attacked that mysterious voyager near Ansóngho, where the river is hemmed in by rapids, but without being able to inflict any harm upon him, while the intrepid Scotchman shot one of his pursuers, and caused two to be drowned in the river.

It was altogether a fine camping-ground, the talha and siwák being thickly interwoven with creeping plants; but a heavy thunder-storm, accompanied with rain, which lasted almost the whole

of the night, rendered us rather uncomfortable. Besides this circumstance, the fact that the people of the sheikh could only with difficulty be induced to forego the companionship of our guide, lost us here the best half of the day. But I collected a good deal of valuable information, especially with regard to the chief settlements of the independent Songhay, as the famous towns of Dárgol, Téra, and Kúlman, situated between the river and our former route through Yágha and Libtáko, which I shall give in the Appendix.*

At length I succeeded, at a rather late hour in the afternoon, in stirring up my companions, and, leading the way, we crossed from this advanced headland a swampy creek which separated us from the main, and then kept along the rising ground, which was richly clad with vegetation, and from time to time formed recesses, as the one called Tennel, the river being now more open. But farther on it became obstructed by cliffs and rocks, till at length, after a march of about seven miles, the river, which here formed a fine bend, assuming a southeasterly direction, exhibited an open, undivided sheet of water, and on this account forms the general place of embarkation, called A'dar-andúrren, properly "the small branch," meaning evidently here a narrowing of the river; for people going from Kúlman to this part of A'ussa generally cross here. A little higher up there is a hamlet called Tabáliat, inhabited by sherífs, with a chief named Mohammed. Just at that moment some people were crossing over, but, when we horsemen hurried in advance, they immediately took to flight with their boats, leaving behind them some slaves, and four or five pack-oxen, and all our shouting was not able to convince these native travelers of our peaceable intentions. Here, owing to a small creek which runs closely at the foot of the hills, we were obliged to ascend the rising ground, and, rather against the advice of our more prudent Kél e' Súki guide, encamped on the heights, which were clad with rich herbage, but covered with great quantities of the feathery bristle. This spot afforded a commanding view over the surrounding country, but on this very account appeared less secure for a small party; and, notwithstanding the elevation, the camping-ground was greatly infested by musquitoes, which almost drove our camels to distraction, and troubled our own night's rest not a little.

But the view which I here enjoyed over the northern end of

* See Appendix XV.

ANSONGHO.

the island, round which the river divided into four branches, was highly interesting to me, as being one of the places along the river best known to the natives as scenes where that heroic voyager from the north had to struggle with nature as well as with hostile men. Our fires having given to those poor lads who had been left behind by their frightened masters an opportunity of discovering what kind of people we were, they took courage and came to us, when we learned that they were Kél e' Súk, who had paid a visit to Kúlman, and were now returning home. They also informed us that the crocodiles had devoured one of the pack-oxen upon their attempting to swim them across the river.

Thursday, July 13th. Breaking up our encampment at an early hour, we descended, when the branch nearest to us again assumed an open character tolerably free from rocks; but after a short time we were again forced by a ridge of sandstone, about twenty feet high, which here formed the bank of the river, to ascend the higher ground. We thus obtained a clearer prospect over the whole valley, which at this spot attains a breadth of from four to six miles, the ground being open, and the view only for a short time shut in by a dense grove of gerredh and talha trees.

Farther on the river afforded a very wild spectacle, a sketch of which is represented in the plate opposite. In the distance before us the iron gates of Akarámbay became visible, bordered by the high sandy downs of Tidejitíten; a grand mass of rock, like an immense artificial wall, with a strong northerly dip, started up from the creek; and from the extensive grassy island of Ansóngho similar masses appeared, which rose to an elevation of from seventy to eighty feet. Gradually the shore became more stony and barren, forming a plain called Erárar-n-tésawel by the Tawárek, and Farri by the Songhay. We passed a deserted hamlet which had formerly been inhabited by the I'de-Músa, and here the river again approached nearer on our left, but after a short time it again receded and became obstructed by ledges of rocks, especially at the place called Tazóri, where an uninterrupted ridge of cliffs breaks through the surface of the water. Even at this season of the year it leaves a small channel beyond the grassy shore, which evidently connects the open water above and below the rapids.

About 1500 yards below this ledge, in a southeasterly direction, we reached the iron gates of Akarámbay, where the river, or at least this westerly branch of it, is forced through between two considerable masses of rock, at present from thirty-five to forty feet

high, and about as many yards distant from each other. On the right the sandy downs rise to a considerable elevation opposite a large hamlet, situated on the island Ansóngho, and adorned with dúm palms.

Following a southeasterly direction, in a short time we reached the place where the several branches into which the river had divided at A'dar-andúrren again join; but being full of ledges and rocks, at least in the present low state of the water, they exhibited a wild and sombre aspect. The river, however, does not long retain this character, and a little more than half a mile below it widens to a broad and tolerably open sheet of water, the shore, which hitherto had been clothed only with the gloomy fernán, being now beautifully adorned with an isolated tamarind-tree, which (together with the dúm palms on the island of Ansóngho) might well serve as a landmark to people who would attempt to ascend this river. But the hills, which ascended to a height of 300 feet, approached so closely the bank of the river that we were obliged to ascend the steep slope, which was thickly clothed with fernán, and, being torn by many small water-courses, scarcely afforded a passage for the camels.

Descending from the slope, we reached the Teauwent, or place of embarkation of Burre, a hamlet lying on the opposite shore, but at present deserted, where the river forms only a single branch, from 800 to 900 yards wide, and a little farther on about 1000, and on the whole unobstructed, with the exception of a few rocks near the shore. Having here passed a rocky cone, projecting into the river, we encamped near a cluster of ant-hills, formed by and adorned with the bushes of the *Capparis sodata;* but it was a very inauspicious place, as the camels, not finding food enough in the neighborhood, were, through the negligence of A'bbega, lost in the evening, and it cost us the whole forenoon of the following day to find them again. When we at length started, I was obliged to yield to the wishes of my companions, who, in order to obtain some supplies for their journey, were most anxious to halt near a small farming village of a Púllo settler, Mohammed-Sídi, a distant relation of Mohammed-Jebbo, who had settled here several years before among Tawárek and Songhay; and my friends, having been informed that this person was a pious and liberal man, felt little inclination to forego such an opportunity of receiving a few alms.

Having encamped on a high ground rising to considerable ele-

vation, we had an extensive view over the river, which was here again broken by rocky islets and intersected by ledges, so that, seen from this distance, in several places it appeared almost lost. Beyond, on the other shore, across this labyrinth of rapids and divided creeks, filling a breadth of two to three miles, were seen the two mountains of Ayóla and Tikanáziten, where, in the time of the chief Káwa, a bloody and decisive battle was fought between the Dinnik and the Awelímmiden. Toward the south, on the contrary, a fertile and well-cultivated plain, bordered by low hills, where the crops of native millet were just shooting forth, stretched out, nothing but retem and fernán breaking the monotonous level.

The hamlet of our host consisted of only six huts; but the district did not seem to be uninhabited, and in the course of the day a considerable number of Fúlbe and Songhay collected around us, and troubled me greatly, begging me to impart my blessing to them by laying my hand upon their head, or spitting into a handful of sand, and thus imbuing it with full efficacy for curing sickness, or for other purposes. Even the river did not seem quite destitute of life and animation, and the previous evening, while I was enjoying the scenery, seated on the cliffs at some distance from our camping-ground, two boats filled with natives passed by, and procured me an interesting intermezzo.

Saturday, July 15th. The good treatment that we received here seemed to please my companions so much that they tried to detain me another day by hiding one of their camels behind a bush and pretending it was lost. When at length I had found it, and was on the point of setting out to pursue my journey, a very heavy thunder-storm broke out; and, although I persisted in proceeding, the rain became so violent that I was obliged to halt for fully an hour near some bushes that protected us a little from the heavy gale which accompanied the torrents of rain. Here, also, the river was obstructed by a great number of rocks, while the adjacent grounds were partly cultivated, but only sparingly clad with trees, till, after a march of a couple of miles, rich talha-trees and gerredh began to appear; but even here groups of rocks cropped out from the surface. Thus keeping along at some little distance from the river, we encamped shortly after noon at the foot of a sandy eminence, and were very glad when we were enabled to dry our wet clothes and recruit our strength with a dish of mohamsa.

Having ascended the rising ground in order to obtain a view

of the mountains on the opposite shore, I went down to the river and enjoyed the wild scenery of the rapids, which here also obstructed its course, forcing this westerly branch to a velocity of perhaps six miles an hour, intersected by flat cliffs, which at present were only a few feet out of the water. A fine belt of trees lined the bank at a short distance from the edge of the river, the islands also being clad with rich vegetation, and, altogether, the locality seemed to me worthy of a slight sketch, which has been represented in the plate opposite. I had hitherto looked in vain all along the shore for traces of the elephant, but I discovered that this part is visited by them in great numbers. The place is called Tiboráwen. Having indulged in quiet repose for several hours, we were joined by our companions, who, seeing that I was not to be detained by their tergiversations, were anxious to come up with us.

Sunday, July 16th. Keeping a short distance from the river, first in a more winding, and then in a southwesterly direction, we entered, after a march of three miles, more undulating and fresher pasture-grounds; but stony ground soon began to prevail, although without entirely excluding vegetation. Here, before we reached the cape called Immánan, meaning the fish-cape, the several branches of the river united, while a grassy lowland was attached to the higher bank which bounds the river during the period of its inundation. This fresh grassy tract, full of herbage and trees, was a while interrupted by the high ground attached to the cape; but as soon as we had left the naked hills behind us, we descended into a lovely little valley or ravine, which in a winding course led us to the beach of the river, which here formed a magnificent reach; but a little farther on, at a place called Ekeziríden, it was broken by a ledge of rocks, which stretched almost across its whole breadth, and, at this season at least, made it totally unnavigable. A short distance beyond, a second ledge set across the river, while a little farther on a rocky islet, overgrown with rich vegetation, caused the stream to divide. The bank itself now became stony, mica slate protruding every where, and we ascended a small ridge, which formed a higher cone at some distance on our right, while on our left it formed a promontory jutting out into the river. The whole district is called Béting.

Having descended from this small ridge, we approached nearer the river, which was here tolerably free from rocks, and then en-

THE NIGER AT TIBORÁWEN.

tered a dense but short tract of forest, full of the dung of the elephant, and traces of the footsteps of the banga, or hippopotamus. Here we had to cross several water-courses, at present dry, one of which is called Galíndu, and is said to be identical with the Búggoma, which we had crossed with so much difficulty before reaching the town of A'ribínda. But rocky ground soon prevailed again, and another promontory jutted out into the water, the river, which on the whole has here a southwesterly direction, being once more broken by cliffs.

A little farther on we encamped opposite a hamlet called Waigun, which was just building, while another one of the same name was lying a little higher up the river. However, we derived no advantage from the neighborhood of this little centre of life, for, having no boat at our disposal, we were not able to communicate with those people ourselves, and they, on their part, felt little inclination to make our acquaintance, as they could not expect that we should be of much use to them, except in lightening their stores. My companion, the Kél e' Súki, with shouts endeavored to intimate to the people that their sovereign lord, Bozéri, was himself present; but this artifice did not succeed. The I'melíggizen, or their slaves, who dominate both shores, are ill-famed on account of their thievish propensities, and we protected ourselves by firing a good many shots in the course of the night.

Monday, July 17th. Pursuing our course at an early hour, generally in a southwesterly direction, we reached, after a march of about four miles, a fine running stream, about twenty-five feet broad and fifteen inches deep, traversing a beautifully fresh vale, the slopes of which exhibited traces of several former encampments of the Tawárek. It joins the river at a spot where it forms an open and unbroken sheet of water, and greatly contributes to enhance the whole character of the scenery, although, about 1200 yards below, it was again broken by a ledge of rocks crossing almost the whole breadth of the river, but mostly covered by the water, even at the present season. About 500 yards below this ledge a small island lies in the midst of the river, occupied almost entirely by a village called Kátubu, consisting of about 200 snug-looking huts, which were most pleasantly adorned by two beautiful tamarind-trees. But the peace of the inhabitants appeared to have been disturbed, as they had probably heard our firing during the night, and were therefore on their guard. Five or six boats, filled with men, lay around the island at various distances, most

probably spying out our proceedings, although some of our party thought that they were fishing.

We here left the beach for a while, and ascended the higher ground, which rose to a greater height, cutting off a curve of the shore. The river, farther on, was again broken by a ledge of rocks, but so that a passage remained open on the side of A′ussa; and shortly afterward the various branches joined, and formed a fine noble reach. The country now became more hilly and better wooded, being clad with retem, besides kórna and hájilíj. Numerous ponds of water were formed in the hollows, and antelopes of various species, including that called "dádarít," were observed. Leaving then a path leading to a place called Tákala, situated at a distance of about fifty miles inland, in a southeasterly direction, we reached, about a quarter past ten o'clock, the highest point of this undulating ground, from whence we obtained a view over a wild and gloomy-looking forest region, behind which the river disappeared, after having inclosed a well-wooded island called Sakkenéwen.

From this higher ground we descended into a fine rich vale, the vegetation of which was distinguished by a few busúsu, ághanát, or tamarind-trees. Emerging from this richly-clad valley, we again obtained a sight of the river—if river it can be called—for, seen from hence, it looks almost like an archipelago or net-work of islands and rocky cliffs in the wildest confusion, the river foaming along through these obstructed passages; for, just as it turns round a cape, which juts far out to the N.N.W., and is continued under water toward the opposite shore in a long reef of rocks, forming a sort of semicircle, it is broken into several branches by a number of islands, through which it makes its way, as well as it is able, over cliffs and rocks, in such a manner that along this southwesterly shore there is no idea of navigation even during the highest state of the river, but on the A′ussa side it is more open, and renders navigation possible, although even there caution is evidently necessary. I have no doubt that this is one of the most difficult passages of the river. The name of the cape is E′m-n-íshib, or rather E′m-n-áshid, "the cape of the ass."

Having passed a place where the most westerly branch forms a small waterfall of about eighteen inches elevation, foaming along with great violence, we encamped on the slope of the green bank, adorned with fine herbage and luxuriant hájilíj, in full view of this wild scenery. I made a sketch of it from the highest ground

RAPIDS OF THE NIGER AT BUSSA.

near our halting-place, which is occupied by a small cemetery, the locality having been formerly enlivened by a hamlet of the I'mel-íggizen, of the name of Lebbezéya. This encampment was also important to me, as I here had to take leave of our guide, Mohammed Kél e' Súki, whom I had vainly endeavored to persuade to accompany me as far as Say, although he would have had no objection to have fulfilled his promise, if our other guide, Hamma-Hamma, had not broken his word and staid behind, for, alone, he was afraid to trust himself to the Fúlbe. It was, moreover, his intention to proceed from here on a visit to his friends the Událen. Convinced, therefore, of the justice of his arguments, I gave him his present, although I missed him very much, as he was an intelligent man, and had given me some valuable information.

CHAPTER LXXX.

DENSER POPULATION BEGINS.

Tuesday, July 18th. The beginning of our journey without a guide was not very fortunate; for, having set out first from our encampment, endeavoring to cut off the great windings of the river, with my camels and my three freed blacks, my companions, in the dawn of the morning, lost the traces of my footsteps upon the grassy undulating ground, and it was some time before they joined me. The ground became at times stony, talha, gerredh, and other spices of mimosas being the predominant trees; and after a march of eight miles, we had to ascend another ridge, clothed with thick forest, where the kúka, or tédumt, the monkey-bread-tree, which I had not seen for so long a time, was very common. This was an almost certain sign of the locality having once been a centre of human life, but at present only the traces of a former ksar, or hamlet, were to be seen. Having then crossed a small "rek" or "faire," that is to say, a barren, naked plain, we descended again, while the desolate character of the country continued, and the only signs of human life which we observed were the traces of two men, with three head of cattle, probably robbers from the other side of the river, who were returning to their haunts with their booty. But gradually the country assumed a more cheerful aspect, being clad with large trees, and exhibiting evident signs of former cultivation, while isolated masses of rock were projecting

here and there. The country altogether was so pleasant, that, having met with a shallow pond of water in a trough-like cavity of the grassy ground, we decided on encamping, for it was with great difficulty that I was able to drag on my companions more than fifteen miles a day at the utmost.

However, we had scarcely pitched our tents, when we became aware that our camping-ground close beyond the belt of trees with which it was girt was skirted by a small rivulet, which, although full of rocks, was yet so deep that it afforded sufficient room for crocodiles or alligators, and was not fordable here. It was a pity that we had not a guide with us who might have given us some clear information respecting the features of the country, for the conjecture of my companions,* who fancied that this rivulet took its rise to the south of Hómbori, where it was called A'gelé, was quite absurd if it be correct that the Galíndu, which we had crossed the preceding day, was really the lower course of the river near A'ribínda; but it is very difficult to say how these courses correspond, and nothing is more likely than that the same water-course may join the Niger by several openings. As it was, we had a long dispute as to the manner in which we should cross this water, and the following morning we had to take a tedious round-about way to get over it.

After a march of two miles from our starting-point we reached a crossway. We followed the advice of the Wádáwi, who, having taken the lead at the moment, chose the path to our left, though that on the right crosses the rivulet at this spot; but in the end it was perhaps as well that we did so, as otherwise we should scarcely have been able to ford it. We therefore continued our march after my companions had finished their prayers, which, as we always set out at an early hour, they used to say on the road. The open pasture-grounds were here broken by large boulders of granite, while the rivulet, girt by fine large trees, approached on our right, or at least one branch of it, the river dividing near its mouth into a delta of a great many smaller branches.

* Among my companions, the Hartáni Máleki, who had visited the countries of Mósi and Bámbara, possessed some interesting information concerning unknown or little known districts of these regions; but, unfortunately, he had something very uncouth in his manner, which prevented my learning from him all that would have been possible under other circumstances. This day I wrote down, from his information, the name of the pagan tribe of the Nenmer, who are settled between the Tombo and Bámbara, besides that of the Norma, who are chiefly settled in two places, one of which is called Púra.

We here changed our direction, keeping parallel along the shore of the great river, where, on a rocky island, was situated the village of Ayóru, or Airu, from whence a troop of about twenty people were just proceeding toward their field-labors. Most of them were tall, well-made men, almost naked, with the exception of a white cap and a clean white cotton wrapper. Two or three of them wore blue tobes. Their weapons consisted of a bow and arrows or a spear, and their agricultural implements were limited to a long-handled hoe of a peculiar shape, such as is called jerrán by the Arabs, and kámbul by the Songhay. But, besides a weapon and implement, each of them bore a small bowl, containing a large round clod of pounded millet and a little curdled milk, which they hospitably offered to us, although it constituted their whole supply of food for the day. We rewarded them with a few needles and by repeating the fat-há, or opening prayer of the Kurán.* It was, moreover, very fortunate that we had met them just here, as, if not directed by their information, we should scarcely have been able to cross without accident these numerous creeks, some of which were of an extremely boggy nature, and others obstructed by rocks, which caused us considerable delay; for the principal branch or góru of the rivulet was not less than about thirty-five yards broad and about two and a half feet in depth, with a rocky bottom. Fine busúsu, or tamarind-trees, and wide-spreading duwé, or fig-trees, adorned the delta, while a good deal of a kind of grain called "adelénka," or "donhére," was cultivated in the fields.

Having at length left this difficult delta of small rivulets behind us, which may occasionally cause great trouble to a traveler, we ascended sandy downs, and obtained from thence a view over the whole valley, which here rather resembles a large well-timbered fáddama than a river, only a small open branch becoming visible, not obstructed by rocks. The district exhibited a good deal of cultivation, the fields of Ayóru extending for more than two miles, and the low shore of the creek was adorned farther on by a rich profusion of kenya, or tedúmunt. The richly-wooded islands afforded a very pleasant sight, one of them being enlivened by a great number of horses, which were left here to pasture, and the shore formed one uninterrupted line of tamarind-trees. But the navigation may be very difficult here, as from time to time the river, or at least as much as we saw of it, became greatly obstruct-

* They informed us that Kúlman was six hours' distance from here.

ed by rocks. It was pleasing to observe that we had at length entered more hospitable regions, for a short time after we left behind us the fields of Ayóru cultivated ground again succeeded, and apparently very well kept.

Having then turned round a swampy gulf we ascended higher ground, and now obtained a view of the remarkably wild scenery of the river which attaches to the island of Kendáji and the rocky cone Wárba, which had been in sight all the morning, and encamped, at half-past eleven o'clock, on a rising ground at some distance from the island. The river here presented a very wild character, so that it almost seemed as if the navigation was interrupted entirely. Between the island of Kendáji and the rocky cone there really does not appear to be any passage open, but beyond the island there are evidently two more branches, and, as far as it can be seen from here, they are not nearly so much obstructed by rocks. The village seemed to be of considerable size, the huts covering the whole surface of the island; but, at the time of our arrival, not a living soul was to be seen, with the exception of an unfortunate man who was lamed by Guinea-worm, all the healthy people having gone to the labors of the field. But in the course of the afternoon the scenery became pleasantly enlivened by the arrival of a numerous herd of cattle and a flock of sheep, belonging to Fúlbe settlers in the neighborhood, that were brought here to be watered.

Gradually, also, the inhabitants of the village returned from their labors, and began to give life to the scenery, crossing over to their insulated domicile in small canoes. Others, in the company of their chief, came to pay us a visit. The latter was a man of tall, stout figure, but of not very intelligent expression of countenance, and, as it appeared, not of a very liberal and hospitable disposition, for he received the eloquent address of my noble friend the Wádáwi, who adduced all the claims which he and his party had upon the chief's hospitality, very coldly, answering through the medium of a Púllo fáki who had been staying here for some time, and rather laying claim himself to a handsome present than acknowledging the demands made upon him by my companions for hospitable treatment. The most interesting feature about this petty chief was his name, which reminded one of the more glorious times of the Songhay empire, for he called himself "Farma-E'rkezu-izze;" "farma" being, as I have said on a former occasion, the princely title of a governor; "izze" means

son, E'rkezu being the name of his father. It was also highly interesting to me to observe that these Songhay, the inhabitants of Kendáji as well as those of Ayóru, call themselves, in their native language, Kádo (in the singular) and Hábe (in the plural form), a name which the Fúlbe have made use of to indicate, in general, the Kóhelán, or the native black population of all the regions conquered by themselves; and it seems almost as if the latter had taken the name from this tribe.

Besides these Songhay, we also received a visit from a Tárki gentleman of the name of Mísakh, son of Ellékken, and nephew of Sínnefel, the chief of the I'melíggizen of A'ribínda. These people are on hostile terms with their brethren in A'ussa, where the populous district Amára is situated, and thus, fortunately, undermine their own strength, which is only employed in the way of mischief, although they are still strong enough to lay heavy contributions upon the poor Songhay inhabitants of these distracted shores. They had levied, the preceding year, a tribute of four horses on the people of Kendáji, and a camel, together with a quantity of corn, upon those of Ayóru. But although our guest, who was accompanied by two or three followers, was a rather decent young man, nevertheless the neighborhood of these Tawárek inspired us with just as little confidence as the behavior of our friends the Songhay on the island, and we kept a good watch, firing the whole night. Nothing is more probable than that Park had a serious quarrel with these islanders.

Fortunately, we were not disturbed; and we set out from our camping-ground at a very early hour, in order to make a good day's journey, but we were first obliged to search about in the two hamlets which lie opposite the island, and one at the very foot of the rocky cone of Wárba, for the guide that had been promised to us the preceding day. We had scarcely set out fairly on our march when a heavy thunder-storm, rising in the southeast, threatened us with a serious deluge, and obliged us to seek shelter under some trees to the right of our path. We then unloaded the camels, and endeavored to protect ourselves and the luggage, as well as possible, with the skins and mattings; but the storm was confined to a very violent gale, which scattered the clouds, so that only very little rain fell. Having thus lost almost two hours of the best part of the day, we proceeded on our march, not now digressing to the right and left, but following a broad, well-trodden path, which led us through carefully cultivated corn-fields,

shaded with fine hájilíj. But soon the ground became more undulating, and we followed a sort of backwater at some distance from the principal branch of the river, and then crossed a cavity or hollow where calcareous rock interrupted the granite. The river also, in its present low state, laid bare a good many rocky islets, and farther on divided into five branches, over which, from the rising bank, we obtained an interesting view, with a cone, on the A′ussa shore, toward the north. One of the islands was handsomely adorned with dúm palms, while the shore was clothed with a plant called "hekík."

This district appeared to be extremely fertile, and its populous state, after the desolate region which we had traversed, seemed the more remarkable; for soon after, having passed a small hamlet, we had on the opposite shore the considerable place Tornáre, and just beyond, on an island, another village called Fíchile, densely inhabited, and full of life and bustle. Scarcely had we passed this busy place on our left when another hamlet appeared, called Kochómere, and it was most gratifying to behold the river, which, during the greater part of our journey, had seemed to roll its mighty stream along without the least use being made of it, covered with small canoes, which carried over to our shore numbers of people who were going to the labors of the field. The bank itself also became here beautiful by a variety of luxuriant trees, such as the kéwa, the dingi, the baúre, the hájilíj, and others of various species, the hájilíj, especially, exhibiting here a very luxuriant and rich growth. A sort of shallow grassy creek separated from the bank a low island, which, during the highest state of the inundation, is under water.

Two miles beyond Tornáre the character of the country changed, and deep sandy soil, clothed with the herbage called rodám, and destitute of trees, succeeded to the fine arable soil; but after a march of about a mile cultivation again appeared, and even extended over the hilly chain which we ascended. We then passed a slave village called Gandútan, belonging to the Tárki chief, Mohammed el Amín, where numerous horses were seen grazing in the fields, distinguished by the kind of herbage called by the Arabs el debédi, in which my companions were delighted to recognize an old friend of theirs, as growing also plentifully in the A′beras of Timbúktu. Crossing the plain, where we met several travelers, we began to ascend the slope of a promontory called E′m-Aláwen, and soon reached the residence of the chief just mentioned, who

is the head of one of the two divisions of the Erátafáni. The village consisted of 150 to 200 huts of matting, with a larger and a smaller leathern tent in the centre; but as it did not offer any cool shade, being perched on the bare hot gravel overlying the rock, we thought it very uninviting, and preferred descending the steep eastern slope, upon the narrow slip of the low shore which stretched along the river, and which, being richly clothed with hájilíj, baúre, and other trees, offered a very pleasant resting-place. We were, however, not allowed to enjoy much repose, but were soon visited by the whole male population of the village, Tawárek and Songhay, full-grown men and children, who gathered round us with great curiosity, but without entering into close conversation, as they did not know what to make of me, and scrutinized suspiciously what my real character might be, my companions passing me for a sherif.

Later in the afternoon, the chief himself, who had not been present on our arrival, paid us a visit, and behaved in a very becoming manner, so that I made him a present of half a lithám, while I distributed a quantity of needles among his people. The place was tolerably well supplied with provisions, and I bought a good supply of butter and rice; but milk was scarce, although I succeeded in bartering a small quantity for some dates, of which these people were extremely fond. A little below our encampment, on the low shore, there was a farm, and on the island nearest the shore two small hamlets; for the branch of the river, which in general appears to be of considerable depth, was studded with green islands, which stretched out lengthwise in two parallel rows, being of the same height as the bank on which we were encamped, and which at present formed a steep descent to the shores of the river of about ten feet, rendering the watering of the horses very difficult. It was only with the utmost exertion that we rescued one of them which fell into the stream.

The whole district is said to be greatly infested by lions, and we saw the remains of four horses which a single individual of that species had torn to pieces the preceding day; but, notwithstanding the strength and ferocity of this animal, I was assured by all the inhabitants that the lion of this region, like that of A'ír, has no mane, and that its outward appearance was altogether very unlike that beautiful skin upon which I used to lie down, being the *exuviæ* of an animal from Lógone.

Friday, July 21st. On our way hither the preceding day we had

been overtaken, near the village of Gandútan, by a band of some three or four Songhay people, who had rather a warlike and enterprising appearance, and were very well mounted. Having kept close to us for some time, and spoken a great deal about my arms, they had disappeared, but at a very early hour this morning, while it was yet dark, and we were getting our luggage ready for the day's march, they again appeared, and inspired my companions with some little fear as to their ulterior intentions. They therefore induced the chief of the Erátafáni to accompany us for a while, with some of his people on horseback, as they were well aware that the Songhay, who at present have almost entirely lost their independence, can not undertake any enterprise without the connivance of the Tawárek; but as for myself, I was not quite sure who were most to be feared, our protectors, or those vagabonds of whom my companions were so much afraid; for, although the chief himself seemed to be a respectable man, these people, who are of a mixed race of Tawárek and Songhay, do not appear to be very trustworthy, and I should advise any traveler in this region to be more on his guard against them than against the true Tawárek. But, under the present circumstances, when they accompanied us on the road, I thought it better to tell them plainly who I was, although my companions had endeavored to keep them in the dark respecting my real character. They had taken me for a Ghadámsi merchant, who wanted to pass through their territory without making them a suitable present. After I had made this confession they became much more cheerful and open-hearted, and we parted the best of friends. The cunning Wádáwi also contributed toward establishing with them a more intimate relation by bartering his little pony for one of their mares. Nothing renders people in these countries so communicative, and, at the same time, allays their suspicions so much, as a little trading.

Having separated from our friends, and made our way with some difficulty through a tract of country partly inundated, we at length fell in with a well-trodden path, where on our right a low hilly chain approached. Here a little dúm bush began to appear, and farther on monkey-bread-trees adorned the landscape; but the river, after having approached for a short time with its wide valley, retired to such a distance that, not having provided a supply of water, we began to suffer from thirst. I therefore rode in advance, and chose a place for a short halt during the midday heat, where a sort of fáddama, which during the highest state of

the inundation forms a considerable open sheet of water round an island thickly clad with dúm palms, indents the rising bank of the river, offering, even at the present time, a handsome tank of clear water. The surrounding slope was adorned with a fine grove of dúm palms, and, protected by the shade of some rich hájilíj, produced a great profusion of succulent herbage.

Having rested in this pleasant spot for a couple of hours, we pursued our march along this green hollow, at present half dried up, and feeding also a good many tamarind-trees, and after a march of about half a mile reached the spot where this shallow branch joins a considerable open arm of the river, which here is tolerably free from rocks. A little below, it is compressed between rocky masses projecting from either bank, intersecting the whole branch, so that only a narrow passage is left, inclosed as it were by a pair of iron gates formed by nature. Yet the navigation was not obstructed even at the present season, as a boat about thirty-five feet long, and rowed by six men, which went quickly past us, evidently proved. The path was lined with mushrooms, called by my companions tobl e ndéri.

This branch of the river presented a very different aspect when, after having ascended a rising ground, we had cut off a bend or elbow of the river, for here it formed a kind of rapid, over which the water foamed along, and from the circumstance of the boat having followed another branch, this locality did not seem to be passable at present. The low shores, which are annually inundated, and even now left swampy ground between us and the river, were cultivated with rice; the higher ground, rising above the reach of the inundation, bordered by a belt of damankádda and thorny bushes, was reserved for millet; and beyond, the whole valley, which is here very broad, is bordered by a mountainous chain. The rocky nature of the river was farther demonstrated by a remarkable group of rocks rising from an island a little farther on, and affording a very conspicuous landmark; but, in general, this part of its course seems to be free from cliffs.

We had long strained our eyes in vain in order to obtain a sight of the large town of Sínder, which we knew to be situated on an island, till at length, from a hilly chain which here borders the river, we obtained a fair sight of the whole breadth of the valley, and were able to distinguish an extensive range of huts spreading over one or two islands in the river. Here, therefore, we encamped at the side of a few huts, although it would have been more

prudent, as we afterward found, to have chosen our encampment a little lower down the river, where a channel leads straight to the island of Sínder, with which we wanted to open communication; while, from the spot where we actually encamped, another considerable island town, called Garú, lies in front of it.

The whole valley, which is probably not less than from six to eight miles broad, and is studded with extensive islands, is very fertile, and tolerably well inhabited. The two towns together, Garú and Sínder, according to the little I saw of them, did not seem to contain less than from 16,000 to 18,000 inhabitants, and are of the utmost importance to Europeans in any attempt to navigate the upper part of the river, as they must here prepare to encounter great difficulties with the natives, and at the same time ought here to provide themselves with corn sufficient to carry them almost to Timbúktu; for Sínder, which in some respects still acknowledges the authority of the Governor of Say, is also the market for all the corn used in this district. A large quantity of millet can at any time be readily obtained here, and during my journey was even exported in large quantities to supply the wants of the whole of the provinces of Zabérma and Déndina. Notwithstanding this great demand, the price was very low, and I bartered half a suníye of dukhn, equal to about two hundred pounds' weight, for a piece of black cloth, feruwál, or zenne, which I had purchased in Gando for 1050 shells, a very low price indeed, not only when we take into account the state of things in Europe, but even when we consider the condition of the other countries of Negroland. I was also fortunate enough to barter the eighth part of a lump of rock-salt from Taödénni for eight dr'a of shásh or muslin; but as for rice, it is difficult to be got here, at least in a prepared state, although rice in the husk, or kókesh, is in abundance.

A great many people visited me, and altogether behaved very friendly. In this little suburb where we had encamped, there was staying a very clever fáki, belonging originally to the Gá-béro, and called Mohammed Sáleh. To my great astonishment, I became aware that this man was acquainted with my whole story; and, upon inquiring how he had obtained his information, I learned that a pilgrim, named Mohammed Fádhl, a native of the distant country of Fúta, who, being engaged in a pilgrimage, had undertaken the journey from Timbúktu along the river in a boat, had acquainted the people with all my proceedings in that place.

This fáki also informed us of the present state of Háusa. He told us that Dáúd, the rebellious prince of Zerma, or Zabérma, after his whole army had been cut to pieces by A'bú el Hassan, had made his escape to Yélu, the capital of Déndina, where the rebels were still keeping their ground. Meanwhile 'Alíyu, the Emír el Múmenín, had arrived before Argúngo, but, in consequence of his own unwarlike character, and a dispute with Khalílu, to whom that part of Kebbi belongs, he retraced his steps, without achieving any thing worthy of notice. But I learned that, owing to the revolt continuing, the Dendi were still in open rebellion, and that, in consequence, the road from Támkala to Fógha was as unsafe as ever, although part of the Máuri had again returned to their allegiance.

I should have liked very much to visit the town of Sínder, but, not feeling well, and for other reasons, I thought it more prudent to remain where I was; for, besides the fact that the governor himself is only in a certain degree dependent on the ruler of Say, there were here a good many Tawárek roving about, which rendered it not advisable for me to separate from my luggage; I therefore gave a small present to my companions, which they were to offer to the governor in my name. In consequence of this they were well received, and the governor himself came to meet them half way between the towns of Sínder and Garú, and behaved very friendly to them.

Sunday, July 23*d.* After a rainy night, we left this rich and populous district in order to pursue our journey to Say. Keeping close along the bank of the river, our attention was soon attracted by some young palm bushes covered with fruit, which caused a long dispute between my people and the followers of the sheikh, part of them asserting that it was the oil palm, while others affirmed it to be the date palm. This latter opinion appeared the correct one, considering that the oil palm does not grow at any distance from salt water; for on our whole journey through the interior we had only met with it in the valley of Fógha, which contains a great quantity of salt. This opinion was confirmed by farther observation, when we discovered the male and female seeds, which wanted nothing but the civilizing influence of man in order to produce good fruit. Without an artificial alliance of the male and female, the fruit remains in a wild and embryo-like state. Thus keeping along the shore, we passed several islands in the river, first Juntu, and at a short distance from it Bisse-

gúngu; farther on, Kóma and Bossa, adorned with a fine growth of trees; and about five miles from our halting-place, after we had passed a small hilly chain called Mári, the island of Néni, which is likewise richly timbered. This island is remarkable on account of its being the birth-place of the great Songhay conqueror, Háj Mohammed A'skíá, or Síkkíá.

Our march was the more interesting, as we were so fortunate as to be accompanied by the fáki, Mohammed Sáleh, whose acquaintance I had made during my stay near Garú. He was very communicative and social, and I regretted that I was not allowed to traverse in his company the whole territory of the independent Songhay in various directions. He dwelt particularly on the distinguishing character of Dargol, the principal seat of the free Songhay, especially the Koi-zé, with the remains of the royal family of the Síkkíá, of which several princes were still living.

My companion also informed me of the attack which the natives of Gurma, under the command of their chief, Wentínne, in conjunction with the Songhay, had made a short time previously upon the emír of the Toróde, or Tórobe. He likewise gave me an account of the extensive dominion of Dáúd, the grandfather of 'Omár, the present chief of the Erátafán, who succeeded in founding a large kingdom, when he was murdered by a rival nephew, and all his power was annihilated.

Our sociable and well-informed companion now left us. A little lower down the river, on the opposite bank, are the villages of Tilla-béra and Tilla-kaina, which are governed by 'Othmán, a relation of Mohammed Tondo. The whole country is undulating, covered with rank grass, and adorned with hájilíj, and altogether left a pleasing impression; while here and there, cultivated ground, with crops shooting up to the height of from two to four feet, gave some variety to the landscape. A little farther on, large monkey-bread-trees appeared; and beyond that, besides talha of a rather luxuriant growth, kalgo also became plentiful. The river was at some distance from the path, so that we encamped a little after noon in the midst of the forest, near a swampy pond full of herbage and musquitoes, and surrounded with large, luxuriant monkey-bread-trees and fine sycamores. I felt here extremely feverish, and was obliged to take a good dose of medicine.

Monday, July 24th. Having been detained by a heavy thunderstorm, we at length started, traversing a dense forest full of monkey-bread-trees, and extending about two miles. We then turned

round a large swampy inlet, when a hilly chain approached on our right, and the shore of the river was clad with a rich bush called *yéu* by my companions.

About two miles beyond, we reached a hamlet called A'zemay, spreading out on a hill, and encamped a short distance beyond, toward the southeast. The village is inhabited by Tawárek of the tribe of the Erátafán, who have exchanged their nomadic habits for those of settlers, but without giving up their character or language. A few Kél e' Súk live among them; but nearly half the population of the village consists of Fúlbe, of the tribe of the Zoghorán, this settlement presenting the remarkable instance of a peaceful amalgamation of these two tribes. But the Erátafán, as I have stated above, have lost their former power, although under the dominion of Dáúd they held all the towns as far as Say under their sway. Notwithstanding their diminished power, they appeared to be well off, for not only were they dressed decently, but they also treated us hospitably with excellent furá, the favorite Háusa dish of sour milk with pounded millet; and in the evening they sent a great quantity of pudding and milk, and a young heifer.

I here provided myself with a supply of corn, as I had been given to understand that it fetches a high price in the market of Say. I found that the price already far exceeded that of Sínder, one feruwál of Gando buying only twenty-three kél of millet; but my camels were extremely weak, and one had died the preceding night, so that I was not able to carry with me a greater supply. As for rice, none was to be had, and no cultivation of this grain was to be seen, although it might be supposed to succeed here, the river being wide, and forming a large island called Délluwé.

Tuesday, July 25th. The good treatment of the people of A'zemay made my companions rather unwilling to leave this place so soon, and a farther delay was caused by their bartering. When at length we set out on our march, we had to make a considerable detour, in order to avoid the lower course of a rivulet, which is here not passable. Our path lay through cornfields till we reached the village of Kasánni, consisting of two groups, one of which was surrounded by a keffi, or stockade, and inhabited by Fúlbe; the other was merely a slave hamlet. Rich cornfields, shaded by fine trees and broken by projecting rocks, extended on all sides. Close beyond this hamlet we crossed a little rivulet called Téderimt by the Tawárek, which in this spot, although only twenty-one feet

wide and a foot in depth, caused us a short delay, owing to its banks rising to the height of about ten feet. But, inconsiderable as was the size of the river, it became important to me, as in crossing it my ear was greeted for the first time by the usual Háusa salute, which I had not heard for so long a time, and which transported me once more into a region for which I had contracted a great predilection, and which, among all the tracts that I had visited in Negroland, I had found the most agreeable for a foreigner to reside in.

We then continued our march through the district of Góte, which is chiefly adorned with the monkey-bread-tree, till we reached a small village called Bóse, which is inhabited by the tribe of the Koi-zé, or Koizáten (who came originally from Damgót). It consisted entirely of the kind of huts which are usual in Háusa, and manifested that we had left the Songhay architecture behind us. But, although it possesses a small mosque, most of the inhabitants, together with the head man himself, are idolaters. Here we were hospitably treated with a bowl of ghussub-water, while I had to give the people my blessing in return. Two miles and a half beyond Bóse lies the village of Hendóbo, on a small branch of the river. We encamped a short distance from it, in the shade of a luxuriant duwé, on a ground rising slightly from the swampy plain opposite the island Barma-gúngu, which is situated a little farther in the midst of the river, which here, from N. 20° W. to S. 20° E., changes its course to a direction from N. 20° E. to S. 20° W.

The island is adorned with dúm palms, and is the residence of the chief of the Kortíta, or Kortébe, whose real name is Slímán, or Solímán Géro Kúse-izze, the son of Kúse, but who is generally known in the district under the name of Solímán Sildi. My companions, who were very anxious not to neglect any great men of the country, had determined to pay this chief a visit, in order to try to obtain a present from him. But the eloquent Wádáwi and his companions did not appear to have succeeded with these islanders, for they returned with rather dejected spirits from their visit to the chief, who showed us not the slightest mark of hospitality. But from another quarter I myself, at least, was well treated, for the inhabitants of a small island in the river brought me a plentiful supper in the evening, consisting of prepared millet, a couple of fowls, and some milk.

Wednesday, July 26th. Traversing the swampy ground, after a

march of half a mile we reached again the direct path, keeping at some distance from the bank of the river, which, although divided into several branches, exhibited a charming spectacle in the rising sun. Cultivated ground and wilderness alternated, and the monkey-bread-tree appeared in great abundance; but farther on the duwé and kenya began to prevail; the islands in the river also, as Nasíle and Ler, being richly clad with vegetation.

However, the district did not seem to be very populous, and the only village which we passed on the main was Shére, surrounded by a stockade, where we endeavored, in vain, to obtain a little milk. We left, at a distance of several miles to the west, the town of Larba, which, as I have mentioned on my outward journey, is inhabited by a warlike set of people greatly feared by their neighbors; but at present we heard that the ruler of that town, of the name of Bíto, had lately returned from Say, to whose governor, A'bú Bakr, he was said to have made his submission, although it is probable that his only intention had been to keep free that side, in order to be undisturbed in his proceedings against the chief of the Toróde, or Tórobe.

Altogether the region presented a very interesting feature, when, close behind the village of Gárbegurú, we reached the River Sírba, with which, in its upper course, we had first made acquaintance at Bóse-bángo, but which here had a very different character, rushing along, in a knee-like bend, from southwest to northeast, over a bed of rocks from sixty to seventy yards across, and leaving the impression that at the time when it is full of water it is scarcely passable. But at present we found no difficulty in crossing it, the water being only a foot deep. Nevertheless, the Sírba is of great importance in these regions, and we can well understand how Bello could call it the 'Alí Bábá of the small rivers. Ascending then the opposite bank of this stream, we obtained a view of a hilly chain ahead of us, but the country which we had to traverse was at present desolate, although in former times the cornfields of the important island town Koirwa spread out here. However, we had a long delay, caused by another of our camels being knocked up, so that we were obliged to leave it behind; an unfortunate circumstance, which afforded a fresh proof of the uselessness of the camels of the desert tract of A'zawád for a journey along the banks of the river.

The country improved greatly after we had crossed a small hilly chain which approached on the right, but it did not exhibit

any traces of cultivation, the inhabitants having taken refuge on the other side of the river. We also passed here a pretty little rivulet of middle size, girt by fine trees, and encamped close beyond the ruins of a village called Namáro, opposite the village of Kuttukóle, situated on an island in the river. The place was extremely rich in herbage, but greatly infested by ants, and, in consequence, full of ant-hills; but we only passed here the hot hours of the day, in order to give our animals some rest, and then set out again just as a thunder-storm was gathering in A'ussa, on the opposite side of the river.

The sheet of water is here broad and open, forming an island, and does not exhibit the least traces of rocks. The shore was richly clad with vegetation, and a little farther on seemed even to be frequented by a good many people, but they did not inspire us with much confidence. Meanwhile, the thunder-storm threatening to cross over from the other side of the river and reach us, we hastened onward, and encamped on the low and grassy shore, opposite a small village called Wántila, situated on an island full of tall dúm palms, which, however, at present, was only separated from the main by a narrow swampy creek. However, we had a sleepless night, the district being greatly infested by the people of Larba. The governor of this place, as we now learned, was then staying in the town of Karma, which we had just passed, and from whence proceeded a noise of warlike din and drumming which continued the whole night.

At an early hour, therefore, the next morning we set out, keeping at a short distance along the river, the ground presenting no signs of cultivation, while the steep slope on the opposite bank almost assumed the character of a mountain chain, the highest group being from 800 to 1000 feet in height, and called Bingáwi by our guide, while he gave to the succeeding one the name of Wágata; the most distant part of the chain he called Búbo. At the foot of this ridge lies the village of Tagabáta, which we passed a little farther on.

Enjoying the varied character of the scenery we continued our march rather slowly, an ass which my companions had bartered on the road lagging behind and causing us some delay, when we entered a dense underwood of thorny trees which entirely hemmed in our view, while on our right a hilly chain approached, called from a neighboring village Senudébu, exactly like the French settlement on the Falémé in the far west.

Proceeding thus onward, we suddenly observed that the covert in front of us was full of armed men. As soon as they became aware that we had observed them, they advanced toward us with the most hostile gesticulations, swinging their spears and fitting their arrows to their bows, and we were just going to fire upon them, when we observed among them my servant, the Gatróni, whom a short time before I had sent to fetch some water from the river. This fortunate circumstance suddenly arrested our hostile intentions and led to a peaceable understanding. We were then informed that, obtaining a sight of us from a hill while we were still at a distance, and seeing six armed horsemen, they had taken us for a hostile host, and had armed themselves; and it was very fortunate for my servant with whom they first met, as well as for ourselves, that one of them understood a little Háusa, and was able to make out from his description the nature of our undertaking. But for this, we should perhaps have been overwhelmed by numbers. The first troop consisted of upward of 100 men, all armed with bow and spear, and round black shields, many of them wearing a battle-axe besides; and smaller detachments were posted at short intervals up to the very outskirts of their village. They consisted of both Songhay and Fúlbe, and the greater part wore nothing but leathern aprons. They wanted us to accompany them to their village, but we did not feel sufficient confidence in them to do so, and we were glad when we got rid of them. On this occasion I had another proof of the warlike character of my Arab companion 'Alí el A'geren, who, as long as there was any danger, kept at a respectful distance behind the camels, but, as soon as he saw that all was over, he rushed out his little pony in the most furious manner, and threatened to put to death the whole body of men, so that I had great difficulty in appeasing him. Probably, if we had had a serious encounter, he would have turned his horse's head, and I should never have seen him again.

When we continued our march, we were gratified to see a wide extent of ground covered with fine cotton plantations; on our left, where the river again approached, much kharrwa, or berkínde, appeared. Farther on, fields of millet succeeded to the cotton plantations, and the cultivation now continued without interruption, extending to the slope of the hills, while on the other side of the river five villages appeared at short intervals. We then entered upon hilly sandy ground, but even this less favored tract was covered with fine crops. I had made it a rule, owing to the weak-

ness of my camels, which required a good feed, always to encamp at some distance from a larger place, and we therefore chose our camping-ground about two miles on this side of the town of Bírni, among monkey-bread-trees and hájilíj, at a short distance from a swampy creek of the river. Our encampment, however, became unpleasant in the extreme, as we had to sustain here a very heavy thunder-storm, accompanied by violent rain.

All the inhabitants of this district are Fúlbe, or Songhay speaking the language of the Fúlbe, the conquering tribe of the latter beginning to prevail here almost exclusively. All of them wear indigo-dyed shirts. We also met here an old man, originally belonging to the tribe of the Událen, a section of Imghád, or degraded Tawárek, but at present in the service of a Púllo, who, assisted by his slaves, was just getting his harvest into the town of Bírni, where he invited us to follow him on the approach of night.

Friday, July 28th. Having lost the greater part of the morning in order to dry ourselves and our animals, we continued our march straight upon a kind of defile, which seemed almost to hem in the passage along the river. The bank here exhibits a peculiar feature, and the locality would be of the highest importance if the state of the country was in any way settled, for the hilly chain on the right closely joins a group of rocky eminences which nearly approaches the river, and opening toward it in the shape of a horse-shoe, leaves only a very narrow passage between the south-easterly corner of this semicircle of the hills and a detached cone rising close over the brink of the river, the latter being likewise full of rocks. On the slope of the amphitheatre, called Sáre-góru, about half way up the height, lies the village or town of Bírni,* presenting a very picturesque spectacle, notwithstanding the frail character of the dwellings.

Even beyond this passage only a small border is left between the slope of the hills and the river, especially behind the little village of Kollónte, which is separated by a small ravine into two distinct groups, and very pleasantly situated in a fine recess of the

* There is no doubt that this was formerly a place of considerable importance, and commanded the whole of the surrounding district, as the masters of this defile had at the same time in their hands the whole intercourse along the shore. In this respect the name Bírni is not less remarkable than that of Sáre-góru, both "bírni," as well as "sáre," being the names given to cities, or large walled places, in various negro languages. Sáre-góru means the rivulet or channel (góru) of the city (sáre).

hills; at the same time, busy scenes of domestic life attracted our attention. Here the shore formed a bend, and the river glided along in a slow, majestic, and undivided stream, but a little farther on formed two islands, and on the main we observed again that cotton was cultivated. Traversing then a swampy plain, covered with several large farms belonging to people of the Kortére, we reached a small detached chain on our right, called Kirogáji, distinguished by three separate cones. Cultivation here is carried on to a great extent, and the number of horses scattered over the plain afforded a tolerable proof of the wealth of the inhabitants, and we passed the residence of a rich farmer, called U'ro-Módibo, "úro" being the Púllo term for a farm, and "módibo" the title of a learned gentleman. At the village of Sága also, which, a little more than two miles farther on, we left on our right, beyond swampy meadow-grounds, numbers of horses and extensive cotton plantations attracted our attention.

Three miles beyond Sága we encamped near a small rivulet lined with luxuriant trees, of the species called gamji or ganki, at the foot of the hills, the slope of which was covered with the richest crop of millet, and crowned with two villages inhabited by Fúlbé of the tribe of the Bitinkóbe, the river forming a rich and populous island called Bé-gúngu. This place is the residence of a sort of emír of the name of Báte, to whom my companions paid a visit, and obtained from him a supper and a small viaticum.

Saturday, July 29th. We made a very interesting day's march. The hills, which are here crowned with the various hamlets, form a bend closely approaching the river, and the path wound along the slope, which was intersected by several ravines full of rocks and trees, and afforded a beautiful view over the stream. Descending from this slope, we kept along the bank, richly adorned with kenya, or nelbi-trees, the river spreading out in one unbroken sheet, interrupted only by a few isolated masses of rock. We here crossed a broad channel or dry water-course starting forth from the hilly chain, and called Górul-tilkólil, or Góru-kére. This water-course my guide, probably erroneously, indicated as a branch of the river Sírba. It was succeeded by several others, one of which, distinguished by its breadth, was called Górul-luggul. The bank of the river at this spot was cultivated with great care, and we passed several farming villages, one of which, called Lellóli, was the residence of a young Púllo woman who had at-

tached herself to our party the preceding day. She was neatly dressed, and adorned with numerous strings of beads, and mounted on a donkey.

Here cultivation, including a good deal of cotton, was carried on with great care, and all the fields were neatly fenced. But this well-cultivated ground was succeeded by a dense and luxuriant underwood, and in the river an island of the name of 'Oitílli or 'Otílli stretched out to a great length. This probably is the ford originally called Ghútil or Ghúdil. A little beyond, at the distance of about five miles, the soft slope gave way to a small rocky ridge, through which a little rivulet or brook had forced itself a passage, forming a very picturesque kind of rocky gate, which, when the stream is full, must present an interesting spectacle. But the water contained at the time a quantity of ferruginous substances, and after taking a slight draught I remained in a nauseous state all the day long. It affected one of my companions still more unpleasantly. Here the steep rocky cliffs, consisting of gneiss and mica slate, and interwoven with fine green bushes, closely approached the river, which, in a fine open sheet, was gliding gently along at the rate of about three miles an hour, and we kept close to the margin of the stream, which, during the highest state of the inundation, is scarcely broad enough to afford any passage. The cliffs, with their beautifully stratified front, were so close that even at present only a border a few feet in width was left, and this narrow strip was beautifully adorned with dunku-trees, the dark green foliage of which formed a beautiful contrast with the steep white cliffs behind them. The leaves are used by the natives for making a kind of sauce and for seasoning their food, like those of the monkey-bread-tree. Farther on, underwood of arbutus succeeded. The rocky ledge was interrupted, for a short time exhibiting the aspect of a crumbled wall, but farther on again assumed the shape of precipitous cliffs, although less regularly stratified than in its northwesterly part.

This steep range of cliffs is called by the natives "Yúri." Just where it began to fall off and to become smoother we were obliged to leave the margin of the beautiful stream, which, near the bank, apparently descended to a great depth, in order to ascend the higher ground; for here the land juts out into the river in the form of a broad promontory, the whole slope being covered with fine crops, which were just approaching to ripeness. Thus we reached the farming village, or rúmde, belonging to Fíttia Imám,

or, as the name is generally pronounced, Mam Fítti, a wealthy Púllo, who possesses also a farm in the plain at the foot of the promontory close to the river. Here we encamped on the south-east side of the village, where the ground afforded good pasture for the camels.

I had been reposing a while in the shade of a small kórna, when my people informed me that they had discovered on the slope of the hills a spring of living water, and I was easily induced, by the novelty of the phenomenon in this region, to accompany them to the spot.

The whole slope is about 500 feet high, and the view from this point across the river is extensive, but toward the southeast it is obstructed by the hills rising in that direction to a greater elevation. This culminating point of the ridge we ascended the next morning, when we found that the highest level expanded to an open plain, well clad with bush and grass and a rich supply of corn, although the crops did not exhibit here the same luxuriant growth as on the slope of the hills. Proceeding then for a mile along this level, we reached a small village, in the court-yards of which, besides sesamum, a little mekka, as it is here called, or ghafúli-másr, was cultivated. Here I, together with my horsemen, started in advance of my train, in order to prepare our quarters in the town of Say, as we had a good day's march before us. The country here became adorned with gonda bush, of which we had entirely lost sight during our whole journey along the upper course of the Niger. Having passed the larger village Dógo, where with some difficulty we obtained a drop of milk, and having traversed a richly-cultivated district, we descended into the valley of Say, along the rugged cliffs which bounded it on the west. But the greater part of the valley was covered with water to such a degree that we became entangled every moment in a swamp, and therefore preferred again ascending the cliffs and keeping along the higher border. In this northerly part the rocky slope attained in general a height of 150 feet, but gradually began to decrease in elevation. About half an hour before noon we changed our direction, and made across the swampy bottom of the valley, traversing two more considerable sheets of water, the first of three, and the second of two and a half feet in depth.

Thus we approached the town of Say, which was scarcely visible, owing to the exuberant vegetation which surrounded its wall on every side, and which exhibited a most remarkable contrast to

that dryness and monotony which characterized the place on my former visit. The town itself was at present intersected by a broad sheet of water, which seemed almost to separate it into two distinct quarters. I at length reached the house of the governor, where I, as well as my horse, were cheerfully recognized as old acquaintances. I was quartered in the same little hut in which I had resided more than a year previously, but a considerable change had been made in its arrangement. The comfortable little sleeping place of matting had been restored, and was very acceptable in the rainy season, more especially as it did not entirely preclude a current of air, while it enabled me to put away all my small treasures in security.

CHAPTER LXXXI.

SECOND RESIDENCE IN SAY.—JOURNEY THROUGH DE'NDINA AND KEBBI.

HAVING rested a while in my hut, I, with my companions, obeyed the summons of the governor, and found our poor old friend, A'bú-Bakr, in the very same room where we had left him more than a year previously. He was now quite lame in consequence of his disease of señi, but looked a little better than on the former occasion, and I soon had an opportunity of admiring his accurate knowledge of the country; for when A'hmed el Wádáwi had read to him the kasáíd or poems addressed by my friend El Bakáy to the Emír A'hmedu, and began to relate some of the more remarkable incidents of our journey, he was corrected every moment in the nomenclature of the places by the governor, who appeared to possess the most accurate philological knowledge of all the spots along the river as far as Tóndibi, where he had been obliged to turn his back on his voyage up the Niger. He apparently took great interest in the endeavor of the sheikh to open a communication with the Fúlbe of Gando and Sókoto, and expressed his deep sorrow that on his former voyage he was prevented by the hostile behavior of the chief El Khadír from reaching Timbúktu, when my companions assured him that the sheikh, on the first news of his approach, had sent a messenger in order to insure his safety from the Tawárek.

Even if we do not take into account this attempt of his, there

is no doubt that the Governor of Say is of the utmost importance in the endeavor to ascend this river, and it is only to be lamented that he has not greater means, pecuniary and military, at his disposal, in order to draw from the favorable position of his province all the results possible. Altogether, his circumstances at this moment, especially in consequence of the rebellion of the Province of Déndina, were rather poor. At the same time, his own debilitated condition prevents him from exerting his power, and can only tend to increase his political weakness. The rather inhospitable treatment which we received may thus be explained. Nevertheless, I made him this time a considerable present, including a red bernús of inferior quality, which I had kept back for the occasion. However, I was so fortunate, in acknowledgment for some medicines with which I endeavored to alleviate his complaint, as to receive from him a small piece of sugar, which was a great treat to me, as I had long been deprived of this luxury, there being none in the market; and when we left the place, after a stay of three days, he was generous enough to make my companions a present of a camel, of which they stood much in need.

The market was in many respects better provided than on our outward journey, but with this advantage was coupled the great disadvantage to me personally that, a large troop of Háusa traders having recently arrived and richly supplied the market with the manufactures of that region, the prices at present ranged much lower, and for the very best indigo-dyed shirt I obtained only 6000 shells, while two others did not fetch more than 2000 each. Millet was plentiful, although by no means cheap, the third part of a suníye, or twenty-four measures of Timbúktu, being sold for 4000 shells, consequently twice or thrice as dear as in the latter place; but there was hardly any rice. There was not a single sheep in the market, nor any horned cattle, either for slaughtering or for carrying burdens; nor were there any dodówa cakes or tamarinds; nay, even the fruit of the monkey-bread-tree, or kúka, was wanting; the only small luxury which was to be found in the market, besides the fruit of the dúm palm, consisting of fresh onions, certainly a great comfort in these regions.

Such is the miserable character of this market, which, in such a position, situated on the shore of this magnificent river, and on the principal high road between Eastern and Western Negroland, ought to be of primary importance. It was with great delight that the feeble but well-meaning governor listened to my dis-

course, when, on taking leave, I led him to hope that an English steamer would, please God, soon come to ascend the river, and, supplying his place of residence with all kinds of European articles, would raise it to a market-place of great importance; and he was the more agreeably affected by such prospects as my friendly relation with the Shiekh el Bakáy had convinced him of the peaceable intentions of the Europeans.

Wednesday, August 2d. It was in the afternoon that we left our narrow quarters in the town of Say, which had appeared to us the more inconvenient as we had experienced several thunder-storms, which had obliged us to take refuge in the interior of our narrow huts. Before reaching the bank of the river we had to cross a large sheet of water, which here likewise intersected the town, filling out the whole hollow bordered by the dúm palms, and causing a serious interruption in the communication of the different quarters of the town. Nevertheless, the level of the river at present seemed only about five feet higher than it had been the previous year, a little earlier in the season, and the inconvenience must be greatly increased when the water reaches a higher level. It is a wonder that the town is not sometimes entirely swamped, although we must not forget that the river, the preceding year, had attained an unusual height, so that the water this year could scarcely have sunk to its average level before it had again commenced rising. The rocky cliff which obstructs the river about the middle of its course at present only emerged from the water about a foot and a half. According to all appearances it must sometimes be entirely submerged, so that vessels must be upon their guard in navigating this part of the river, especially as it is not improbable that there are more sunken rocks hereabouts.

It was with a deep feeling of satisfaction that I again crossed this magnificent river, on whose banks I had lived for so long a time, and the course of which I had followed for so many hundred miles. It would have been of no small importance if I had been able to follow its banks as far as Yaúri, and thus to connect by my own inspection the middle course of this noble river with the lower part, as far as it has been visited by the Landers, and partly, at least, by various distinguished English officers. But such an undertaking was entirely out of the question, on account of the exhausted state of my means, the weak condition of my health, and the advanced stage of the rainy season, which made it absolutely necessary for me to reach Sókoto as soon as possible;

and, what was still more, in consequence of the rebellious state of the Province of Déndino, which at the time made any intercourse along the river impossible for so small a troop as I had then under my command. At this season of the year, moreover, it would be impracticable, even if the country were in a tranquil state, to keep close along the banks of the river.

This time also I had succeeded in crossing the river without any accident, with the single exception that a camel which belonged to one of my companions was so obstinate that it was found impossible to induce it to enter the boats, which were not of the same size as those of the preceding year. It was thus forced to cross the river by swimming alongside, and arrived in the most exhausted state, the river being about 900 yards across. The nearest village being too far off, we were obliged to encamp for the night on the gentle grassy slope of the bank, which, a little above and below the place of embarkation, forms steep cliffs of about 80 feet elevation. The evening was beautiful, and the scenery of the river, with the feathery dúm palms on the opposite shore, was lovely in the extreme, and well adapted to leave on my mind a lasting impression of the magnificent watery high road which Nature has opened into the heart of this continent. Thus I took leave of the Niger.

Thursday, 3d August. We now commenced our journey along our former well-known path, which, however, in the richer garment of vegetable life in which Nature had decked herself out, presented now a very different aspect, and after a march of six miles we reached the village of Tóndifú, surrounded by fine crops of millet, which were almost ripe and of the very remarkable height of fifteen to twenty feet. In order to protect their property from the attacks of the numberless swarms of birds, almost the whole population was scattered through this forest-like plantation, and kept up such a continual noise and clamor that it had quite an alarming effect, more especially as the people were concealed from view.

Having then kept along the fáddama as far as the village of Tanna, we left our former route for a more northerly direction, and after a march of five miles reached the miserable remains of a hamlet called Jídder, which the preceding year had been ransacked and entirely destroyed by the Jermábe, as the inhabitants of Zerma, or Zabérma, are called by the Fúlbe. But the fine crops around testified to the natural fertility of the soil. In this

village, which has a well surrounded by dúm palms, it had been our intention to halt; but, through a ridiculous misunderstanding of my Mćjebri companion, who never could shorten the march sufficiently, but who this time was punished for his troublesome conduct, we continued on, and, leaving the village of Hari-bango at some distance on our right, did not reach another hamlet till after a march of about five miles more. This place, which is called Mínge, had been likewise ransacked by the enemy in the turbulent state of the country, and exhibited a most miserable appearance; but here also there was a good deal of cultivation, and I was not a little astonished at finding, in such a desolate place, a man who was retailing meat in his hut, but on farther inquiry it proved to be the flesh of a sick animal, a few head of cattle having remained in the possession of the inhabitants.

In order to avoid sleeping in the dirty huts, I had pitched my tent on the grassy ground, but was so much persecuted by a species of hairy ant, such as I had not observed before, that I obtained almost less sleep than the preceding night on the banks of the Niger, where musquitoes had swarmed.

Friday, August 4th. This day brought me to Támkala; my camels pursuing a shorter and I a more circuitous route, but both arriving at the same time at the gate of this town. It had been my intention from the beginning to visit this place, but the turbulent state of the country had induced me the year before to follow a more direct road, and I did not learn until now that on that occasion A'bú el Hassan, as soon as he heard of my approach, had sent four horsemen to Gárbo in order to conduct me to his presence, but they did not arrive till after I had left that place. The town of Támkala, which gives great celebrity to this region, had suffered considerably during the revolution of Zabérma; and if the bulky crops of native corn (which were just ripe) had not hid the greater part of the town from view, it would most probably have presented even a more dilapidated appearance; for not only was the wall which surrounded the place in a great state of decay, but even the house of the governor himself was reduced almost to a heap of ruins. It was rather remarkable that, as I approached the building, a female slave, of rather light yellowish color, saluted me, the white man, in a familiar manner, as if I had been a countryman and co-religionist of hers. She belonged, I think, to a tribe to the south of A'damáwa.

Having then paid our respects to the governor, we returned to

our quarters, which, although not so objectionable in themselves, were so closely surrounded by the crops that we could scarcely find a spot to tie up our horses; and the huts were so full of all sorts of vermin that I scarcely got a moment's repose during my stay here. Besides the common plague of different species of ants and numberless swarms of musquitoes, to my great surprise I found the place also full of fleas, an insect which I had not seen since I had left Kúkawa, and which formerly was believed to be entirely wanting in Negroland. Thus I had sufficient reason to lament that I had here been obliged to take up my quarters inside the town, the place being situated at the brink of a swampy valley, the dallul Bosso filled at present with water and dúm palms, and the crops surrounding the wall so closely that no space was left to pitch a tent.

It was just market-day, but, besides meat, sour milk, tobacco, and pepper, nothing was to be got. Millet was very dear; indeed, the poor state of the market was well adapted to confirm the report that the greater part of the inhabitants were subsisting on the fruit of the dúm palm. However, I had no affairs to transact in this town besides paying my compliments to the governor, and therefore was not compelled to make a long stay. But my business with the latter was of rather a peculiar character, the people assuring me that he was very angry with me for not having paid him a visit the previous year. My companions, the followers of the sheikh, even wanted to make me believe that he objected to see me at all; but I entertained a strong suspicion that this was only a petty trick played by them to further their own interest; for, being supplied by the sheikh with a present for this governor, they wanted to claim for themselves all the merit of the visit. Having declared that if the governor did not want to see me, he should certainly not obtain a present from me, I very speedily obtained an audience, and was so graciously received that I could scarcely believe that he had entertained any hostile feeling toward me, for on my entrance he rose from his seat, or divan, made of reed, and met me at the door.

Responding to his cordiality in the most friendly manner, I told him that only the most urgent circumstances and the advice of my own guide, the messenger of Khalílu, had induced me the preceding year to act contrary to my own well-determined principle, which was to make friendship with all governors possessed of power and authority along my road, and that, in consequence

of his warlike disposition and straightforward and chivalrous character, he had become known to me long before, and occupied the first rank among those whom I intended to visit. My speech, backed by a tolerable present, made a very favorable impression upon the governor, especially when he understood that it was I who had induced the sheikh to honor him with a mission; and he entered into a very friendly conversation, admitting that the Jermábe, or the inhabitants of Zerma, had really pressed him very severely the last year, till he had at last succeeded in vanquishing their host and killing a great number of them.

We then read to him the letter of the sheikh, who bestowed great praise upon my character, and recommended me in the most favorable terms. Sídi A'hmed made a most eloquent speech, especially as regarded the sanctity and learning of his master, who, he said, was very anxious te establish peaceable intercourse along the Niger, and wanted A'bú el Hassan to prevent the Berber tribe of the Kél-gerés and Dínnik from continuing their predatory expeditions upon the territory and against the people of Alkúttabu. The energetic governor, feeling flattered by these compliments, took very graciously the hints which my eloquent friend threw out, that, besides his other noble efforts, the sheikh had no objection to having homage paid to his exalted position by a small number of decent presents; and two of the pupils of the sheikh, Mohammed ben Mukhtár and Máleki, were pointed out to him as the persons who would remain here, in order to receive at his hand the presents destined for the sheikh at the earliest possible opportunity. This whole business having been transacted in the presence of only one or two of his most confidential friends, the governor had all his courtiers again called in, when Sídi A'hmed read to them the poem in which the sheikh had satirized the chief of Hamda Alláhi, A'hmedu ben A'hmedu, on account of his not being able to catch me, which caused a great deal of merriment, but of course could only be appreciated by those who had a very good knowledge of Arabic, of which the greater part of the audience probably did not understand a single word. It was rather a curious circumstance that these people should express their satisfaction at the failure of an undertaking of their own countrymen.

Altogether A'bú el Hassan made a favorable impression upon me. He was by no means a man of stately appearance or of commanding manners, and his features wanted the expressive cast which in general characterizes the Fúlbe: and being destitute of

any beard, he looked much younger than he really was, as his age can certainly not be much under sixty. His skin was very fair, and his dress of great simplicity, consisting of a shirt and turban of white color, the red bernús which my companions had presented to him only hanging loosely from his shoulders. He is a native of the island of Ansóngho, where his forefathers were settled from ancient times, and it is entirely owing to his personal courage and his learning that he has reached the position he now occupies. A'bú el Hassan seems fully to deserve to be under the orders of a more energetic liege lord than the monkish and lazy Khalílu, who allows his kingdom to be shattered to pieces, and in any attempt to ascend the Niger the Governor of Támkala is of considerable importance. The principal weakness of his position consists in his want of horses, as he is thus prevented from following up the partial successes which he at times obtains over his enemies.

Having thus met with full success in our transactions with the governor, we left the audience-hall (which struck me by its simple mode of architecture), consisting of a long narrow room covered with a gabled roof thatched with reed, such as are common in Yóruba. On returning to my quarters I distributed my last presents among those of my companions who were to remain here, and handed them a letter for the sheikh, wherein I again assured him of my attachment to his family, and expressed the hope that, even at a great distance, we might not cease to cultivate our mutual friendship.

It had been our intention this time to choose the road by Junju, the place which I have mentioned before as lying on the northern part of the course of the dallul Máuri; but the governor advised us urgently to avoid this place, which, being only of small size, and not strong enough to follow a certain line of policy, was open to the intrigues of friends as well as enemies.

Sunday, August 6th. Before we started the governor sent me a camel as a present, but I gave it to my companions, although my own animals were in a very reduced state. There was a good deal of cultivation along the track which we pursued, but the irregular way in which the crops had sprung up did not seem to testify to any considerable degree of care and industry: but my people argued that famished men, like the distressed inhabitants of this town, did not possess sufficient energy for cultivating the ground.

Following a southerly direction, we approached nearer the bor-

der of the dallul or ráfi, the surface of which alternately presented higher or lower ground, the depression being of a swampy character. Toward the east the valley was bordered by a chain of hills, rising to a considerable elevation, on the top of which an isolated baobab-tree indicated the site of a place called G'awó, by which the road leads from Támkala to Junju. Gradually the cultivation decreased, and was for a time succeeded by dúm bush, from which a very fine but solitary gamji-tree started forth. However, the country farther on improved and began to exhibit an appearance of greater industry, consisting of cornfields and small villages, half of which indicated by their names their origin from the Songhay; others pointed to Háusa. All of them were surrounded by fine crops, and one called Bommo-hógu was furnished with a small market-place. It was a cheering incident that an inhabitant of the village of Gátara, which we passed farther on, gave vent to his generous feelings by presenting me with a gift of fifty shells, which I could not refuse, although I handed them to my companions. It was here also that we met the only horseman whom we had seen in the province. They had rather an energetic and stately appearance. Having passed a small market-place, situated in the midst of the cornfields, and at present empty, we reached the village of Báshi, where we expected to find quarters prepared for us, but were only able, after a great deal of delay, to procure a rather indifferent place.

We were glad to meet here a native traveler or mai-falké, from Wurnó, who communicated to us the most recent news from Háusa and Kebbi, although very little was to be told of the chivalrous deeds of the two great Féllani chiefs, 'Alíyu and Khalílu, both of whom were accelerating the ruin of their nation. About an hour after our arrival we were joined by a native duke, who, according to the arrangement of the Governor of Támkala, was to perform the journey through the unsafe wilderness of Fógha in our company. This man was 'Abdú serkí-n-Chíko, lord of Chíko, or, to speak correctly, lord of the wilderness; his title or "ráwani" (properly shawl or turban) being just as empty and vain as many others in Europe, the town of Chíko having many years previously been destroyed by the enemy. But, whatever the hollowness of his title might be, he himself was of noble birth, being the son of 'Abd e' Salám,* who was well known as being once the independ-

* The original residence of 'Abd e' Salám had been Kóri, from whence he had carried on war with 'Othmán for five years.

ent master of the important and wealthy town of Jéga, which had made so long and successful resistance against 'Othmán, the Jihádi; Bokhári, the present ruler of that place, was 'Abdú's brother. Besides his noble descent, the company of this man proved to be interesting, for he displayed all the pomp peculiar to the petty Háusa chiefs, marching to the sound of drums and horns. He was richly decked out with a green bernús, and mounted on a sprightly charger, although his whole military force numbered only three horsemen and six archers; and his retinue had by no means a princely appearance, consisting of a motley assemblage of slaves, cattle, sheep, and all sorts of encumbrances. But, notwithstanding this empty show, he was a welcome companion on the infested road before me, and when he paid me a visit in my hut, I at once presented him with a fine black ráwani, thus confirming on my part the whole of his titles. He at once proceeded to give me a proof of his knowledge of the world and of his intelligence, and I found sundry points of resemblance between him and Mohammed-Bóró, my noble friend of A'gades. Having been joined here also by two attendants of 'Abd el Káderi, a younger brother of Khalílu, there seemed to be a sufficient guarantee for the safety of our march. The village where I fell in with these people was rather poorly supplied with provisions, and neither milk nor any thing else was to be got, and, owing to the number of musquitoes, repose was quite out of the question.

Monday, August 7th. A moderate rain which came on in the morning delayed us for some time. Our route lay through a rich country, at times exhibiting traces of careful cultivation, at others left to its own wild luxuriant growth. Having passed the village of Belánde, which was adorned by numbers of dúm palms, and the extensive hamlet called U'ro-emíro, we entered more properly the bottom of the valley or ráfi, being already at this season for a great part covered with swamps, which a month later render the communication extremely difficult, although at times the ground rises a few feet higher than the ordinary level. But, although this low ground is extremely well adapted for the cultivation of rice, very little was at present actually to be seen.

At length we thought that we had entirely left the swampy ground behind us; but about a mile and a half beyond the village Gerláje, which we left on one side, we had to cross a very deep and broad swamp, in which one of the last of my camels fell down and died. Three miles beyond, we reached the village of

Gárbo, which was already familiar to me from my outward journey, although I was scarcely able to recognize it, so great was the change produced by the rich vegetation and the crops of millet and sorghum which had sprung up through the influence of the rainy season. But the inhabitants also, elated by the hope which the prospect of a rich harvest held out to them, exhibited a far more cheerful temperament than on my former visit, and immediately led me through the narrow lanes to the house of the emír, who received me in a hearty manner as an old friend. On entering into conversation with him, I was not a little astonished to find that he was acquainted with all the incidents of my stay in Timbúktu. He quartered me in the same small but neatly arranged hut where I had been lodged during my former stay, and from which I felt rather sorry to drive away the industrious landlady. The governor treated me in an extremely hospitable manner, sending me, besides milk and corn, even a small heifer, although I had made him only a very trifling present. His name is 'Abd el Waháb, and he is a brother of A'bú el Hassan by his father's side. With such cheerful treatment we enjoyed our stay here very much, the weather having cleared up, and a rainy morning being succeeded by a fine afternoon.

The friendly disposition of the governor was the more agreeable, as we were delayed here the following day, several of my companions being disabled by sickness, and the Serkí-n-Chíko wanting to lay in a supply of corn for the road. I spent a great deal of my leisure time, thus involuntarily obtained, in the company of the latter, who detailed to me the incidents of the struggle of his family with the Jihádi, and dilated on the importance of the town of Jéga, which is a market-place of great consequence, especially for rough silk, with which it supplies the whole of Zánfara, and even the distant market of Alóri or Ilóri. In fact, I am quite sure that the silk which has been obtained from the missionary station in Yóruba is nothing but the selfsame article introduced into this country from Tripoli, and again exported from thence to Háusa. In my conversation with this man, he mentioned a circumstance which struck me as peculiar, that the Háusa people have no general name for the Songhay. Their only designation for them is Yammatáwa, meaning the western people, a term which is only used in opposition to Gabbestáwa, the "eastern people," without any regard to nationality.

Wednesday, August 9th. On leaving the village of Gárbo we

were induced to follow the traces of our Háusa companion, and to ascend directly the steep rocky passage which we had turned on our former journey; but we found that this time also the proverb was confirmed, that "the more haste the less speed," for the passage proved so difficult that all the luggage fell from the backs of the camels, and caused us a great deal of delay. However, as soon as we reached the flat level of the forest, we proceeded onward without interruption till we had passed our former place of encampment. Finding no water here, we pushed on, but, unfortunately, on account of part of our caravan having gone on in advance, we were prevented from encamping before the storm, which had gathered over our heads during the afternoon, broke forth, when the whole ground was in a moment so deeply covered with water that it was impossible to encamp. Thus, although drenched to the skin, we were obliged to keep on, in the most uncomfortable manner, till we found a little higher ground, where the branches of a sylvan encampment supplied us with the means of protecting our luggage against the extreme humidity of the ground. It is such encampments as these which are the cause of so much unhealthiness to travelers, and I did not feel at all comfortable until, with great difficulty, I had lighted a fire inside my wet tent, the rain continuing outside with increased violence. But the weather affected my people, who were less protected than myself, in such a manner that they were shivering with wet and cold in the morning, and we did not get off until a late hour.

Having met some energetic and warlike-looking horsemen from Fógha, and passing several small ponds, we descended a little, and then proceeding over the hilly ground, which was more scantily timbered, we gradually approached the remarkable valley of Fógha. As I had decided upon visiting the town of Kallíyul, I was obliged to change here my direction to the southwest, keeping along the side of the valley. The narrow footpath was now overgrown with rank grass, and the numerous salt-manufacturing hamlets were destitute of life and animation, and overgrown with vegetation. We were also glad, for the sake of the famished inhabitants of this district, to see the fields waving with tolerably rich crops, and a few cattle grazing about. Some animation was caused by an encampment of native traders which we passed, consisting of light sheds built of reed.

Proceeding thus onward we reached the town of Kallíyul, and were here received outside the gate by two horsemen, when I was

without delay quartered in a large and clean hut built of clay, and about thirty feet in diameter. I had scarcely made myself comfortable, when Señína, and the most respectable of the inhabitants, came to pay their compliments to me in the most cheerful manner, saluting me as an old acquaintance, and as an enterprising and successful traveler, while I, in my turn, complimented them on account of their having retrieved some of their losses by capturing a fine herd of cattle from the enemy. I was glad to see that they were not in such a famished condition as when I was here a year previously, and I gratefully acknowledged the moderate proof of hospitality which they were able to bestow upon me, consisting of a little túwo, a large quantity of milk, and a few kóla nuts. I rewarded their kindness as well as I was able under my present reduced circumstances.

It was here that I learned with certainty the death of my friend the Vizier of Bórnu; for although the Governor of Say, when we read to him the general letter of recommendation which the Sheikh el Bakáy had written for me, had remarked that 'Omár was no longer ruler of Bórnu, and had thrown out some hints respecting the death of the vizier, those indications were too vague to be relied on; but now circumstances were mentioned in such a positive manner that I could no longer entertain a doubt as to the truth of the report, and it was with some anxiety that I thought of Mr. Vogel and his companions, and my own affairs in the country of Bórnu.

Toward evening I wandered about a little, and found the town only scantily inhabited, although, as I have said before, the hamlets for manufacturing salt are almost deserted at this time of year, as no salt can be obtained as long as the bottom of the valley is covered with water. The situation of the place is of considerable strength, being defended not only by the wall on the east side, but also by a swamp on the west side, at least during part of the year, and it is this circumstance which renders it more intelligible how the inhabitants have been able to defend themselves against the repeated attacks of the revolted Déndi.

The greatest object of interest for me, and which would alone have rewarded a visit to the place, was a specimen of an oil palm, *Elais Guineensis*, quite isolated, but, together with some palm bushes of the same species, serving to prove that this palm can thrive, even in the interior, in localities where the soil is impregnated with salt, as is here the case, although in general it is as-

sumed, and seems to be proved by experience, that it can not grow at any great distance from the ocean.

We had taken up our quarters inside the town in consequence of the statement of 'Abdú that we should be able to cross the valley at this spot, but, to my great disappointment, I learned that I should have to retrace my steps for some miles, as far as the spot where I had crossed the valley on my outward journey. In order, therefore, not to lose more time than was necessary, I left the place in the afternoon of the next day, intending to encamp beyond the valley at the entrance of the forest. After a good deal of opposition from my companions, I effected my purpose, being escorted out of the town by Señína, with two mounted archers, and followed by all the people who wanted to take the same road; for as soon as they saw me marching out with confidence, they all followed, one after the other, and encamped close round my tent, which I had pitched on the eminence above the valley near the dúm palms, as if it were a talisman to protect them against any attack; and midnight had scarcely passed, when the drum of 'Abdú was heard in the distance, indicating that he also did not tarry. But in consequence of the laziness of my people, whom the numbers of musquitoes had scarcely allowed to close their eyes, he arrived before we had prepared our luggage, so that we did not get off until three o'clock in the morning; and, owing to a pack-ox belonging to 'Abdú having fallen down in the narrow path in the forest, we lost another hour before we could fairly proceed.

Marching then onward without farther delay, we reached, half an hour before noon, the site of Débe, in the dense thicket of the forest, which was inundated with water, and made a short halt, without dismounting, in order to allow the Háusa people to drink their furá. There were about one hundred fatáki or native traders, most of them bearing their little merchandise on pack-oxen or asses, but some of them carrying it on their heads as dan-gar-únfu. Having refreshed ourselves, we continued our march, but, frightened by a thunder-storm which was gathering over our heads, encamped near a shallow pond of water. However, there was but little rain, and we had a tolerably quiet evening. Here also we suffered greatly from the musquitoes; which, together with the extreme insecurity of the communication, are the great drawback to the full enjoyment of a journey through Kebbi.

Sunday, August 13th. About two miles from our starting-point,

having slightly ascended, we had again to descend the steep rocky passage, the rising ground before us, with its dense timber, appearing like a chain of mountains. Having then ascended again, we reached the tebki, or pond, which I have mentioned on my outward journey, and being thirsty, we all went to drink, but found the water so abominable that all my companions from Timbúktu were attacked with serious illness, especially Sídi A'hmed, who was seized suddenly with such a severe attack of fever that he declared the water to have been poisoned. But although it is not totally impossible that the enemy might have poisoned the pond—from which they knew that all the passers-by supplied themselves with water—with some herb or other, I think that its unwholesome character was caused in the same manner as the water of the brook near U'ro Béleng, which had made one of my companions and myself ill on a former occasion.

Having again descended a rocky passage, we passed the site of a former encampment of Sultan Bello, which he used as his head-quarters when he destroyed the towns of Dębe and Kúka. The sight of this place, together with the remembrance of the ruinous warfare which had proceeded from thence, gave my companions an opportunity of expatiating on the great strength of Kebbi in former times, when the whole of Gúrma, with all the Songhay places as far as Téra, were subject to them; but I never heard that the dominion of this country, or of any province of Háusa, had ever extended as far as Timbúktu. Proceeding then cheerfully on, we reached the first monkey-bread-trees at the border of the forest, and were greatly delighted at the sight of the fine herds of cattle belonging to the inhabitants of Tilli, with the rich crops, part of which was already cut in order to satisfy the most urgent wants of the population. The whole district, together with its fine timber, which had now put forth its utmost exuberance of foliage, left a very pleasing impression.

Thus we reached the town of Tilli, but the western gate being very narrow, we had to turn round half the circumference of the wall in order to reach the eastern entrance; but, having at length penetrated into the interior, we were lodged close to the western gate, where we had arrived an hour previously. I had thus the advantage of getting a good insight into the relations of the population of this place, and found the town to be much better off and more densely inhabited than Zogírma. But while the governor of the latter town ranks like a petty sultan, and has some cavalry

under his command, that of Tilli is a mere mayor, without rank or authority. The present governor, whose name is Búba-Sadíki, enjoyed still less authority from personal reasons, as he was prostrated with the same illness which had lamed the Governor of Say. This "señi" or rheumatism, as I have stated on former occasions, is a kind of disease of which every African traveler who exposes himself a great deal during the rainy season, particularly along swampy regions and in leaky boats, is very susceptible. I suffered dreadfully from it after my return to Bórnu.

While the télamíd of the sheikh went in person to the governor in order to alleviate, if possible, his enfeebled state by means of their prayers and blessing, I made him a small present and he sent me some rice in acknowledgment. The little market was tolerably well supplied, and I was very glad to find here, besides sorghum, the large wholesome onions of Gando, and some dodówa, sour milk also being in considerable abundance; and it was interesting to observe how much more cheerful all the inhabitants were under the present circumstances than they had been the previous year. I should have liked very much to have paid my compliments to my friend of Zogírma, in order to see how he was going on after being relieved from a great part of the anxiety which appeared to oppress him the year before; but, fearing the delay, I resolved to make direct from here to Birni-n-Kebbi.

Monday, August 14th. We had heard already on our journey that we had arrived at the very latest time in order to cross, with any degree of safety, the swampy fáddama of the gúlbi-n-Sókoto, which a little later in the season is extremely difficult to pass. At all events, it was very fortunate that no rain had fallen for the last few days, or we should have experienced considerable difficulty in crossing this swampy ground; even as it was, we had to traverse three sheets of water, the first of which was about three feet deep and of considerable breadth, the second forming the real bed of the river, running with a southwesterly bend toward the Kwára, although not so wide as the former, and the third forming a stagnant creek. Having passed some rice-fields, we at length, after a march of little more than three miles, emerged from the swampy bottom of the valley, and ascended rising ground covered with the fine crops belonging to the inhabitants of Diggi, and soon after left the town itself on our right, which, from our former journey, had remained in our remembrance, as we had here been met by the chivalrous sons of the Governor of Zogírma.

Here dukhn and durra were grown promiscuously in the same field, affording a proof that this ground is well adapted for both kinds of cultivation.

Having here fallen into our former road, I hastened on in advance along the well-known path toward Birni-n-Kebbi, which, however, now exhibited a different character, on account of the whole country being covered with tall crops; and turning round the walls of Kóla, we reached the gate of Birni-n-Kebbi. The aspect of this town had likewise undergone an entire change, but not to its advantage; the town, which of itself is narrow, being still more hemmed in by the crops. For the moment, the place had certainly a rather desolate appearance, the greater part of the inhabitants being engaged in an expedition led on by ʿAbd el Káderi, or, as he is commonly called, ʿAbd el Káderi-ay, a younger brother of Khalílu. As I rode up to the house of the mágaji or governor, Mohammed Lowel, he was just sitting in his parlor with a few of his people, when he, or rather his attendants, having recognized me as his old acquaintance ʿAbd el Kerím, came out to salute me in a very cheerful manner. However, the expedition being expected to return the same evening, there was no room for us inside the town, and we were obliged to seek shelter outside, descending the steep and rugged slope to the border of the fáddama, where we obtained, with difficulty, quarters for myself in an isolated farm. The hut was extremely small, and full of ants; but the door was provided with a peculiar kind of curtain, made of the leaves of the delèb palm, which, while admitting access, entirely excluded the musquitoes, which infested this place in enormous quantities. We were well treated by the owner or maigída of the farm, in conformance with the orders which he received from the mágaji, to whom I sent a small present, reminding him of the larger gift which I had given him the preceding year. His hospitality was the more acceptable, as the market was very badly supplied, neither millet nor rice being procurable; sour milk also was extremely dear, as, on account of the crops, and the quantity of water covering the valley, the cattle had been all sent off to a great distance, into the neighborhood of Gando.

Late in the evening the expedition returned, bringing about one hundred head of cattle and thirty slaves whom they had captured from the enemy; but, although the commander of the expedition was to return to Gando himself, I did not like to wait for him, and started early the next morning along our old path, which

was only distinguished at present by the quantity of water with which it was covered, especially near the village Háusáwa, where the whole shallow bed of the valley formed one sheet of water three feet deep. A good deal of cultivation of rice was at present to be seen. Thus we reached Gúlumbé, where, this time, in consequence of the quantity of rain that had fallen, inundating the ground outside close up to the wall, I took up my quarters inside the town, and obtained tolerably good lodgings, the court-yard being surrounded by a most exuberant growth of vegetation and the finest timber; but the mayor did not treat us quite so well as I expected, although I made him a present of a black shawl. The market here also being badly provided, I had great difficulty in obtaining a sufficient supply of corn for my horse.

We had scarcely left the narrow lanes of the town, with its extraordinary exuberance of vegetation, when the rain set in, so that we were wet both from above and below, the path either leading through tall crops or through pools of stagnant water. The path farther on, according to the information which we collected from people whom we met on the road, being entirely inundated, when we reached that western branch of the fáddama, near the village of Badda-badda, we followed a more southerly direction to the large open village Kóchi, where we intended passing the night. But it was with the utmost difficulty that we obtained lodgings, nor did we experience the least sign of hospitality; and while an immense quantity of rain fell outside, I was greatly tormented by the number of musquitoes, which were insufficiently excluded from my hut by a stiff piece of leather hung before the door.

Thursday, August 17th. As soon as the weather allowed us we left this inhospitable village, and soon afterward entered forest, to which succeeded fine crops of corn. Four miles beyond Kóchi we had to cross a large fáddama full of water, and intersected in the middle by a running stream, bordered by great numbers of water-lilies, and giving us altogether a fair idea of the difficulties attending traveling through this country at the present season of the year. A month later it would be entirely impassable for a European traveler encumbered with any amount of luggage. But the road was tolerably well frequented, and we were met by a long train of broad-shouldered, square-built Núpe females, each with a load of from six to eight enormous calabashes on her head, journeying to the Friday market of Jéga.

This is the important place which, under the command of 'Abd

e' Salám, had made a long and successful resistance against the author of the reformatory movement of the Fúlbe, and which, on account of its mercantile importance, had attracted attention in Europe a good many years ago; and although it has declined at present from its former importance, it was still of sufficient consequence to make me desirous of visiting it; but the great quantity of rain which fell at this time, by rendering the communication very difficult for loaded camels, prevented me from executing my design. A little farther on I met with one of those incidents which, although simple and unimportant in their character, yet often serve to cheer the solitary traveler in foreign countries more than the most brilliant reception. After having crossed a valley, we were ascending the last rocky passage before coming to Gando, when we met here a troop of men, and, as soon as one of them saw me in the distance, he broke out into the cheering exclamation, "Márhaba, márhaba, 'Abd el Kerím." It was highly gratifying to me, when returning after a long absence to a place where I had resided for so short a time, to be recognized immediately and saluted in so hearty a manner, although my stay in Gando was connected with many a melancholy reminiscence.

Here, on the top of the rocky eminence, we obtained a view of the valley of Gando, and, descending, soon reached the gate of the town, and straightway rode to the house of the monkish prince, where we were soon surrounded by a number of people, who congratulated me on my fortunate return. After a while there appeared also my tormentor, El Bakáy, which name now appeared to me as a mere satire, associating as it did this vilest of Arabs with that noble man who had showed me so much disinterested friendship. But when he again commenced his old tactics I immediately made a serious protest, declaring at once that the only thing which it was in my power to give him this time was a black tobe and a red cap, and this I assured him he should not get until the very moment when I was about to leave the place. The dismal clay house where I had been lodged during my former stay in the place had since fallen in, and other quarters were assigned to me, consisting of a court-yard and two huts.

CHAPTER LXXXII.

SECOND STAY IN GANDO, SO'KOTO, AND WURNO'.

THE quarters which had been allotted to me this time were at least a little more airy than my former ones. My former guide, Dahóme, here paid me a visit. Upon asking him whether he had faithfully delivered to the m'allem 'Abd el Káder, in Sókoto, the parcel I had given him on his taking leave of me at Dóre, he put on a rather sullen look, took from his cap a small leather case, opened it, and, drawing forth a dirty piece of paper, to my utmost surprise and disappointment, exclaimed, "Here is your letter!" I then learned that, in consequence of the violent rains through which he had had to make his way, and the many rivers and swamps which he had to cross, the whole envelope of the letter, containing the lines addressed to my friend in Sókoto, had been destroyed, so that the latter, receiving only the English letter, and not knowing what to do with this hieroglyphic, at length returned it to the bearer, who had since used it as a charm. Besides this mishap, which had delayed this letter so long, instead of its being forwarded directly to Europe in order to inform my friends of my proceedings, there was another disagreeable piece of information for me here, viz., that nearly the half of the huts composing the town had been consumed during my absence by a conflagration, and that all my books which I had left behind had in consequence been destroyed.

I staid four days in Gando, endeavoring once more, in vain, to obtain an audience from the prince, and to persuade my companions, the télamíd, to give up their hopes of a handsome present from this niggardly man, who sent me, if I may attribute the proceedings of his slaves to himself, in return for all the presents I had made him, a common black tobe and 3000 shells, although my supplies were totally exhausted, and the two camels which I still possessed were more or less worn out, so that I stood greatly in need of generous aid; but, not wanting any thing besides from the governor, I was thankful that I had passed unmolested through his extensive dominions on my outward as well as on my home-journey, and even protected, as far as his feeble power was able to grant protection.

The town was no better off now than it had been a year before, the expedition against Argúngo, of which I had heard on the road as being undertaken by 'Alíyu, having turned out a mere sham, and, in consequence, the pagan rebels being stronger and more daring than ever; and, just as was the case during my former residence, there was an expedition on a small scale every Tuesday and Thursday, made by the old people and the women, in order to collect wood with some degree of security. On the whole there was nothing of interest to record, except the remarkable quantity of rain which fell during my stay and which was said to have fallen before my arrival, confirming the impression already previously received in my mind that Gando was one of those places most abundantly supplied with the watery element; and it was highly interesting for me to learn from the people on this occasion that, as a general rule, they reckon upon ninety-two rainy days annually. I am quite sure that the average rain-fall in this place is certainly not less than sixty inches, but it is probably more than eighty, and perhaps even one hundred.

Wednesday, August 23*d.* I was heartily glad when I left this town, where I had experienced a great deal of trouble, although I could not but acknowledge that, if I had not succeeded in some degree in securing the friendship of the ruling men in this place, it would not have fallen to my lot to have reached even the banks of the Niger.

It is to be hoped that Khalílu will soon be succeeded by a more energetic prince, who will restore peace and security to the extensive dominions of which Gando is the capital. Under such circumstances, this town, on account of its mercantile connections with the provinces along the Niger, could hardly fail to become a place of the greatest interest.

A great many sweet potatoes, or dánkali, were cultivated in the district through which I passed, although the aspect of the crops was far from being satisfactory. The monkey-bread or baobab trees, on the other hand, were now in the full exuberance of their foliage. Leaving our former route a little to the north, we took the southerly road to the town of Dógo-n-dáji, which was enlivened by passengers proceeding to visit the market held at that place, which proved to be much more important than that of Gando, cattle, sheep, salt, and beads constituting the chief articles for sale. But, just at the moment we arrived, a thunderstorm broke out, which dispersed all the customers in the market,

and left us in a difficult position to supply our wants. The town itself, although the clay wall was in a state of great decay, presented an interesting aspect, being full of gonda, or *Erica Papaya*, and date trees, which were just loaded with fruit, a rather rare sight in Negroland.

Thursday, August 24th. When we left the town of Dógo-n-dáji we crossed the market-place, which is adorned by five monkey-bread-trees, but, being empty at the time, it looked somewhat desolate.

At the present day, at the outskirts of almost all the larger towns of Negroland, Fúlbe families are established, who rear cattle for the express purpose of supplying milk for the daily wants of the inhabitants, and these people gladly provide travelers with that most desirable article when they are well paid for it; but, having degenerated to mere tradesmen, they, of course, possess little hospitable feeling. Leaving then the town of Sála at about two miles distance to the north, and passing through a populous district, rich in pastures and the cultivation of rice and sorghum, and exhibiting near the town of Kusáda a good many dúm and delèb palms, we ascended at length along a difficult passage, rendered almost impassable by the quantity of rain which had fallen, until we reached Shagári, the place where we had slept on our outward journey, and where a market was just being held. We were fortunate enough, this time, to obtain tolerable quarters, and to be well treated.

The whole country which we traversed on our next day's march was clothed with the richest vegetation, the crops being almost ripe, but cattle and horses being very scanty. Thus, after a good march, we reached the town of Bodínga, having lost another of our camels on the road, which, in crossing one of the swampy valleys in which this part of Negroland abounds, had fallen backward with his load, and died on the spot. But the quantity of water that we had to sustain from above and below was not only destructive to animals, but likewise to men, and I myself felt most cheerless, weak, and without appetite, bearing already within me the germs of dysentery, which soon were to develop themselves, and undermine my health in the most serious way. My companions were not much better off, and of the messengers of the Sheikh el Bakáy, none but Sídi A'hmed was able to keep up with us.

A large and well-frequented market was held before the west-

ern gate of the town of Bodínga, exhibiting a great number of horned cattle and asses; but the more desolate appeared the extensive and at present useless area of the town itself, which was now covered with rank grass, or laid out in kitchen gardens, while only a few straggling cottages were to be seen. Although I again preferred taking up my quarters outside, in my old place, I entered the town expressly in order to pay my compliments to the governor, and was here most hospitably treated by my friend, who manifested the greatest delight at my safe return to his province from my dangerous journey westward. But I had great need of the assistance of a powerful friend, as my camels were not able to carry my little luggage any farther; and the good-tempered son of my old friend Módibo 'Alí not only assisted me with camels, but also himself mounted the following morning on a stately charger, and escorted me several miles on my road to Sókoto.

I reached the old residence of the A'hel Fódíye in a very exhausted state, having been delayed on the road by falling in, in the midst of a swampy fáddama, with a numerous caravan of asses, which entirely obstructed the winding watery path. But, notwithstanding my sickness, I took extreme delight in the varied aspect which the country at present exhibited, in comparison with the almost total nakedness which it had displayed, when I set out from Sókoto sixteen months previously; and I felt extremely grateful when I again found myself in this town, having accomplished more than I ever thought I should be able to do.

The whole town, suburbs, wall, cottages, and gardens, were now enveloped in one dense mass of vegetation, through which it was difficult to make one's way, and recognize places well known from former visits. Scarcely had I been quartered in a comfortable hut, when my friend 'Abd el Káder Dan-Taffa sent his compliments to me, and shortly after made his appearance himself, expressing the liveliest satisfaction at seeing me again, and sincere compassion for the reduced state of my health. Not less encouraging was the reception I met with from my old friend Módibo 'Alí. When I made him a small present, regretting that after the long time I had been without supplies I was not able to make him a better one, he was so kind as to express his astonishment that I had any thing left at all. He also begged me not to go on at once to Wurnó, but to stay a day in this place, and to write to 'Alíyu, informing him of my safe return, and how much I stood in need of his aid. I made use of this opportunity of at once re-

questing the Emír el Múmenín to forward me with as little delay as possible on my journey, hinting, at the same time, that I should feel very grateful to him if he would assist me with horses and camels. I intimated also that, as I myself, on account of the reduced state of my health, was anxious to reach home by the most direct road, I had to beg permission for a countryman of mine, who had just come to Bórnu, meaning Mr. Vogel, to visit the southeastern provinces of his kingdom. The following evening a messenger arrived from the Vizier 'Abdú, son of Gedádo, informing me that we were to start on the succeeding day, and that we should find camels on the other side of the river. The river, as I had already learned, was very much swollen, and extremely difficult to cross.

While my Mohammedan and black friends thus behaved toward me in the kindest and most hospitable manner, the way in which I felt myself treated by my friends in Europe was not at all encouraging, and little adapted to raise my failing spirits; for it was only by accident, through a liberated female slave from Stambúl, who called upon me soon after my arrival, that I obtained information of the important fact that five Christians had arrived in Kúkawa, with a train of forty camels. While I endeavored to identify the individuals, of whom this person gave me some account, from a very selfish point of view, with the particulars contained in Lord Russell's dispatch, which I had received near Timbúktu, about the members of an auxiliary expedition to be sent out to join me, I was greatly astonished that, for myself, there was not a single line from those gentlemen, although I felt still authorized to consider myself the director of the African Expedition; and I could only conclude from all this that something was wrong. I had not yet any direct intimation of the rumor which was spread abroad with regard to my death; and, taking every thing into consideration, it was certainly a want of circumspection in Mr. Vogel, notwithstanding the rumors which were current in Bórnu, not to endeavor to place himself in communication with me in the event of my being still alive.

Tuesday, August 29th. Having arranged my luggage at an early hour, and waited some time for my people to get ready, I set out. Winding down the slope of the hill on which Sókoto is situated, and which was now covered with crops, we reached the border of the stream, which, from having been an insignificant brook at the time of my first arrival in the place, was now changed into a pow-

erful torrent, about 200 yards broad, and rushing along with the most impetuous violence, undermining the banks, and leaving in its course small patches of grassy islands, which made the passage extremely difficult. The view opposite will give an idea of the scenery. Having at length crossed this stream in frail barks, dragging our horses and beasts of burden alongside of them, we had to wait a good while on the opposite shore till the camels sent from Sókoto came to meet us, when we proceeded about eight miles, and, having been caught in a heavy shower, took up our quarters in A'chi-da-láfia, a large straggling farming village. Here I felt extremely weak and exhausted, my case assuming more distinctly the character of dysentery.

Wednesday, August 30th. After an agreeable march of about six miles, it being a fine clear day, we reached Wurnó, the residence of 'Alíyu. Here we were lodged in our old quarters, where, however, the frail building of the hut had disappeared, and nothing remained but the clay house. I was received by the court of the Emír el Múmenín also with great kindness, and, curious as it may appear to Europeans, my hostile relation with the Fúlbe of Hamda-Alláhi seemed only to have increased my esteem in the eyes of these people. 'Alíyu had even heard of the ungenerous conduct of the Sheikh el Bakáy's younger brother toward me; and while he greatly praised the straightforward behavior of the former, he did not fail to reproach Sídi A'lawáte with meanness. He treated me very hospitably, although I was not able to enjoy greatly the more luxurious kind of food which was here offered to me, for luxurious it seemed after my poor diet in the famished and distracted region near the Niger. It was only by the strictest diet, especially by keeping to sour milk, together with repose, that I succeeded, after a great deal of suffering, in keeping under the disease. However, my recovery in the beginning was only temporary, and on the 13th of the following month dysentery broke out with considerable violence, and caused me a total loss of strength; but, after a severe crisis, it was overcome by the use of Dover's powders, although even then a simple diet was the most effectual remedy, my food consisting of nothing but pounded rice, mixed with curdled milk, and the seeds of the *Mimosa Nilotica*. At length, on the 22d of September, I was again enabled to move about a little on horseback, and from that day forward my health continued to improve.

Finding that my segífa excluded every draught of air, I built

SWOLLEN TORRENT OF SÓKOTO.

myself a shed of matting in front of the door of the clay house, where I spent my time pleasantly enough, until the great humidity of the ground, in consequence of the rains that began to fall, drove me back into my hall. The whole breadth of the valley to the very foot of the rocky border was now under water to a considerable depth, and covered with water-lilies. Scarcely a small foot-path remained. A great deal of rice was to be seen in the low ground, while the cultivation on the higher ground consisted entirely of sorghum. But the richness of the country around was scarcely of any avail, for greater insecurity prevailed than on my former visit, even at the distance of a few miles from the capital. A small host of the enemy had succeeded in carrying into slavery, from a distance of less than ten miles from the capital, a considerable number of people and cattle.* Another predatory expedition of the Búgaje from Alakkos, a few days later, drove away two herds of cattle from the very village of Giyáwa; and on the 2d of October, a small foray of Tagáma plundered the village of Saláme, together with a neighboring hamlet, carrying away a good number of people.

A great dearth of provisions prevailed, not only with regard to meat, but even corn, which was the more surprising to us, as we had been accustomed in Timbúktu to very low prices, although provisions are there brought from so great a distance. We were able in that town to buy a sheep for 500 or 600 kurdí, but we could here find none under 3000, the best fetching as much as 5000; and as for corn, the suníye, which we bought in Timbúktu for 3000 to 4000, we should have been glad to buy here with 10,000, if such large quantities had been brought into the market at all. It was, besides, extremely difficult for me to find shells. I was thus obliged to sell five dollars for 11,000 shells, while in Timbúktu they would have fetched 15,000. I also sold the corals which I had left at a low price, in order to be enabled to keep up my establishment. Cotton strips, which are liked better in the country places, were still dearer in proportion than shells.

The horse which I rode myself being incapable of any farther

* This expedition was led by the Dan-ghaladíma-Góber, and fell upon the border district of Jýju, situated in the rocky district between Giyáwa and Wurnó, and comprising many small hamlets, or gídaje, as the Gída-n-Ríya, Gída-n-Alisówa, Gída-n-Gorgábe, Gída-n-Kóla-Dalládi, Gída-n-Maidanga, Gída-n-Yakúbu, Gída-n-Ruggun-dáji, Rúmde-n-ghaladíma, and Alkáli-Asben. A brother of his ransacked Wáno, separated only by a narrow valley from Saláme.

exertion, and my camels having either died or become totally exhausted, I was thus thrown, much against my inclination, upon the generosity of the prince; and, in order to stimulate his goodwill, besides the present which I offered to him at my first interview, I gave him, in a second audience, ten dollars, silver being always an article much esteemed by these people. I had made it a point of reserving the last bernús I possessed for the Governor of Kanó, who, in the present state of anarchy into which Bórnu seemed to be plunged, might be a person of great importance to me. But, nevertheless, I could not induce this not very high-spirited and noble-minded prince to make a sacrifice of a handsome horse, and he gave me an animal which, although it did not prove to be a bad traveling horse, was of small size, had a very bad walk, was not able to gallop at all, and, altogether, was more like an ass than a horse. Besides a horse, 'Alíyu was kind enough to send me a large loaf of English sugar, a rather uncommon article in this country. I felt very grateful for this present, as I was entirely destitute of sugar.

I had a good deal of trouble with my companions, who did not like to leave this place so soon as it was my intention to do. This extended not only to the messengers of the sheikh, all of whom suffered a great deal from illness, but still more to my head man, 'Alí el A'geren, whom I would have sent away long before if I had been able to pay him off; for this man, who found it very convenient to trade at my expense, while he had nothing to do except to receive a good salary, entered into all sorts of intrigues to keep me in this place, just as he had done in Timbúktu.

Notwithstanding the reiterated delays, I succeeded in fixing my departure for the 7th of October, and as I afterward convinced myself from my own experience, the state of the roads which we had to cross would scarcely have allowed us to commence our journey before that time; but the rainy season was now almost over; and while the noxious insect, called tumúnragaye, which toward the end of the rainy season infests the whole ground, increased in numbers, the quantity of rain decreased. Being now rather better and feeling stronger, I began again to move about a little on horseback, although the swampy character of the valley which surrounds Wurnó on almost every side, together with the rocky character of the remaining part of the district, prevented me from making long excursions.

During this my second stay in the capital of this extensive em-

pire, I had again full opportunity of observing the extreme weakness and want of energy which prevails in its very centre, although I could not but acknowledge the feeling of justice which animates the ruler himself, notwithstanding his want of spirit. In proof of this, I may relate that, being informed one day that five young sons of his had committed hits of injustice in the market, he became greatly enraged, and immediately sent his two chief courtiers, 'Abdu and the ghaladíma, with positive orders to seize and imprison the offenders; and when the young outlaws succeeded in escaping and hiding themselves for a day or two, he had the chief slave, who had been with them, executed. But the cowardice of his people, and their oppression of the weak and unprotected, became fully apparent. A most disgraceful affair happened at this time. A caravan of inoffensive traders who had encamped in Gáwasú were surprised by them, and, after considerable havoc had been made among them, were deprived of almost all their property. These people had been reported to be hostile pagans, or A'zena, from the district of Sáje, in Góber, and dependent on the protection of the Kél-gerés and the Awelímmiden-wuén-Bodhál, and were represented as having been trading with the inhabitants of Tléta, which was hostile to the Féllani; but after this cruel act of injustice had been committed, it was ascertained that they were peaceable traders on their way to Kanó, and that among them there were even several inhabitants of Wurnó.

But it almost seemed as if the prospects of this part of Negroland were to darken more and more, for the rumors which I had heard on the Niger of the ancient feud between the Kél-owí and Kél-gerés having again broken out in a sanguinary struggle were entirely confirmed here. The Kél-owí had undertaken this year an expedition on a large scale, consisting of five thousand men mounted on horses and camels, and, according to report, with as many as 1000 muskets, against the Kél-gerés and the Awelímmiden, and had penetrated almost as far as Sáje, which place they destroyed by fire. The Kél-gerés having taken part in the expedition of the Góberáwa against the empire of Sókoto, the relation of the Kél-owí with the latter had assumed a much more friendly character, and our old friend A'nnur had paid a visit to the town of Kátsena. My friend 'Abd el Káder, the Sultan of A'gades, who, as I have mentioned in my outward journey, had been deposed, and had been succeeded by Hámed e' Rufáy, had now

turned merchant on a grand scale, endeavoring at the same time to attach the Fúlbe to his cause. His usual residence was now in Kátsena, but he had paid a visit the previous year, in company with the governor of that place, to the Emír el Múmenín, taking him, besides a quantity of bernúses and other valuable articles, a present of thirteen horses of Tawárek breed, and receiving from the latter, besides a number of tobes, 3,000,000 shells and 260 slaves. Having remained about two months in Wurnó, and having been treated altogether in the most distinguished manner, the Ex-king of A'gades had been forwarded with a numerous escort; for, notwithstanding the extreme weakness of this empire, if viewed from a European point of view, it even now is not quite destitute of means. During my stay the messengers arrived from Záriya with a bi-monthly tribute of 300,000 shells, 85 slaves, and 100 tobes.

Having at length overcome the laziness of my companions, I had the satisfaction of seeing my departure finally arranged for the 5th of October. The ghaladíma, in whose company on my outward journey I had come from Kátsena, was again to be my fellow-traveler on my return eastward. I therefore completed my preparations, and on the 4th of October I had my final leave-taking, or, as the Háusa people say, the babankwána, when I took the opportunity of excusing myself to 'Alíyu for having been this year a little troublesome, after the fashion of those Arab sherífs who used to visit him, stating at the same time that if my means had not been almost exhausted, I should have preferred buying a horse for myself. Having made this prelude, I endeavored to impress upon him the dangerous state of the road, when he made use of the expression common in Háusa, "Alla shibúdeta!" ("God may open it!"); but I protested against such an excess of reliance upon the Divine intervention, and exhorted him to employ his own strength and power for such a purpose, for without security of roads I assured him there could be no intercourse or traffic. He either was, or seemed to be, very desirous that the English should open trading relations with him; and I even touched on the circumstance that, in order to facilitate such an intercourse, it would be best to blow up certain rocks which most obstructed the navigation between Yáuri and Búsa, but of such an undertaking I convinced myself that it was better not to say too much at once, as that ought to be an affair of time.

Altogether, 'Alíyu had entered into the most cheerful conversa-

tion with me on all occasions, and had questioned me upon every subject without reserve. He also furnished me with four letters of recommendation, one to the Governor of Kanó, one to that of Bauchi, one to that of A'damáwa, and one in a more general sense, addressed to all the governors of the different provinces in his empire. Thus I took leave of him and his court, probably never to see that region again, and lamenting that this extensive empire, which is so advantageously situated for a steady intercourse with Europeans, was not in the hands of an energetic chieftain, who would be able to give stability to conquest, and to organize the government of these provinces, so richly endowed by nature, with a strong hand.

Thursday, October 5th. It was about three o'clock in the afternoon when I took my final leave of Wurnó. I had twice resided in this capital for some length of time, experiencing, on the whole, much kindness. On my outward journey I had been furnished on my dangerous undertaking with a strong and powerful recommendation; and on my return, although I had come into hostile contact with another section of the same tribe to which the inhabitants of this country belong, I had been again received without the least suspicion, had been treated with great regard, notwithstanding the exhausted state of my finances, and allowed to pursue my home-journey as soon as the season reopened the communication with the neighboring province.

Following now quite a different and more southerly road from that which we had pursued on our outward journey, we encamped this day in Dan-Sháura,* a walled town, strengthened by three moats, tolerably well inhabited, and adorned with fine groups of trees, among which some large gonda-trees, or *Erica Papaya*, were distinguished. The town belongs to the district of Rába, which forms the title of its governor, who is called Serkí-n-Rába. He was a decent sort of man, and treated us hospitably, a dish of fish proving a great luxury to me in this inland region, and bearing testimony to the considerable size of a large pond which borders the town on the east side, being apparently in connection with

* I here give a list of the towns and villages lying along this river on the side of Dan-Sháura: Dogáwa, Tungámmaza, Tunsumáwa, Tófa, Gída-n-dan-Damáwa, Gída-n-Laudam, Basánsan, Gída-n-Somába, G. Mágaji, Gelgil, G. Atafíru, Jan Tumbagébe, Birni-n-Dangéda, Gajére, Dorówa-n-birni, Dakuráwa, Kundus, Rára. Between the town of Rába, from whence this river has received the name Gulbi-n-Rába, and Sókoto, there are the places Kurfi, Torónka, Káwasa, Durbel, Dúnguji, Tunga-dúwatsu, Kabánga (Ungwa Ibrahíma), Garí-n-serkí-n-A'zena.

the gulbi-n-Rába or Bugga. The evening was clear, and I enjoyed for a long time the scenery of the place in the fine moonlight, but the governor would not honor me with his company, being greatly afraid of the bad influence of the moon, the effect of which he thought far more injurious than that of the sun.

Friday, October 6th. After a night greatly disturbed first by musquitoes, and then by a heavy gale, we pursued our journey, entering a fine open country, which was intersected farther on by a broad fáddama, and beyond that presented several ponds half dried up; but, after a march of about ten miles, we had a larger valley full of water on our right, and three miles farther on had to cross it at a spot where the sheet of water was at present narrowed to about 100 yards in width and 3 feet in depth, and, notwithstanding a considerable current, afforded an easier passage than the other part of the rainy season bed, which at present exhibited swampy ground, partly overgrown with rank grass, but was very difficult to cross, and a few days previously had been totally impracticable for horses or camels.

Four miles and a half beyond this river, through a country adorned with fine trees, but without any traces of cultivation, we reached a large river about 250 yards broad, and more than 5 feet deep, running here in a northeasterly direction, and no doubt identical with the river which we had lately crossed. How it is that the river here contains so much more water than it does lower down I can not state with certainty, but my opinion is that a great portion of it is withdrawn toward the north, where the forest seems gradually to slope down toward the desert region of the centre of Gúndumi, where, in a sort of mould or hollow, a large lake-like pond is formed. It is rather unfortunate that I had not an opportunity of asking information on this subject from one of the followers of the ghaladíma, who, instead of crossing the first sheet of water, kept along its northern bank, and thus, with a longer circuit, but without the necessity of embarking in a boat, reached the town of Gandi. Having then crossed another small fáddama, in a wide open country, where sorghum and cotton were cultivated together in the same fields, we reached the town of Gandi. It is surrounded by a wall (in a state of decay) and by two moats, and is of considerable size, but half deserted.

We traversed with some difficulty the entrance to the town, which was adorned on the outside with three very tall bombax or silk-cotton trees, and was almost entirely obstructed by a wooden

gate, and then made our way through the desolate area of the town, overgrown with tall herbage, dúm palms, and kórna, until we reached the house of the mágaji, who is one of the five rulers of this vast and desolate place. But we had a great deal of trouble in procuring quarters in an empty court-yard, where we were glad to obtain some rest, as, owing to my long illness, and my entire want of any strengthening food, I felt extremely exhausted by our day's march. I had, moreover, the dissatisfaction to find that one of my people, a liberated slave from Núpe, had remained behind and could not be found. As for myself, I was not able to stir much about to inquire after him, for I wanted rest the more, as we had a long day's march before us,* and had to rise at a very early hour.

It was three o'clock the following morning when we all assembled round the court-yard of the ghaladíma, but, on account of the guide who had promised to conduct us through the wilderness not daring to trust himself with these people without receiving his reward beforehand, we did not get off till half past five o'clock, after we were quite tired out and ill prepared for a long march. The forest was overgrown with rank grass, and in the beginning exhibited some large ponds. The dorówa formed the principal tree, only now and then a dúm palm giving some variety to the vegetation. Through this dense forest we marched at such a rate that it rather resembled a flight than any thing else, rendering it impossible for me to lay down this road with the same degree of accuracy to which I had adhered with the greatest perseverance throughout the whole extent of my long wanderings. At length, after a march of more than twenty miles, we reached the beginning of the large pond Subúbu, which, however, at present was almost dried up, presenting nothing but small pools of water; but I was sadly disappointed in my hopes of obtaining here some rest, the locality being regarded as too insecure to make a long halt, although, on account of this sheet of water, we had evidently given to our course a direction greatly diverging from that of our main route, which was to the northeast. I felt so much exhausted that I was obliged shortly after to remain secretly behind, protected only by my faithful servant El Gatróni, when I lay down flat on the ground for a few moments, and then, refreshed a little, hastily

* Close to Gandi is the small hill Dan-Fáwa, where the ancient town was situated, and at a distance of about ten miles is the well-known town of Bakúra, after which the river is called Gulbi-n-Bakúra.

followed the troop. Thus we proceeded onward, and the day passed by without there appearing any vestige of a town. After many disappointments, dragging myself along in the most desperate state of exhaustion, about an hour after midnight we at length reached cultivated fields, and encamped at some distance from the town of Danfáwa or Dan-Fáwa, on an open piece of ground. Not being able to wait till the tent was pitched, I fell fast asleep as soon as I dismounted. A very heavy dew fell during the night.

Sunday, October 8th. Having obtained some water and a couple of fowls from some farming people in our neighborhood, we succeeded in finding our camels (which, on account of the exhausted condition of my people, had wandered away), and set out a little after noon, passing close by the town, where a tolerable market was held, and where I provided myself with corn for the next few days. The town of Dan-Fáwa is tolerably populous, and there are even a good many huts outside the walls; but I was astonished at observing the filthy condition of the pond from which the inhabitants procure their supply of water. It could not fail to confirm my former conjecture that most of the diseases of the inhabitants, especially the Guinea-worm, are due to this dirt and filth which they swallow at certain seasons of the year in this sort of water.

Having lost some time in the market, I overtook my people as they were winding along the steep bank of a considerable river, which, taking a northerly course, and evidently identical with the water-course at Katúru, joins the great valley of Góber a few miles to the northwest of Sansánne 'Aísa. At the place where we crossed it was about 200 yards broad, but very shallow at the time, being only a foot deep and full of sand-banks; but I was not a little astonished to find that it contained a very great quantity of fish, numbers of people being employed in catching them by the beating of drums. Although the bank was so steep, there were evident signs that a short time before it had been covered by the water, and part of the crops, even beyond its border, had been damaged by the inundation.

The country appeared to be well inhabited. A little farther on we passed on our left a populous walled town called Dóle, and an apparently larger place became visible on the other side, the pasture-grounds being covered with extremely fine cattle. After we had crossed the river I found that the highest stalks of Indian

corn, which was fast ripening, measured not less than twenty-eight feet. Besides sorghum, sweet potatoes, or dánkali, were also cultivated here to a great extent. Having then crossed a stony tract, we again reached the town of Moríki, where the river approaches to within a few hundred yards.* On the high ground close to the border of the town a market-place spreads out. Having observed the narrowness of the lanes, I preferred encamping a considerable distance beyond the town, near a hamlet surrounded by a thick fence, and inhabited by Fúlḅe of the tribes of the Jakabáwa and Kukodáwa. The neighborhood of Moríki was said to be infested by the inhabitants of the town of Tléta, who were reported to make nightly forays, carrying away horses and cattle; but, notwithstanding this information, we had an undisturbed night's rest, although I thought it prudent to fire several shots.

Monday, October 9th. Having dried our tent a little from the extremely heavy dew which had fallen during the night, we set out to join our companions. Traversing the same rocky district through which we had passed on our outward journey, we reached again the well-known place of Dúchi, and entering with difficulty the obstructed lanes of the village, where we lost another of our camels, pitched our tent on a small open square opposite the house where the ghaladíma had taken up his quarters. Some tamarind-trees on the slope of a rocky eminence, which rose close behind our resting-place, afforded us a tolerable shelter during the hot hours of the day.

Tuesday, October 10th. Our day's march carried us as far as Búnka, with the loss of another of our camels, and we encamped this time inside the town, in a tolerably spacious court-yard, the surrounding fields being now covered with tall crops, and not affording sufficient ground for encamping. Altogether the country presented a very different aspect from what it had done on our outward journey, and the water-course near Zýrmi, with its steep banks, offered a difficult passage, although the water was not more than a foot and a half deep. My camels being either knocked up or having entirely succumbed, I endeavored in vain to procure a good ox of burden, the principal reason of my difficulty being that I was not provided with shells, and, in consequence, I had some trouble the next day in reaching the town of Kámmané,

* The water-course is here still of considerable size, and comes a good many miles from the southeast, from a place called Gózaki, skirting the towns of Kaúri-n-Namóda and Góga.

where the ghaladíma took up his quarters. Already on the road I had observed a good deal of indigo and cotton cultivated between the sorghum. Even here, close to the town, we found the grounds divided between the cultivation of rice and indigo, and I soon learned that the whole industry of the inhabitants consisted in weaving and dyeing. They have very little millet of any kind, so that their food is chiefly limited to ground-nuts or kolche. They have no cattle, but their cotton is celebrated on account of its strength, and the shirts which they dye here are distinguished for the peculiar lustre which they know how to give to them. Although the inhabitants have only about twenty horses, they are able, according to their own statement, to bring into the field not less than 5000 archers. However exaggerated this statement may be, they had not found it very difficult, the preceding year, to drive back the expedition of the Góberáwa; for they keep their wall in excellent repair, and even at present only one gate was passable at all for laden animals, the others being only accessible by a kadárku or narrow drawbridge. The whole interior of the town presented an interesting aspect, tall dúm palms shooting up between the several granite mounds which rise to a considerable elevation,* while the court-yards exhibited a great deal of industry, the people being busy with their labors till late in the evening. The proprietor of the court-yard where I had taken up my quarters treated me with the favorite drink of furá soon after my arrival, and with túwo in the evening. I was also fortunate enough to obtain some milk from the villagers outside.

Thursday, October 12*th.* It was rather late when we left this place for another long forced march, a dense fog enveloping the country; but it was still much too early for my noble friend the ghaladíma, who was busy installing a new governor, for which he received a present of a horse and large heaps of shells, so that it was almost ten o'clock before we had fairly entered upon our march. This district being very dangerous, we proceeded on with great haste, and I really conjectured that it was in truth the unsafe state of the road which had caused the delay of our departure, the people being anxious to disappoint the enemy, who, if they had heard the news of our arrival in this place, would of

* Kámmané is one of those places which are distinguished on account of their granite mounds, and which extend from A'yo and Mágaré to Chábané, A'jjia, and the fifteen rocky mounds of Kotórkoshé, where the Sultan of Sókoto had the preceding year directed his expedition.

course expect that we should set out in the morning. Having made our way for about six hours through a dense forest, we left a granite mound and the ivy-mantled wall of Rúbo on one side, with a fine rími and abundance of fresh grass of tall growth. The forest then became clearer, and we reached a considerable tebki, or pond, which being regarded as the end of the dangerous tract, my companions came to congratulate me upon having now at length escaped the dangers of the road. However, our day's march was still tolerably long, extending altogether to twelve hours, and, being rather unwell that day, I had considerable difficulty in keeping up with the troop. In consequence of our late departure, we had to traverse the most difficult part of our route, that nearest to U'mmadaw, which is intersected by granite blocks, in the dark, so that our march was frequently obstructed, especially at a spot where two mighty granitic masses left only a narrow passage. A good deal of indigo is here cultivated between the millet: and the town itself is very spacious; but, arriving at so late an hour, we had great difficulty in obtaining quarters, all the open grounds being covered with corn, and we were glad to find at length an open square where we might pitch our tent.

Friday, October 13th. Here my route separated from that of the ghaladíma, as I was going to Kanó, while he, again, along this roundabout way (the direct route having been almost entirely broken up by the enemy), directed his steps toward Kátsena. After satisfying our appetites, for which we had not been able to provide the preceding night, I took a small present with me, and went to bid farewell to the ghaladíma and those of his suite who had been particularly kind to me, and I hope that they will long remember me. Having fulfilled this duty, I proceeded with my people, in order to continue my march alone. The country was tolerably open, broken only here and there by granite rocks, while the vegetation was enlivened now and then by dúm palms. Cultivation was limited to certain tracts; but, notwithstanding the unsafe state of the country, the pasture-grounds were not quite destitute of cattle, and, being at length able to travel according to my own inclinations, I enjoyed the scenery extremely. It had been my original intention to pursue the road to Koróﬁ; but, by mistake, after leaving Wurnó, I had got into the track leading to Birchi. I reached this latter town after a march of altogether about twelve miles, having crossed my former route from Kúrayé to Kúrrefi. I found that almost all the male inhabitants of the

place had joined the expedition against Káura; and I pitched my tent in front of the house of the ghaladíma, but was invited by the people who were left as guardians to pass the hot hours of the day in the cool entrance-hall of his court-yard. Although the place does not exhibit any great signs of wealth or comfort, I was glad to find that the corn here was much cheaper than in U'mmadaw. I was also enabled to buy some butter. Moreover, the absence of the governor exercised no unfavorable influence upon my treatment, which was very kind: an old m'allem especially evinced a friendly disposition toward me.

Saturday, October 14th. After a march of about fourteen miles, passing by the town of Rawëó, where a small market was held, and traversing the suburb of Sakássar, with its beautiful "ngáboré," or fig-trees, we reached the town of Máje, which had been represented to us as rich in cattle and milk, but which I found half deserted; the town having greatly declined about twelve years previously, when the whole country, including the places Takabáwa, Matázu, Korófi, and Kúrkojángo, revolted, and gave free passage to an army of the Góberáwa. I was glad to buy a good sheep for 1500 shells. The governor of the place was absent in Kátsena, where he generally resides. We had pitched our tent in the shade of a beautiful fig-tree, and passed the afternoon very pleasantly, but were greatly troubled during the night by the numbers of musquitoes.

Rising at an early hour, and traversing a fine country, I reached the large town of Kusáda in the afternoon, and encamped here, outside, not far from the market-place, which at the time of my arrival was quite untenanted; but the following night it became well frequented by a number of travelers who sought quarters there. On this march I observed a specimen of industry on a small scale, exercised by the inhabitants of the town of Máje, who buy sour milk in a place called Kánkia, at a considerable distance, and supply the town of Korófi with it. Numerous villages were lying on either side of our path, cultivated and uncultivated ground succeeding alternately, Indian millet being here the chief product besides cotton. The pasture-grounds also were enlivened by a good number of horses.

Pursuing from this point my old road through the fine province of Kanó, rich in all kinds of produce, and well stocked with cattle, and encamping the next night close beyond the town of Bíchi, I reached the town of Kanó in the afternoon of the 17th, having sent one of my people in advance.

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

SECOND RESIDENCE IN KANO′, UNDER UNFAVORABLE CIRCUMSTANCES.—MARCH TO KU′KAWA.

On my arrival in Kanó I found every thing prepared, and took up my quarters in a house provided for me; but I was greatly disappointed in finding neither letters nor supplies, being entirely destitute of means, and having several debts to pay in this place —among others, the money due to my servants, to whom I had paid nothing during the whole journey from Kúkawa to Timbúktu and back. I was scarcely able to explain how all this could have happened, having fully relied upon finding here every thing I wanted, together with satisfactory information with regard to the proceedings of Mr. Vogel and his companions, whose arrival in Kúkawa I had as yet only accidently learned from a liberated slave in Sókoto. But fortunately, without relying much upon Sídi Ráshid, the man whom I knew to be at the time the agent of her majesty's vice-consul in Múrzuk, I had given my confidence at once to Sídi 'Alí, the merchant whom I have mentioned already in the account of my former stay in this place as a tolerably trustworthy person, and whose good-will I endeavored at once to secure by sacrificing to him almost every thing I had left of value, including a small six-barreled pistol. In return, he promised to supply my wants till I should be put in possession of the money and merchandise which I had deposited in Zínder.

The first thing, therefore, which I had to do the next morning, after having paid my compliments to the ghaladíma and the governor, and made to each of them a handsome present, such as my means would allow, was to send my servant Mohammed el Gatróni, upon whom I could fully rely, to Zínder, giving him full instructions, and promising him a handsome present if he should succeed in bringing away all my effects, both those which had been deposited on a former occasion, and the merchandise which had been forwarded on my account at a later period, and a smaller one in case he should only find the latter portion; for, after all, I was by no means sure that the box of ironware and the four hundred dollars had remained safe during the severe civil struggles which

had agitated Bórnu during my absence. Meanwhile, till the return of this messenger, I endeavored to pass my time as usefully as possible by completing a survey of the town which I had begun during my former residence, but was far from having finished. At the same time, the state of my health, on account of the close quarters in which I was here lodged, after having roved about in the open air for so long a time, required uninterrupted exercise. Owing to the change in my mode of living, severe fits of fever attacked me repeatedly.

Kanó will always remain one of the most unfavorable localities for Europeans in this region; and it was well that Mr. Vogel, for the first year after his arrival in Negroland, purposely avoided this spot. Even my animals did not escape the malignant effect of the climate. Three of my horses were seized, one after the other, with a contagious disease, commencing with a swelling of the thighs, and from thence spreading to the breast and the head, and generally proving fatal in six or eight days. In this way I lost two out of my three horses, including my old companion, who had carried me through so many dangerous campaigns, and who had shared all my fatigues and sufferings for nearly three years; but the small and ugly, but strong horse which the Sultan of Sókoto had made me a present of, escaped with its life. This disease which attacked my horses, of course, interfered greatly with my excursions, and took away almost all the pleasure which they would otherwise have afforded, as I was reduced to the necessity of making use of very indifferent animals. Nevertheless, I enjoyed greatly the open country which extended outside the gates of this picturesque but extremely dirty town, dotted with large villages at no great distance; and I followed up especially, with great interest, the easterly of the three roads which diverge from the Kófa-n-kúra, and which leads to the small rivulet known as the Kŏgi-n-Kanó. Occasionally, also, I went to visit some cattle-pens, in order to get a little fresh milk, which I was unable to procure in the town; for inside the place I succeeded only after great exertion in obtaining a little goat's milk. The pools produced by the rainy season had now dried up almost every where, and that peculiar kind of sorghum called "maiwa" had been harvested; and a few days afterward, while making another excursion to the south, I met the servants of the governor gathering the corn for their master.

Besides my own private concerns, and the anxiety produced by

the urgency of my debts and the uncertainty with regard to the property left by me in Zínder, there were two objects which attracted my whole attention, and caused me a good deal of perplexity and hesitation. The first of these was the expedition sent by the English government up the River Bénuwé, of which I had not the slightest idea at the time when it was carried out, for the dispatches which I had received in Timbúktu, after so much delay, did not contain a word about such a proceeding; and the letters which were forwarded afterward to my address, informing me that such an expedition was to be undertaken, remained in Kúkawa, and I did not get them until my arrival in that place at the end of December. Thus it was not until the 29th of October that, just in the same manner as I had heard accidentally in Sókoto of the arrival of Mr. Vogel in Kúkawa, I was informed here, by the report of the natives, of such an expedition having taken place. I at first thought that it was undertaken by Captain M'Leod, of whose proposal to ascend the Niger I had accidentally gleaned some information through a number of the Galignani, and it was not until the 13th of November that I succeeded in meeting the person who had seen the expedition with his own eyes. This man informed me that the expedition consisted of one large boat, he did not know whether of iron or of wood, and two smaller ones, containing altogether seven gentlemen and seventy slaves, he of course taking the Kroomen for slaves. Moreover, I learned from him that the members of this expedition had not gone as far as Yóla, the capital of A'damáwa, as the Governor of Hamárruwa had warned them not to go up to that place with their steamer, on account of the narrow passage between the mountains. He also informed me that they had commenced their home-journey earlier than had been expected, and that he himself, having proceeded to Yákoba in order to procure more ivory for them, had found them gone on his return.

The other circumstance which greatly occupied my mind at this time was the state of affairs in Kúkawa; for in the beginning, on the first news of the revolution in Bórnu, and of the Sheikh 'Omár being dethroned and his vizier slain, I had given up my project of returning by Bórnu, intending to try again the difficult road by A'ír. At a later season, however, when I heard on the road that 'Omár was again installed, I cherished the hope that it might be possible to take the safer route by the Tebu country, especially as I received the news of a most sanguinary struggle

having taken place between the Kél-owí and the Kél-gerés. In this struggle a great many of the noblest men of the former were said to have fallen, together with several hundred of the common people on both sides. I was sorry to hear that in this struggle my best friends had succumbed.

Meanwhile the news from Kúkawa remained very unsatisfactory, and false rumors were continually brought from thence. Thus it was reported on the 1st of November that the Sugúrti had vanquished 'Omár, who had made his escape accompanied only by a couple of horsemen; and it was not until the 9th that we received trustworthy news that he was holding his position steadily against the intrigues of the party of his brother, whom he kept in prison. It was with great satisfaction that I saw messengers from 'Omár arrive in the course of a few days, in order to present his compliments to the governor of this place. I at once had them called to my house, and made them a few presents, in order to express my satisfaction at their master having recovered his kingdom, and still holding his position; for it was a most important point with me to see my road to Bórnu clear, and to meet there with Mr. Vogel and his party, in order to give him my advice and assistance with respect to the countries which it was most desirable that he should explore. But in the situation in which I was thus placed, it proved most difficult to obtain the means of reaching Kúkawa, as I had no money at my disposal; for, to my great disappointment, the servant whom I had sent to Zínder on the 18th, in order to bring from thence the property which I had deposited there, as well as the merchandise which had arrived afterward, returned on the 4th of November empty-handed, bringing nothing but a few letters. It was now that I heard that the news of my death had been every where believed, and that a servant of Mr. Vogel's, together with a slave of 'Abd e' Rahmán's, had arrived in Zínder from Kúkawa, and had taken away all the merchandise that had reached that place on my account, the box with the 400 dollars and the cutlery having been stolen long before, immediately after the assassination of the sheríf.

Thus, then, I was left destitute also from this side, and I felt the want of supplies the more, as my head man, 'Alí el A'geren, supported by the wording of the contract which I had entered into with him, had claimed here peremptorily the payment of the rest of his salary, which amounted to 111 dollars, and I had been obliged to request Sídi 'Alí to pay him this sum on my account.

This man had cost me very dear, and if I had possessed sufficient means I should have discharged him in Timbúktu, as he there threw off all allegiance and obedience to me as soon as he became aware of the dangers which surrounded me. He was likewise of very little service to me on my return-journey; but, of course, he was now anxious to excuse himself for his conduct on the road, and even laid claim to the present which I had promised him in the event of his conduct proving quite to my satisfaction. This, however, I refused with good reason; and I was glad to find that my other servants, whose salaries amounted altogether to nearly 200 dollars, were willing to wait for their payment until we reached Kúkawa.

However, the parcel which my servant brought me from Zínder was not quite devoid of subjects of gratification, as besides a few letters from Europe, including a map of South Africa by Mr. Cooley, it contained two beautifully written Arabic letters, one addressed to 'Alíyu, the Emír of Sókoto, and the other a general letter of recommendation addressed by her majesty's consul in Tripoli to the chiefs of the Fúlbe. These letters I had expressly written for, and if I had received them two years earlier they would have been of great service to me. As it was, I sent the letter destined for 'Alíyu to the governor, who was so much pleased with it that he forwarded it by a special messenger, accompanied by a letter from myself, wherein I expressed my regret that I had not been able to present this letter to him on my personal visit, while at the same time I excused myself for not being able at the time to send him a small present, not having found here any supplies, and being entirely destitute of means. Having heard a report, which afterward proved to be false, that the Governor of Hamárruwa had formed the intention of attacking the people in the English steamer with a large force, I took the opportunity of protesting in this letter against such proceedings, giving the chief a plain statement of the peaceable intentions of the expedition.

The parcel which my servant had brought me from Zínder seemed also to hold out the prospect of material aid; for the letter from Mr. Dickson, dated the latter part of 1853, wherein he at the same time informed me, to my great disappointment, that he was about to leave his post for the Crimea, contained two letters of recommendation to a couple of Ghadámsi merchants, of the names of Háj A'hmed ben Slímán and Mohammed ben Músa,

who, as he informed me, had property of his own in their hands, in order to assist me in case I should be in want of money; but when I sent these letters to their destination they were very coldly received, and it was intimated to me that I could not be accommodated. The disappointment which the awkwardness of my pecuniary circumstances caused me was soothed in some degree by the offer which the Fezzáni merchant, Khweldi, whose kindness to me I have mentioned on a previous occasion, made me at the same time, of lending me 200 dollars in cash. In the afternoon of the 14th a servant of his arrived with the money, which, however, did not suffice for my actual wants, as I had to return to Sídi 'Alí the 111 dollars which he had paid to my servant 'Alí el A'geren. After having made a suitable present to the messenger, I had therefore only a very small sum remaining, and the disappointment which I had experienced with regard to my luggage made me reluctant to forego the project which I had formed of taking home with me specimens of the manufactures of this place. I had also to buy two horses and a couple of camels, together with sundry other articles, and I was therefore obliged to procure farther means, however difficult it might be. I had even a great deal of trouble with Sídi 'Alí, who put off his promise to accommodate me from day to day.

At length, having, on the 10th of November, written an energetic letter to this merchant, it was agreed that the affair between myself and the Ghadámsi merchants, who refused to lend me money, although they had English property in their hands, should be referred to the ghaladíma, who granted me a public interview for the purpose. In this audience, in which a great number of other people were present, the merchants founded their refusal to comply with my request on the old date of the letter in which they were ordered to attend to my wishes; and it was not until the ghaladíma had ordered them to bring into his presence all that they possessed of the British agent's property that they agreed the following day to lend me a sum of money, at the usual rate of one hundred per cent. Being obliged to agree to this condition, as it had never been my intention to oblige them by force to grant me a loan without allowing them their usual profit, I stipulated to receive from them 500,000 shells, equal in this place to 200 dollars, on the condition that 400 should be repaid in Tripoli at four months' date. This loan, which would not have been necessary at all if I had found my supplies, enabled me, on the other

hand, to send off my dispatches with the greatest ease and security, as it was, of course, the interest of these merchants to have these letters forwarded to Tripoli by the safest and shortest route. A courier was therefore dispatched immediately, who, being an experienced and well-known person, would be able to make his way through the country of A'ír, which in its temporarily disturbed state was closed to any one else. The only thing which caused me some displeasure in this transaction was the circumstance that these merchants from Ghadámes had the insolence, although half the money with which they trade is Christian money, to call the Christians, in the presence of the ghaladíma, by the offensive name of "Káfaráwa" ("the infidels"), and I made a serious protest against such a term being employed in official transactions.

The difficulty which I had in supplying my wants, and purchasing the articles that in my opinion were necessary for my outfit, was the greater, as every thing was very dear at the time, the merchants being of opinion, on account of the turbulent state of the road, that no caravan from the north would arrive that year. Camels especially were exceedingly dear, seven fine animals which Khweldi had sent from Zínder being sold for 60,000 shells each, a very high price for a camel. I deemed myself, therefore, very fortunate in being able to purchase a she-camel of inferior quality for 45,000. I also was so lucky as to buy an excellent mare for 70,000 shells, or less than thirty dollars. Having thus at length provided for all my wants, I got every thing ready for starting on the 21st, and heartily glad I was when I was fairly embarked on this the last stage of my journeying in Negroland, with the prospect before me that, in six months or so, I might again breathe the invigorating air of the north.

I therefore cheerfully took leave of my friends from the far west, who were to follow as soon as possible to Kúkawa; for, although they were not likely to be of any farther assistance to me, they wanted to lay the chief of that country under some contribution for their own benefit and that of their master. I then pursued my journey with great cheerfulness; and although the general character of the country was not new to me, yet the route which I was obliged to take had not been traveled by me before. The road, although perhaps less populous, seemed to possess the advantage of richer vegetation, and delèb palms especially formed the ornament of many a hamlet or of the open scenery. Fine cattle also were to be seen in considerable numbers, and altogether it

was a pleasant ride. Thus, after a march of about eleven miles, we reached the town of Wáse or Wása, and here took up our quarters; but, as usual, we found the gate so narrow that we were obliged to take most of the luggage off the camels, and this was the reason that we always preferred encamping outside, although here it was deemed too unsafe. Even inside the place the people were very much afraid of thieves. The town was tolerably populous, and the court-yards were fenced with hedges of living trees, almost in the same way as U'ba, and the one where we lodged was well shaded. Although, in the present disturbed state of the country, and with the prospect of another expedition of Bokhári, the inhabitants did not feel much at their ease, we were nevertheless tolerably well treated.

November 24th. We had the same difficulty in getting out of the town as we had in entering it, so that I was quite sick of these places, and resolved, if possible, never to enter one again. The sorghum or Indian corn had just been cut, but was lying on the ground unthreshed, or rather unbeaten. The dorówa-tree or *Bassia Parkii*, which seemed to be the prevailing tree in this district, appeared in great numbers a little farther on, and even date-trees were seen, close to a hamlet. Having then passed through a more open country, the scenery became exceedingly fine, and continued so as far as the town of Sabó-n-garí, which we passed at some distance on our left. The market-place, enlivened by two beautiful baúre-trees, remained close at the side of our track. It was here that the Governor of Kanó intended to collect his troops in order to oppose Bokhári; but it was not very likely, taking into account his own want of energy and the cowardly disposition of his host, that he would offer serious resistance to that energetic and enterprising chief, with his warlike bands, elated by victory and pillage.

Twelve miles beyond Sabó-n-garí, through a less-favored district, we reached the town of Yerímarí, surrounded with a keffi, while on its outer side a market was just being held. But there being here no food for the camels, we proceeded on, through a district covered with underwood, until we reached, about two miles beyond, a village called "Gída-n-Alla" ("the house of God"), which, besides being surrounded with a keffi, was so completely hidden behind a dense covert of trees, which form a natural defense, that we could scarcely discover it. But inside this covert there was a fine open field, whereon we pitched our tent,

and were soon visited by the mayor and the chief inhabitants, who behaved in a very friendly manner toward us, and provided us with every thing we wanted, the place being rich in small millet and Indian corn. The village was, however, very badly supplied with water, the well being at a great distance. The camping-ground was extremely pleasant, the open green being varied by dense groups of trees, and the vegetation being moreover enlivened by a good many delèb palms.

The road which we pursued the following day was more beset by thorny bushes, but here also delèb palms were numerous, and dorówa and tamarind trees contributed to enliven more favored spots. Thus we reached the place where this northern route is joined by a more southerly one which passes by Gezáwa, but not the same track which I had pursued on my former journey. Here we continued on at an accelerated pace, as all the people whom we met were flying in haste before Bokhári. Thus we passed Dúkawa, a considerable village, fortified with a keffi, and surrounded with numbers of monkey-bread-trees, which at present were destitute of foliage, although the fruit was just ripening. As the heat became rather oppressive, especially as we were not provided with water, all the ponds being now dried up, I rode in advance to Hóbiri, fortified, like most of the hamlets hereabouts, with a stockade, and adorned outside by large tamarind and monkey-bread trees, and, while watering the horses, refreshed myself with a little sour milk. Passing then through a dense forest, I reached the well in front of the town of Gérki. My people had already arrived, but had not yet succeeded in obtaining the smallest quantity of water, the well, although not very deep, being rather poor, considering the number of people which it had to supply. I had, in consequence, to pay 300 shells for supplying the wants of myself and my animals. Not feeling any greater inclination this time to encamp inside Gérki than I had done on my former journey, I chose my own camping-ground on the north side of the town. It was a pleasant spot, but, unfortunately, it was too near a large monkey-bread-tree, which in the course of the night afforded to an audacious thief an excellent cover under which to proceed twice to a very clever performance of his art. I would strongly advise any future traveler in these districts, the inhabitants of which are very expert thieves, to take care not to pitch his tent too near a large tree. As it was, to my great disgust, the fellow succeeded in carrying away, first the tobe, and then the

trowsers belonging to one of my servants; but I strongly suspected one of the inhabitants of Hóbiri, from whom I had bought, the previous evening, an ox of burden for 9000 shells, to be the culprit. Gérki is famous on account of the many thefts which are committed in its neighborhood.

Although I had not paid my respects to the governor of the town, he accompanied me the next morning with ten horsemen, four of whom were his own sons. He himself was quite a stately person, and was well mounted. Having then taken leave of him at the frontier of the territory of Kanó and Bórnu, I reached the town of Birmenáwa, the small frontier town of Bórnu, which I have mentioned on my former journey, but which, at present, had assumed more remarkable political importance, as it had not made its subjection to Shéri, the present ruler of Gúmmel, but still adhered to his opponent and rival, the Governor of Týmbi. On this account, the inhabitants of this town endeavored to cut off the peaceable intercourse between Gúmmel and Kanó, and I thought it necessary, in order to prevent any unpleasantness, to pay my respects to the petty chief, and to procure his good-will by a small present, while my camels pursued the direct track. Thus we reached Gúmmel, and encamped outside at some distance from the wall to the northeast.

I had left this town on my former journey in the enjoyment of a considerable degree of wealth and comfort, under the rule of the old Dan Tanóma. But civil war, which cuts short the finest germs of human prosperity, had been raging here; the person appointed by Bórnu as the successor of the former governor having been vanquished by his rival Shéri, who, having taken possession of the town after much serious fighting, had again been driven out by the Governor of Zínder, sent against him by the Sheikh of Bórnu. Having taken refuge in the territory of Kanó, and collected there fresh strength, the rebellious governor had reconquered his seat, where he was now tacitly acknowledged by his liege lord, in the weak state to which the kingdom of Bórnu had been reduced by the civil war. The town was almost desolate, while the palace had been ransacked, pillaged, and destroyed by fire, and the new governor himself, who, after a long struggle with his rival and near kinsman, had at length succeeded in taking possession of this government, was residing amid the towering ruins of the royal residence, blackened by fire, and exhibiting altogether the saddest spectacle. It was with a melancholy feeling

that I remembered the beautiful tamarind-tree which spread its shade over the whole court-yard of the palace, where, on my former visit, I had witnessed the pompous ceremonies of this petty court. All now presented an appearance of poverty and misery. The governor himself, a man of about thirty-five years of age, and with features void of expression, was dressed in a very shabby manner, wearing nothing but a black tobe, and having his head uncovered. There was, however, another man sitting by his side, whose exterior was more imposing; but I soon recognized him as my old friend Mohammed e' Sfáksi, who had accompanied us on our outset from Múrzuk, and who, from being an agent of Mr. Gagliuffi, had become, through successful trading and speculation, a wealthy merchant himself. He was now speculating upon the successful issue of an expedition of his protector against the town of Birmenáwa, the inhabitants of which braved the authority of the governor; but, fortunately, the debt which Mr. Richardson had contracted with him had at length been paid, and he expressed nothing but kindly feelings toward me, and congratulated me, as it appeared sincerely, upon my safe return from my dangerous undertaking, praising my courage and perseverance in the highest terms before his friend the governor. Presenting to the latter a small gift, consisting of a red cap and turban, together with a flask of rose oil, I requested him to furnish me with a guide, in order to accompany me to the Governor of Máshena. He consented to do so, although, perhaps, he never intended to perform his promise; and I myself, at the time, had no idea of the difficulties with which such a proceeding would be accompanied, as the road to Malám, where the Governor of Máshena at present resided, led close to the territory of Týmbi, the residence of Shéri's rival.

Having returned to my tent outside the town, I was visited by several of my former acquaintances, and among others by Mohammed Abëakúta, the remarkable freed slave from Yóruba, whom I have mentioned on a former occasion. But the most interesting visit was that of E' Sfáksi in the evening, who brought me a quantity of sweetmeats from his well-supplied household, and spent several hours with me, giving me the first authentic account of the state of affairs in Bórnu, as well as of the English expedition which had arrived there. As a reward for his friendly feeling and for his information, I presented him with a young heifer, which the governor of the town had sent me as a present.

My camels having proved insufficient for the journey before them, I was looking out for fresh ones, but in the present reduced state of the place was not able to procure any, a circumstance which caused me afterward a great deal of delay on my journey.

Monday, Nov. 27th. After losing much time awaiting the coming of the guide who had been promised me, I started after my people, whom I had allowed to go on with the camels. The road, in consequence of the civil war which had raged between Shéri and his rival, had become quite desolate. The inhabitants had deserted their native villages, leaving the crops standing ripe in the fields, and forsaking every thing which had been dear to them. Not a single human being was to be seen for a stretch of more than twenty-five miles, when at length we fell in with a party of native travelers, or fatáki, who were going to Kanó. We soon after reached the small town of Fányakangwa, surrounded by a wall and stockade, and encamped on the stubble-fields, which were covered with small dúm bush, not far from a deep well, and we were glad to find that we had at length reached a land of tolerable plenty, the corn being just half the price it was in Gúmmel. There were also a great number of cattle, and I had a plentiful supply of milk; but water was at the present season very scanty, and I could scarcely imagine what the people would do in the dry season.

A march of a little more than two miles brought us to Malám, consisting of two villages, the eastern one being encompassed by a clay wall which was being repaired, while the western one, where the present governor resided, was just being surrounded with a stockade. Between the two villages lies the market-place, where a market is held every Sunday and Thursday. The present Governor of Máshena, whose father I had visited on my former journey, is a young and inexperienced man, who may have some difficulty in protecting his province in the turbulent state into which the empire of Bórnu has been plunged, in consequence of the civil war raging between the Sheikh 'Omár and his brother 'Abd e' Rahmán.

While staying here during the hot hours I was visited by several Arab traders, one of whom informed me that Mr. Vogel had gone on a journey to Mándará, but without taking with him any of his companions. I left in the afternoon, as early as the heat of the midday hours allowed me, in order to continue my journey toward the town of Máshena. We encamped this evening at the

well belonging to a village called Allamáibe, a name not unfrequent in this region, and we were most hospitably treated by the inhabitants, who, enjoying themselves with music and dancing, celebrated also my own arrival with a song; they, moreover, sent me several dishes of native food.

Wednesday, November 29th. The whole tract which we traversed in pursuing our road from hence to the town of Máshena was chiefly adorned with dúm palms, which did not cease till just before we reached Demánmária; and the country was tolerably well inhabited, and exhibited some signs of industry. Cattle also were not wanting; and I observed that, at a village which we passed near the town of Mairimája, although it was then nearly half past nine o'clock in the morning, the cattle had not yet been driven out. Here the water did not seem to be at any great depth below the surface, some of the wells measuring not more than four fathoms. Having then traversed a district where the tamarind-tree was the greatest ornament, we reached the town of Máshena, with its rocky eminences scattered about the landscape, and encamped a few hundred yards to the west of the town. I have made a few observations with regard to this place on my former journey, but neither then nor at this time did I visit the interior. I will only add that it was in this place that the Sheríf Mohammed el Fási, the agent of the Vizier of Bórnu in Zínder, with whom my supplies had been deposited, was slain in the revolution of the preceding year. Not long after I had pitched my tent I received a visit from an Arab of the name of 'Abd Alláhi Shén, who had assisted the usurper 'Abd e' Rahmán as a sort of broker, and who, in consequence, had been exiled by the Sheikh 'Omár as soon as the latter again recovered possession of the supreme power, and it was in order to beg me to solicit his pardon at the hands of the sheikh that he addressed himself to me. He also informed me that the road was at present by no means safe, being greatly infested by the people of Bédde, who were taking advantage of the weak state to which the Bórnu kingdom had been reduced by the civil war. Corn was here exceedingly dear, or rather not to be had at all, and beans was the only thing I could procure.

From hence I followed at first my former track till I came to the place where on that occasion I had lost my road, and here I took a more southerly direction, and passed the hot hours in Lamíso, a middle-sized town surrounded with a low rampart of earth. Outside the town there was a market-place, where a mark-

et was just being held, tolerably well supplied, not only with corn, but also with cotton; besides these, beans, dodówa, the dúm fruit, dried fish, and indigo, formed the chief articles for sale; and I bought here a pack-ox for 10,000 shells. As soon as the bargain was concluded I again pursued my journey, and, after some time, fell into my old track. Having thus reached the town of Allamáy, I pitched my tent inside the thick fence of thorny bushes. I had passed this town also on my former journey, and had then been greatly pleased at the sight of a numerous herd of cattle; but, in the present ruinous condition of the country, not a single cow was to be seen, the whole place being entirely desolate. Even the water, which it was very difficult to obtain, was of bad quality.

The next morning I reached Búndi after a short march, proceeding in advance of my camels in order to pay my compliments to the governor, and to obtain from him an escort through the unsafe district which intervened between this town and Zurríkulo. After a little tergiversation, my old friend, the ghaladíma, 'Omár, acceded to my request, giving me a guide who, he assured me, would procure an escort for me in the village of Sheshéri, where a squadron of horse was stationed for the greater security of the road. I had experienced the inhospitable disposition of this officer during my former stay here, and felt, therefore, little inclination to be his guest a second time; but if I had had any foreboding that Mr. Vogel was so near at hand, I would gladly have made some stay.

Having rejoined my camels, I set out, without delay, through the forest, taking the lead with my head servant; but I had scarcely proceeded three miles when I saw advancing toward me a person of strange aspect—a young man of very fair complexion, dressed in a tobe like the one I wore myself, and with a white turban wound thickly round his head. He was accompanied by two or three blacks, likewise on horseback. One of them I recognized as my servant M'adi, whom, on setting out from Kúkawa, I had left in the house as a guardian. As soon as he saw me he told the young man that I was 'Abd el Kerím, in consequence of which Mr. Vogel (for he it was) rushed forward, and, taken by surprise as both of us were, we gave each other a hearty reception from horseback. As for myself, I had not had the remotest idea of meeting him, and he, on his part, had only a short time before received the intelligence of my safe return from the west. Not having the slightest notion that I was alive, and judging from its

Arab address that the letter which I forwarded to him from Kanó was a letter from some Arab, he had put it by without opening it, waiting till he might meet with a person who should be able to read it.

In the midst of this inhospitable forest we dismounted and sat down together on the ground; and my camels having arrived, I took out my small bag of provisions, and had some coffee boiled, so that we were quite at home. It was with great amazement that I heard from my young friend that there were no supplies in Kúkawa; that what he had brought with him had been spent; and that the usurper 'Abd e' Rahmán had treated him very badly, having even taken possession of the property which I had left in Zínder. He moreover informed me that he himself was on his way to that place, in order to see whether fresh supplies had not arrived, being also anxious to determine the position of that important town by an astronomical observation, and thus to give a firmer basis to my own labors. But the news of the want of pecuniary supplies did not cause me so much surprise as the report which I received from him that he did not possess a single bottle of wine; for, having now been for more than three years without a drop of any stimulant except coffee, and having suffered severely from frequent attacks of fever and dysentery, I had an insuperable longing for the juice of the grape, of which former experience had taught me the benefit. On my former journey through Asia Minor I had contracted a serious fever in the swamps of Lycia, and quickly regained my strength by the use of good French wine. I could not help reproaching my friend for having too hastily believed the news of my death before he had made all possible inquiries; but, as he was a new-comer into this country and did not possess a knowledge of the language, I could easily perceive that he had no means of ascertaining the truth or falsehood of those reports.

I also learned from him that there were dispatches for me in Kúkawa, informing me of the expedition sent up the River Tsadda, or Bénuwé. With regard to his own proceedings, he informed me that his sole object in going to Mándará had been to join that expedition, having been misled by the opinion of my friends in Europe, who thought that I had gone to A'damáwa by way of Mándará, and that, when once in Morá, he had become aware of the mistake he had committed when too late, and had endeavored in vain to retrieve his error by going from that place to Ujé, from

whence the overthrow of the usurper 'Abd e' Rahmán and the return of his brother 'Omár to power had obliged him to return to Kúkawa.

While we were thus conversing together the other members of the caravan in whose company Mr. Vogel was traveling arrived, and expressed their astonishment and surprise at my sitting quietly here in the midst of the forest, talking with my friend, while the whole district was infested by hostile men. But these Arab traders are great cowards; and I learned from my countryman that he had found a great number of these merchants assembled in Borzári, and afraid of a few robbers who infested the road beyond that place, and it was only after he had joined them with his companions that they had decided upon advancing.

After about two hours' conversation we had to separate; and while Mr. Vogel pursued his journey to Zínder (whence he promised to join me before the end of the month), I hastened to overtake my people, whom I had ordered to wait for me in Kálemrí. I have described this place on my outward journey as a cheerful and industrious village, consisting of two straggling groups, full of cattle and animation; but here also desolation had supplanted human happiness, and a few scattered huts were all that was at present to be seen. Having rested here for about an hour with my people, who had unloaded the animals at a short distance from the well, I started again at three o'clock in the afternoon, and reached Shechéri, where I was to receive my escort, this being the reason why I had been obliged to deviate from the main direction of my route. This time we encamped on the open square inside the village, where we were exposed to the dust and dirt raised by a numerous herd of cattle on their return from their pasture-grounds. This was a sign of some sort of comfort remaining; but we were disturbed in the night by a shrill cry raised on account of a report having been just received that a party of native traders, or "fatáki," had been attacked by the Tawárek. In the morning I had great difficulty in obtaining two horsemen for an escort; but I at last set out, taking a southerly detour instead of the direct road to Zurríkulo, and thus reached the town of Kerí-zemán, situated two miles and a half southwest from the former, along a track ornamented by a dense grove of dúm palms.

Thus I reached Zurríkulo for the third time during my travels in Negroland, but found it in a much worse condition than when I had last visited it in 1851; and the wall, although it had been con-

siderably contracted, was still much too large for the small number of inhabitants. The governor, Kashèlla S'aíd, who paid me a visit in the evening, when I had pitched my tent at a short distance from his residence, requested urgently that, on my arrival in the capital, I would employ my influence with the sheikh in order to induce him either to send him sufficient succors, or to recall him from this dangerous post, otherwise he should take to flight with the rest of the inhabitants. There were here some Arabs who were scarcely able to conceive how I could pursue these difficult roads quite by myself, without a caravan.

In order to lessen the danger, I decided upon traveling at night, and set out about two o'clock in the morning, entering now a region consisting of high sandy downs and irregular hollows, full of dúm palms, and occasionally forming the receptacle for a swampy sheet of water, where the wild hog appears to find a pleasant home. After a march of nearly ten hours, which greatly fatigued my camels on account of the numerous sandy slopes which we had to go up and down, we reached the little hamlet of Gabóre, situated in a rather commanding position, bordered toward the north by a hollow dell. Here I encamped on the eastern side of the village, and was glad to treat my people with a sheep and a few fowls. From the presence of these articles of luxury I was led to conclude that the inhabitants were tolerably well off, but I was not a little astonished to learn that they pay a certain tribute to the Tawárek, in order not to be exposed to their predatory incursions.

Monday, December 4th. It was not yet four o'clock when I was again *en route*. I thought it remarkable that all this time, although not the slightest quantity of rain or moisture was perceptible, the sky was always overcast before sunrise. I was greatly pleased when I crossed my former path at the neat little village Káluwa, the aspect of which had made so deep an impression upon me at that time. Farther on I kept to the south of my former track, through a well-cultivated district, where all the fields were provided with those raised platforms intended as stations for the guardians, of which I have spoken on a former occasion. Thus passing a good many villages, we made halt during the hot hours at the village Dimísugá, under a group of fine hájilíj, the inhabitants treating us hospitably. Having then continued our journey at an early hour in the afternoon, we soon passed a village which in other respects presents nothing interesting, but the

name of which is remarkable as showing the facetious turn of the natives. It is called "Búne kayérde S'aíd," meaning "Sleep, and rely upon S'aíd," the hamlet having evidently received this name from the native traders proceeding from the side of Bórnu, who thus evinced the confidence they felt in entering the province of the energetic Kashélla S'aíd, who they knew kept it in such a state of security that there was no danger from robbers.

While we were proceeding through an uninhabited hilly tract, my guide suddenly left me, so that, being misled by the greater width of the path, and passing the village of Jíngerí, animated at the time by a group of lively females in their best attire, and just performing a marriage ceremony, I reached the town of Wádi, which I had touched at on my outward journey, and at length by a roundabout way arrived at Borzári, where I expected my people to join me. But I looked for them in vain the whole night. They had taken the road to Grémarí. The governor treated me hospitably; but his object was to induce me to speak a word in favor of him to his liege lord.

In consequence of my people having taken another road, I lost the whole forenoon of the following day, and encamped about seven miles beyond Grémarí, near the village called Mariámari. During this encampment I again heard the unusual sound of a lion during the night. But it must be taken into consideration that a branch of the komádugu passes at a short distance to the south of this place, and I therefore think myself right in supposing that, in Bórnu at least, lions are scarcely ever met with, except in this entangled net of water-courses which I had here reached. The next day I marched for a considerable time along the northern border of this channel, girt by fine tamarind and fig trees, and occasionally by a group of dúm palms, till, having passed the village of Dámen, and traversed a wide swampy tract, we crossed the first branch, which formed a fine sheet of water about a hundred yards broad, but only three feet deep, the only difficulty being in the steepness of the opposite shore.

Having passed the heat of the day under a neigboring tamarind-tree, we continued our march in a southeasterly direction to the village Dáway. Here we pitched our tent in the neat little square near the "msíd," all the matting fences surrounding the cottages being new and having a very clean appearance. My object in staying here was to confer with the "bíllama" as to the best means of crossing the larger branch of the komádugu, which

runs at a short distance beyond this village, and the passage of which was said to be very difficult at the time, encumbered as we were with animals and luggage. But it was very extraordinary that the people here contended that the river then was higher than it had been ten days previously, although I did not find this statement confirmed on our actually crossing it the following morning, the water exhibiting evident signs of having decreased, an observation which exactly corresponds with what I have remarked on a former occasion with regard to the nature of this komádugu. The river here spread out to a considerable extent, and we had some difficulty in crossing it. The greatest depth was more than four feet; but the spreading out of the water was the reason that it was here passable at all, although it had become too shallow to employ the native craft, while lower down, between this place and Zéngirí, it could not be forded. Having then crossed three smaller channels and passed the village Kinjéberí, once a large town and encompassed by a wide clay wall, we took up our quarters in a poor hamlet called Margwa Sheríferí, from a sherif who had settled here many years ago; for, in order to procure myself a good reception from the ruler of Bórnu, after the great political disturbances which had taken place, I thought it prudent to send a messenger to him to announce my arrival. I only needed to give full expression to my real feelings in order to render my letter acceptable to my former protector, for my delight had been extreme, after the news which I had received of 'Abd e' Rahmán having usurped the supreme power, on hearing that the just and lawful Sheikh 'Omár had once more regained possession of the royal authority. The consequence was, that when, after having traversed the district of Koyám, with its straggling villages, its fine herds of camels, and its deep wells, some of them more than forty fathoms in depth, I approached the town on the 11th of December, I found 'Abd e' Nebí, the chief eunuch of the sheikh, with thirty horsemen, posted at the village of Kalíluwá, where a market was just held, in order to give me an honorable reception. Thus I re-entered the town of Kúkawa, whence I had set out on my dangerous journey to the west, in stately procession. On entering my quarters, I was agreeably surprised at finding the two sappers, Corporal Church and private Macguire, who had been sent out from England to accompany Mr. Vogel, and to join me, if possible, in my proceedings.

CHAPTER LXXXIV.

LAST RESIDENCE IN KU'KAWA.—BENEFIT OF EUROPEAN SOCIETY.

On reaching safely the town of Kúkawa, which had been my head-quarters for so long a period, and from whence I had first commenced my journeys of exploration in Negroland, it might seem that I had overcome all the difficulties in the way of complete success, and that I could now enjoy a short stay in the same place before traversing the last stage of my homeward journey. Such, however, was not the case, and it was my lot to pass four months in this town under rather unpleasant circumstances. I had expected to find sufficient means here, and had, in consequence, agreed to repay the sum of 200 dollars lent me by the Fezzáni merchant Khweldi in Kanó; but there were only a few dollars in cash left of the supplies taken out by Mr. Vogel, those deposited by myself in Zínder in the hands of the Sheríf el Fási, viz., 400 dollars in cash and a box containing a considerable amount of ironware, having been plundered during the turbulent state of the country produced by the revolution. Even of the merchandise which had been lately dispatched to Zínder, and from thence, in consequence of Mr. Vogel's arrangements, transported to Kúkawa, a very considerable proportion was found, on a close examination, to have been abstracted. Being therefore in want of money, and convinced that if such an outrage were allowed to pass by unnoticed no peaceable intercourse could ever be carried on between this country and Europeans, I explained these circumstances in the first audience which I had of the sheikh, to whom I made a present worth about eight pounds sterling.

While, therefore, once more assuring him of my unbounded satisfaction at finding him reinstated in his former power, I requested him not to suffer me to be treated in this manner by thieves and robbers, and to exert his influence for the restoration of my property. This proceeding of mine, as responsible to the government under whose auspices I was traveling, involved me in a series of difficulties, and excited against me Díggama, one of the most influential courtiers at the time, and a man of mean

character, as it was his servant, or more probably himself, who had obtained possession of the greater part of the plunder. In order to counteract the intrigues of this man, I endeavored to secure the friendship of Yusuf, the sheikh's next eldest brother, an intelligent and straightforward man, by making him a handsome present, and explaining to him, in unequivocal terms, how a friendly intercourse between themselves and the English could only exist if they acted in a conscientious manner. Another circumstance which contributed to render my situation in this place still more uncomfortable was the relation which existed between Mr. Vogel and Corporal Church, one of the sappers who had come with him from England; and I was sorry that the praiseworthy and generous intention of the government in sending out these two useful persons should not be carried out to the fullest extent, but, on the contrary, should be baffled by private animosity. In this respect I had already been greatly disappointed and grieved on hearing from Mr. Vogel, when I met him on the road, that he had gone alone to Mándará, without making any use of the services of his companions. I did all in my power to convince the two sappers that, under the circumstances in which they were placed, they ought to forget petty jealousies, as it was only by a mutual good understanding that complete success in such undertakings could be secured. I succeeded in convincing Macguire, although I was less successful with Corporal Church.

Meanwhile, I spent my time in a tolerably useful manner, looking over some of the books which Mr. Vogel had brought with him, especially M. Jomard's introduction to the translation of the "Voyage au Waday" by M. Perron, and the "Flora Nigritia" of Sir William Hooker. I was also considerably interested by the perusal of a packet of letters which had been conveyed in the very box that had been plundered, and which, although dating back as late as December, 1851, afforded me a great deal of pleasure. Partly in order to fulfill a vow which I had made, and partly to obtain a more secure hold upon the friendly dispositions of the natives, I made a present to the inhabitants of the capital on Christmas day of fourteen oxen, not forgetting either rich or poor, blind or fókara, nor even the Arab strangers.

My residence in the town became infinitely more cheerful in consequence of the arrival of Mr. Vogel on the 29th of December, when I spent a period of twenty days most pleasantly in the company of this enterprising and courageous young traveler, who,

with surprising facility, accustomed himself to all the relations of this strange life. But, while borne away by the impulse of his own enthusiasm, and giving up all pretensions to the comforts of life, he unfortunately committed the mistake of expecting that his companions, recently arrived from Europe, and whose ideas were less elevated, should do the same, and this had given rise to a lamentable quarrel, which frustrated in a great measure the intentions of the government who had sent out the party. Exchanging opinions with regard to countries which we had both of us traversed, and planning schemes as to the future course which Mr. Vogel was to pursue, and especially as to the next journey which he was to undertake toward Yákoba and A'damáwa, we passed our time very agreeably. I communicated to him, as far as it was possible in so short a space of time, all the information which I had collected during my extensive wanderings, and called his attention to various points which I begged him to clear up, especially with regard to some remarkable specimens of the vegetable kingdom, and the famous mermaid of the Bénuwé, the "ayú." It was rather unfortunate that no copy of the map which had been constructed from the materials which I had sent home had reached him, so that he remained in the dark with regard to many points which I had already cleared up. I also delivered to Mr. Vogel those letters of introduction which I had received from the ruler of Sókoto, addressed to the various governors of the provinces in this part of his empire, so that he had a fair prospect before him of being well received. We, moreover, lost no time in obtaining the sheikh's consent to his journey, and at the same time caused to be imprisoned Mesaúd, that servant of the mission who, by his connivance, had facilitated the theft committed upon my effects. In consequence of this energetic proceeding, several of the stolen articles came to light, even of those which had formed the contents of the box sent from England.

Thus we began cheerfully the year 1855, in which I was to return to Europe from my long career of hardships and privations, and in which my young friend was to endeavor to complete my discoveries and researches, first in a southwesterly direction toward the Bénuwé, and then eastward in the direction of the Nile. We likewise indulged in the hope that he might succeed, after having explored the provinces of Baúchi and A'damáwa, in penetrating eastward along that highly interesting route which leads from Saráwu to Lóggoné, round the southern border of the mountainous country of Mándará.

Meanwhile some interesting excursions to the shores of the Tsád formed a pleasant interruption in our course of studies and scientific communications, and these little trips were especially interesting on account of the extraordinary manner in which the shores of the lake had been changed since I last saw them on my return from Bagírmi, the water having destroyed almost the whole of the town of Ngórnu, and extending as far as the village of Kúkia, where we had encamped the first night on our expedition to Músgu. There were two subjects which caused me some degree of anxiety with regard to the prospects of this enterprising young traveler, the first being his want of experience, which could not be otherwise expected in a young man fresh from Europe, and the other the weakness of his stomach, which made it impossible for him to eat any meat at all. The very sight of a dish of meat made him sick. I observed that Macguire was affected in the same manner.

Having obtained, with some difficulty, the letter of recommendation from the sheikh, and prepared every thing that Mr. Vogel wanted to take with him, forming a sufficient supply to maintain him for a whole year, I accompanied my young friend out of the town in the afternoon of the 20th of January. But our start was rather unlucky, several things having been left behind; and it was after some delay and uncertainty that we joined the people who had gone on in advance with the camels, at a late hour, at the village of Díggigí. Here we passed a cheerful evening, and drank with spirit to the success of the enterprise upon which my companion was then about to engage. Mr. Vogel had also taken with him all his meteorological instruments, and his luggage being of a manifold description and rather heavy, I foresaw that he would have great trouble in transporting it through the difficult country beyond Yákoba, especially during the rainy season; and, indeed, it is evident, from the knowledge which we possess of his farther proceedings, that he either left his instruments behind in the capital of Baúchi, or that he lost them in crossing a river between that place and Záriya. As for his barometer, which he had transported with great care to Kúkawa, it went out of order the moment it was taken from the wall.

Having borne him company during the following day's march, I left him with the best wishes for his success. I had taken considerable pains in instructing his companion, Corporal Macguire, in the use of the compass, as the accurate laying down of the con-

figuration of the ground seemed to me of the highest importance in a mountainous country like Baúchi and A'damáwa; for Mr. Vogel himself could not be induced to undertake such a task, as it would have interfered greatly with the collecting of plants, which, besides making astronomical observations, was his chief object; and besides, being an extremely tedious business, it required a degree of patience which my young friend did not possess.* However, I am afraid that even Macguire did not follow up my instructions for any length of time. At all events, as he did not accompany Mr. Vogel beyond Yákoba, it seems evident that, even if his journal should be saved, we should probably not find all the information with regard to the particulars of his route which we might desire in such a country; for, during all the journeys which he has pursued, as far as we have any knowledge of them, he relied entirely upon his astronomical observations. I will say nothing here with regard to the results of this journey, as we may entertain the hope that his journals may still be saved, and that we may thus learn something more of him than the little which has as yet come to our knowledge.

It may be easily imagined that, on returning to Kúkawa, I felt rather desolate and lonely; but I had other reasons for feeling uncomfortable, for, having exposed myself to the cold the preceding night, I was seized with a violent attack of rheumatism, which laid me up for a long time, and which, causing me many sleepless nights, reduced me to an extraordinary degree of weakness, from which I did not recover for the greater part of the month. Nevertheless, I did not desist from requesting the sheikh, in the most urgent terms, to send me on my way, and to supply me at least with camels, in compensation for the loss which I had sustained through the insurrection. I had hopes that he would allow me to set out at the beginning of the next Mohammedan month, and I was therefore extremely delighted when two respectable Arabs came forward and offered to accompany me on my journey to Fezzán, although I did not much rely on the expectations which they raised. Meanwhile, on the 3d of February, the pupils of the Sheikh el Bakáy, who had staid so long behind in Kanó, reached Kúkawa, and their arrival was not at all disagreeable to me, although

* Macguire was to accompany Mr. Vogel on his excursion, and he promised cheerfully to assist him in every way toward accomplishing the objects of her majesty's government. As for Corporal Church, it was thought the best plan that he should return to Europe in my company.

they put me to fresh expense; for, by their authority, as being the followers of a highly-venerated Mohammedan chief, they increased the probability of my safely entering upon my home-journey. I therefore went with my friends to pay a visit to Zén el A'bidín, the son-in-law of the Sheikh el Bakáy, who, having been formerly employed by the Sheikh 'Omár as a messenger to the Emir of Sókoto, was now again to return eastward; for having in the beginning been treated rather unkindly by his wife Zéna, "The Ornament," El Bakáy's daughter, he had thought it better to console himself with a pilgrimage to Mekka, and did not now appear willing to listen to the solicitations of his repentant wife, who sincerely wished him to return to bear her company. I found him a simple and decent-looking man, whose manners pleased me the more as he abstained entirely from begging, and I testified the obligation which I bore to his family by sending him an ox for slaughtering, a sheep, and some smaller articles. I had also the pleasure of meeting here the Sherif 'Abd e' Rahmán, the same man whom we had met four years previously in the country of A'ír, and who had lately returned from A'damáwa. He brought me the latest information of the state of that country, and as he was to return again in that direction, at a later period, when I had received fresh supplies, I thought it prudent to give him a small parcel to deliver to Mr. Vogel wherever he should fall in with him, especially a few túrkedís and some sugar, of which he had taken with him only a small supply.

Having hired a guide and protested repeatedly to the sheikh that I could not wait any longer, my health having suffered considerably from my five years' stay in these countries, I left the town on the 20th of February, and pitched my tent on the high ground at Dárwerghú, just above the pool or swamp, round the southern border of which sorghum is cultivated to a considerable extent, and which in the daytime formed the watering-place for numerous herds of cattle. During the night it was visited by a great number of water-fowl. On the whole, I felt extremely happy in having at length left behind me a town of which I had become excessively tired.

But it was not my destiny to get off so easily, and leave this country so soon, for I had had repeated and very serious consultations, not only with the sheikh, but especially with his brother, Abba Yusuf, who was distinguished by his learning and his love of justice, about the parcel sent by her majesty's government, to-

gether with the 400 dollars which I had left behind in Zínder, and which had been stolen in consequence of the revolutionary outbreak. After a great deal of discussion, the sheikh promised me that he would restore what I had lost; but, knowing from experience that with these people time is of no value, and finding my health rapidly declining, I had come to the resolution of not waiting any longer, and the sheikh, seeing that I was determined, according to all appearance gave his full approval to my departure by sending me, on the morning of the 21st, five camels, which, although of very inferior quality, yet held out to me a slight hope of proceeding on my journey. But in the afternoon of the 22d he sent to me my old friend Háj Edrís, in order to induce me to return into the town; and the latter made me all sorts of promises as to the manner in which the sheikh wanted to grant me redress for all the claims which I had upon him. In order to show the ruler of the country that I had no fault to find with his own conduct, and to entreat him once more to send me off without farther delay, I went into the town in the course of the afternoon and paid my respects to him. He desired me to return with all my effects to my old quarters; but I told him that was impossible, as my state of health rendered it essential for me to return home without farther delay, whereas by taking up my quarters once more inside the town, according to their own slow mode of proceeding, I was sure not to get away before a couple of months had elapsed; but I said that I would gladly wait outside some days longer, and that, if he wished, I would come into the town every day in order to ascertain if there was any thing he wished to say to me. To this the sheikh seemed to agree at the time, and thus I took leave of him in the most quiet and satisfactory manner, and it appeared as if every thing was arranged, and that he would in no way interfere with my departure. I therefore bought two more camels the following day out of a large number which had been brought into the town by the Tebu from the Bahhr el Ghazál, and on the 25th, through the mediation of a respectable Tebu merchant, of the name of Háj el Bíggela, made an agreement with a guide, paying him half of his salary in advance. The same evening the sheikh sent me some more provisions.

Thus all seemed ready for my departure, although I had not many people at my disposal; but when it had only been delayed one day by accident, there appeared suddenly, in the afternoon

of the 28th, 'Alí Zíntelma, that same servant of Díggelma who had stolen part of the merchandise which he was bringing from Zínder to Kúkawa, at the head of four horsemen armed with muskets, bringing me an order from the sheikh to return to the town. Feeling convinced, from the character of the messenger, that if I did not obey the order I should expose myself to all sorts of insults from this contemptible villain, if I did not rid myself of him in a violent and unlawful manner, I thought it prudent, heartrending though it was, to resign myself in obedience to the tyrannical will of these people. It happened rather fortunately for me that Sídi A'hmed, the chief of Sídi el Bakáy's messengers, was staying with me at the time in my encampment. Having, therefore, sent my people in advance to my old quarters, I went to see the skeikh. I then protested against such a proceeding; but he himself did not speak, a younger brother of his, of the name of Abba 'Othmán, taking the lead in the conversation, and stating that the sheikh could not allow me to depart in this manner; and from all that I could learn, I concluded that it was especially this man who had persuaded his elder brother that it was not prudent to allow me to go, unsatisfied as I was, and without having settled my claims, the dangers of the road also being very great. But the principal reason was, that a Tebu messenger had arrived with letters from the north, although I did not hear what the letters addressed to the sheikh himself contained; but I afterward learned that this man had brought the news of the approach of a caravan, and it was but natural that the sheikh should wish to await its arrival. This messenger brought nothing for me except a copy of a dispatch of Lord Clarendon's, dated 10th of June, 1853, and consequently more than twenty months old. The news of my death seemed to be fully accredited in Tripoli and Fezzán, my letter, forwarded from Kanó, of course not having arrived in the latter place when this parcel left; and the only thing which afforded me satisfaction in my unpleasant situation were a few Maltese portfolios, which gave me some information of what had been going on in Europe four months previously.

All that now remained for me under the present circumstances was to resign myself in patience, although the delay pressed upon me with indescribable heaviness, and I had scarcely energy enough to endeavor to employ my time usefully. However, a rather pleasant intermezzo occurred, whereby at the same time one of the conditions was fulfilled upon which my own departure was

dependent, by the arrival of the Arab caravan from the north; and on the 23d of March I went to see them encamped in Dáwerghú, the path being enlivened by all sorts of people going out to meet their friends, and to hear what news had been brought by the new-comers. The caravan consisted of rather more than a hundred Arabs, but not more than sixty camels, the chief of the caravan being Háj Jáber, an old, experienced Fezzáni merchant. There was, besides, an important personage of considerable intelligence, notwithstanding his youth, viz., Abba A'hmed ben Hamma el Kánemi. These people had left Fezzán under the impression that I was dead, and were therefore not a little surprised at finding me alive, especially that same Mohammed el 'Akeroút, from whom I had received the 1000 dollars in Zínder, and who was again come to Negroland on a little mercantile speculation. This caravan also carried 1000 dollars for the mission, but it was not addressed to me, as I had long been consigned to the grave, but to Mr. Vogel, although the chief of the caravan offered to deliver it to me. All this mismanagement, in consequence of the false news of my death, greatly enhanced the unpleasant nature of my situation; for, instead of leaving this country under honorable circumstances, I was considered as almost disgraced by those who had sent me out, the command having been taken from me and given to another. There is no doubt that such an opinion delayed my departure considerably, for otherwise the sheikh would have exerted himself in quite a different manner to see me off, and would have agreed to any sacrifice in order to satisfy my claims. However, in consequence of the representations of Abba A'hmed, he sent me on the 28th, through that same Díggelma, to whom I was indebted for the greater part of my unpleasant situation, the 400 dollars which had come along with the box of English ironware, and he offered even to indemnify me for the loss of the articles contained in the box. This, however, I did not feel justified in accepting, as the value of those contents had been greatly exaggerated by the agent in Múrzuk, and claims raised in consequence. Nevertheless, the amount received was a great relief to me, as, without touching the sum brought by the caravan, I was thus enabled to pay back the 200 dollars lent me by the Fezzáni merchant Khweldi, and to pay my servant Mohammed el Gatróni, the only one of my free servants who was still staying with me, the greater proportion of the salary due to him, for I had succeeded in paying off my other servants from the money realized by my merchandise.

Meanwhile I endeavored to pass my time as well as I could, studying the history of the empire of Bórnu, and entering occasionally into a longer conversation with some of the better instructed of my acquaintances, or making a short excursion; but altogether my usual energy was gone, and my health totally undermined, and the sole object which occupied my thoughts was to convey my feeble body in safety home. My reduced state of body and mind was aggravated by the weather, as it was extremely hot during this period, the thermometer in the latter part of the month of April, at half past two o'clock in the afternoon, rising as high as 113°.* My exhausted condition had at least this effect upon the people, that it served to hasten my departure, by convincing them that I should not be able to stand this climate any longer. From the 20th of April, therefore, onward, I was made to hope that I should be allowed to proceed on my journey in the company of a Tebu merchant of the name of Kólo. A small caravan of Tebu, proceeding to Bilma to fetch salt, having gone in advance on the 25th, I went in the afternoon of the 28th to the sheikh in company with Abba A'hmed, who, on the whole, was extremely useful to me in my endeavors to get off, in order to make my final arrangement with Kólo. This day was certainly the happiest day or the only happy one which I passed in this place after the departure of Mr. Vogel; for, in the morning, on returning from an excursion to Dáwerghú, I found a messenger with letters from my companion, one dated from Gújeba, the other from Yákoba, wherein he informed me of the progress of his journey, and how he had safely reached the latter place, which had never before been visited by a European. He also informed me that he was just about to start for the camp or sansánne of the governor, who had been waging war for the last seven years against a tribe of idolaters whom he had sworn to subject. Greatly delighted at the prospect which opened to my fellow-traveler, whom I was to leave behind me, of filling up the blanks which I had left in my discoveries, I made the messenger a handsome present. Being thus considerably relieved in mind and full of hopes, I bore with patience and resignation some little disagreeable incidents which occurred before my final departure, especially the loss of two of the camels which I had recently bought.

* It was rather remarkable that on the 15th of April we had a few drops of rain, accompanied by repeated thunder; and altogether, as the sequel showed, the rainy season that year appeared to set in at a rather unusual and early period for Kúkawa.

CHAPTER LXXXV.

REAL START.—SMALL PARTY.

At length, on the 4th of May, I left the town and encamped outside, close in front of the gate. The sheikh had also given me another camel, and a young and rather weak horse, which did not seem very fit for such a journey, and which, in the sequel, proved rather a burden than otherwise to me. In this spot I remained some days, waiting for my fellow-traveler Kólo, who was still detained in the town, so that I did not take leave of the sheikh until the 9th of the month, when he received me with great kindness, but was by no means backward in begging for several articles to be sent to him, especially a small cannon, which was rather out of comparison with the poor present which he had bestowed upon myself. However, he promised me that I should still receive another camel from him, of which I stood greatly in need, although I had made up for one which was lost during my stay before the gate of the town, through the carelessness of A'bbega, by buying a fresh camel at the last moment of my departure. It was for this purpose that I took the sum of thirty dollars from the 1000 dollars brought by the caravan, and which I was anxious to leave behind for the use of Mr. Vogel. Altogether I was extremely unfortunate with my camels, and lost a third one before I had proceeded many miles from the town, so that I was obliged to throw away several things with which my people had overladen my animals.

Our move from Dáwerghú in the afternoon of the 10th was very inauspicious; and while a heavy thunder-storm was raging, enveloping every thing in impenetrable darkness, only occasionally illumined by the flashes of lightning, I lost my people, and had great difficulty in joining them again. Having then moved on by very short marches as far as Nghurútuwa, through a finely wooded valley called Hénderi Gálliram, we pitched our tents on the 14th of May near the town of Yó, where, to my utmost disappointment, we had to stay the five following days, during which the interesting character of the komádugu, which at present did not contain a drop of water, with its border of vegetation, afford-

ed me but insufficient entertainment. It would, however, have been curious for any European who had adhered to the theory of the great eastern branch of the Niger flowing along this bed from the Tsád, to see us encamped in the dry bottom of this valley. At all events, oppressed as I had been all the time by the apprehension that something might still occur to frustrate my departure, I deemed it one of the happiest moments of my life when, in the afternoon of Saturday the 19th, we at length left our station at this northern frontier of Bórnu, in the present reduced state of that kingdom, and I turned my back with great satisfaction upon these countries where I had spent full five years in incessant toil and exertion. On retracing my steps northward I was filled with the hope that a merciful Providence would allow me to reach home in safety, in order to give a full account of my labors and discoveries, and, if possible, to follow up the connections which I had established with the interior for opening regular intercourse with that continent.

Our first day's march from here, however, was far from being auspicious; for, having met with frequent delays and stoppages, such as are common at the commencement of a journey, and darkness having set in, the three monkeys which I wished to take with me, by their noise and cries, frightened the camels so much that they started off at a gallop, breaking several things, and, among others, a strong musket. I saw, therefore, that nothing was to be done but to let loose these malicious little creatures, which, instead of remaining quiet, continually amused themselves with loosening all the ropes with which the luggage was tied on the backs of the animals. Having encamped this night at a late hour, we reached, the following morning, the town of Bárruwa, and remained here the whole day, in order to provide ourselves with the dried fish which is here prepared in large quantities, and which constitutes the most useful article for procuring the necessary supplies in the Tebu country. The Dáza, or Búlgudá, who were to join us on the march, had been encamped in this spot since the previous day. From here we pursued our road to Ngégimi; but the aspect of the country had greatly changed since I last traversed it on my return from Kánem, the whole of the road which I at that time followed being now covered with water, the great inundation of the Tsád not having yet retired within its ordinary boundaries. The whole shore seemed to have given way and sunk a few feet. Besides this changed aspect of

the country, several hamlets of Kánembú cattle-breeders, such as represented in the accompanying wood-cut, caused great relief and animation.

It was also interesting to observe the Búdduma, the pirate inhabitants of the islands of the lagune, busily employed in their peculiar occupation of obtaining salt from the ashes of the "siwák," or the *Capparis sodata*. Having rested during the hot hours of the day, we took up our quarters in the evening just beyond a temporary hamlet of these islanders; for although watchfulness, even here, was very necessary in order to guard against any thievish attempt, yet, in general, the Búdduma seem to be on good terms with the Tebu, with whom they appear to have stood in intimate political connection from ancient times.

Tuesday, May 22*d.* At the distance of only a mile from our encampment we passed, close on our left, the site of Wúdi, enlivened by a few date palms, the whole open grassy plain to the right, over which our former road to Kánem had lain, being enveloped in a wider or narrower strip of water. Having halted again, at the beginning of the hot hours, in a well-wooded tract, we observed in the afternoon a herd of elephants, which passed the heat of the day comfortably in the midst of the water, and among the number a female with her young. Farther on we

were met by a troop of five buffaloes, an animal which, during my former journey, I had not observed near the lake.

Thus we reached the new village of Ngégimi, which was built on the slope of the hills, the former town having been entirely swept away by the inundation. Here we remained the forenoon of the following day, the encampment being enlivened by a great number of women from the village, offering for sale fish in a fresh and dried state, besides a few fowls, milk, and "témmari," the seeds of the cotton-plant; but, with the exception of a few beads for adorning their own sable persons, they were scarcely willing to receive any thing besides corn. I was glad to see, instead of the ugly Bórnu females, these more symmetrical figures of the Kánembú ladies, the glossy blackness of whose skin was agreeably relieved by their white teeth as well as by their beads of the same color. Our friends the Dáza, who five weeks previously had been driven back by the Tawárek, had recovered here their luggage, which on that occasion they had hastily deposited with the villagers when making an attempt to cross the desert. They were here to separate from us for a time, as, for some reason or other, they wanted to pursue a more westerly track, leading by the Bír el Hammám, or Metémmi, which is mentioned by the former expedition, while our friend Kólo was bent upon keeping nearer the shores of the lagune, by way of Kíbbo.

After a short conversation with the chief of the place, the May-Ngégimibe, we set out in the afternoon, and, proceeding at a slow rate, as the camels were very heavily laden, we passed, after a march of about eight miles, along a large open creek of the lagune, and, having met some solitary travelers coming from Kánem, encamped, about eight in the evening, on rather uneven ground, and kept alternate watch during the night.

Thursday, May 24th. Starting at a very early hour, we soon ascended hilly ground, but, after we had proceeded some miles, were greatly frightened by the sight of people on our right, when we three horsemen pursued them till we had driven them to the border of the lake; for this whole tract is so very unsafe that a traveler may feel certain that the few people whom he meets on the road, unless they bear distinctly the character of travelers like himself, will betray him to some predatory band. Having proceeded about nine miles, we halted near an outlying creek of the lake, the water of which was fresh, although most of these creeks contain brackish water. When we continued our march in the

afternoon, we passed another creek, or rather a separate lake, and, winding along a narrow path made by the elephants, which are here very numerous, reached, after a march of a little more than ten miles, the leafy vale, or "hénderi," of Kíbbo, and encamped on the opposite margin. This locality is interesting, as constituting, apparently, the northern limit of the white ant. We, however, were prevented by the darkness from making use of the well, as these vales are full of wild beasts, and we were therefore obliged to remain here the forenoon of the following day, a circumstance which was not displeasing to me, as I did not feel at all well, and was obliged to have recourse to my favorite remedy of tamarind-water. We pursued our march before the sun had attained its greatest power, but met with frequent stoppages, the slaves of our Tebu companions, who were heavily laden and suffering from the effects of the water, being scarcely able to keep up; a big fellow even lay down never to rise again. Indeed, it would seem as if the Tebu treated their slaves more cruelly than even the Arabs, making them carry all sorts of articles, especially their favorite dried fish.

After a march of not more than twelve miles, we halted some distance to the east of the well of Kufé, and were greatly excited in consequence of the approach of our fellow-travelers the Dáza, whom, at the moment, we did not at first recognize. This locality was also regarded so unsafe for a small caravan, that we started again soon after midnight, and halted after a march of about fifteen miles, when we met a courier coming from Kawár with the important news that Hassan Bashá, the Governor of Fezzán, who had been suffering from severe illness for several years, had at length succumbed, and that the E'fedé, that turbulent tribe on the northern frontier of A'sben, which had caused us such an immense deal of trouble in the first part of our expedition, had undertaken a foray to Tibésti, a piece of news which influenced our own proceedings very considerably, as we were thus exposed to the especial danger of falling in with this predatory band, besides the danger which in general attaches to the passage through this extensive desert tract, which extends from Negroland to the cultivated zone of North Africa. It was this circumstance, together with the great heat of the midday hours at this hottest part of the year, which obliged us, without the least regard to our own comfort, to travel the greater part of the night, so that I was unable to rectify and complete, in general, the observations of the former

expedition, the route of which, being entirely changed by the new astronomical data obtained by Mr. Vogel, would be liable to some little rectification throughout.

Having rested during the hot hours of the day, we pursued our march about two o'clock in the afternoon, when, after a stretch of about two miles, we entered a fine hilly district, well adapted for pasture-grounds for camels and sheep, but untenanted in the present deserted state of the country. A mile and a half farther on we passed the well of Mul, which was at present dry, and then winding along the fine valley, were detained a long time by the loss of another camel. Having then encamped, after a march altogether of about ten miles, we started again an hour after midnight, and, after traveling nearly thirteen miles, reached the well of U'nghurutín, situated in a hollow surrounded with fine vegetation, and affording that most excellent fodder for camels, the "hád;" besides which, there was a great deal of "retem," or broom.

Monday, May 28th. Having spent the Sunday in U'nghurutín quietly, and indulging in some little repose, we started a little after midnight, and did not encamp till after a march of about fifteen miles. It was interesting to observe, when the day began to dawn, that all along this region a considerable quantity of rain had fallen, in consequence of which "hád" and "sebód" covered the ground, although we were extremely glad to escape from that great annoyance to travelers, the feathery bristle, or "ngíbbi." Another twelve miles in the afternoon, through a more open country, broken in the earlier part by a few specimens of the tree "símsim," brought us to the well Bedwáram, or Bélkashi-fárri, where we encamped at the foot of the eastern eminence, choosing our ground with great care, as we were to recruit here our strength by a longer stay, the well being at present frequented by a number of that section of the Gunda tribe of Tebu which is called "Wándalá," or "Aussa;" for in general the well is by no means a safe retreat, and it seems to have been at this well, or in the neighborhood, that Corporal Macguire was slain last year when returning home after the report of the death of his chief, Mr. Vogel.

We had great trouble in opening the wells; for we needed a large provision of water, as, besides filling our skins, we had here to water all our camels. Only one of the wells was open at the time, and contained but very little water. It is easily to be understood in what a perilous position a small caravan would be if attacked under such circumstances by a gang of highway robbers,

and I felt particularly obliged to Sheikh 'Omár for having afforded me the protection of the salt-merchants, the Dáza, who were busy the whole day long in digging out the wells. I was glad to find that the temporary inhabitants of the place behaved quietly and decently, and even brought us some camels' milk, which they bartered for small looking-glasses.

Having remained here also the 30th, we started in the afternoon of the last of May, and, after a good stretch of nearly twenty miles, encamped. We set out again after about four hours' rest, when, having proceeded some six miles, we entered the open sandy waste just beyond a fine group of símsim-trees, and halted again during the heat of the day, after a march of about six miles more. I here enjoyed again the wide expanse of the open desert, which, notwithstanding its monotony, has something very grand about it, and is well adapted to impress the human mind with the consciousness of its own littleness, although, at the present season, it presented itself in its most awful character, owing to the intense heat which prevailed.

Having a tedious march before us through the dreary desert of Tintúmma, we started for a long, wearisome night's march some time before the heat had attained its highest degree, only one hour after noon, but probably we should have acted wiser to have waited till the heat was past, as the poor slaves of my fellow-travelers were knocked up before the heat came on. Only a short rest of forty minutes was granted, at eight o'clock in the evening, for a cold supper of Guinea-corn, when the caravan started again, to continue its night-march over this unbounded sandy waste; but I, as well as my chief servant, being on horseback, I found myself at liberty to remain some time behind, indulging in the luxury of a cup of coffee. I remained, however, almost too long; and if it had not been that, contrary to my orders, which were to the effect to spare the powder as much as possible, my servants kept firing their pistols off at random, in order to cheer themselves and the poor slaves, I should have had some difficulty in following the caravan. Cheered by the firing, and perhaps impressed with the awful character of the country which we were traversing at such an hour, the slaves, forgetful of their over-fatigue, kept up an uninterrupted song, the sounds of which fell occasionally upon my ears, as I followed them at a great distance; but under the effects of this excitement, and in the cool of the evening, they marched at such a rate that I did not overtake them

till long after midnight, when freemen and slaves began to feel exhausted, and would gladly have lagged behind; and I had to urge on several of these unfortunates, and prevent them from staying behind, and falling a sacrifice to thirst and fatigue. One of my servants was not to be seen. In fact, this desert is famous for people well accustomed to it losing their way, and the white sand, extending to a boundless distance, is so confounding that people often miss their direction entirely. But the fatigue of this night's march was very great indeed, and when the day dawned I gladly availed myself of the opportunity afforded by a little herbage of giving a slight feed to my exhausted horse to obtain a few minutes' repose.

Pursuing then our dreary march, while a heavy wind rose, which, by raising the dust, made the desert look still more gloomy, we gradually discovered the rocky mountains of A'gadem ahead of us, but did not enter the peculiar valley formation till a quarter past seven o'clock. Here we chose our camping-ground in a corner surrounded by the "siwák," which form quite a little plantation, and occasionally attract temporary settlers, especially of the tribe called Bolo-dúwa or A'm-wadébe. However, the sand-wind made our stay here very cheerless, which was increased by the circumstance of the ground being full of camel lice, this being the usual camping-ground. The water of the well was clean and excellent, but not very plentiful, so that we had to take our supply for the road before us from a more northerly well. The servant who was missing not having been found, we waited anxiously for the arrival of the Dáza in the afternoon, when he made his appearance in their company. They had fortunately seen him at a great distance, when he had completely lost his way, and was wandering southward. I made a present to the man who had brought him back. We remained here the following day, and, besides the small luxury of the wild fruit of the siwák, I was glad to be able to buy a vessel of butter from our friends the salt-traders, as my store of this article was nearly consumed.

Monday, June 4th. The poor slaves of our companions were so totally exhausted by the fatigue of the journey that they would have preferred any thing to a continuance of such suffering, and when we started at a very early hour a poor female slave tried to make her escape by hiding herself in the bushes, but she was soon found out, and received a severe flogging for her pains.

Proceeding along a very peculiar basin of natron at the foot of

the rocky slope, we reached, after a march of about four miles, the northern well, situated in an open, pleasant landscape, the mountains on the east side receding in the distance. We remained here this day and the following forenoon, keeping back the Dáza, who were anxious to pursue their journey, for animals as well as men stood in need of some repose, in order to enable them to traverse the long desert tract which separated us from the Tebu country.

June 5th. Just about noon, as we were packing ready to start, a thunder-storm gathered on the chain toward the east, and a few drops of rain fell while we were setting out. Having then kept along the valley for about three miles, we ascended the higher ground with an easterly direction, and obtained a sight of the eastern slope of the chain which borders the valley, which, although not so high on this side as toward the west, seemed yet to have an elevation of about 300 feet. About three o'clock we had again a slight shower of rain. The whole of A'gadem, as I here became aware, forms a sort of wide, extensive hollow, bordered on the eastern side by this rocky chain, and toward the west at the distance of about three miles, as well as toward the north, by sandy downs. The higher level itself, over which our track lay, was broken by considerable depressions, running east and west, and forming such steep slopes, that Clapperton's expression of high sand-hills which he had here to cross seems well justified; and we ourselves took up our encampment after a march of a little more than eleven miles in a hollow of this description, bordered by high sand-hills toward the west. However, our halt was very short, and soon after midnight we pursued our march, the desert now becoming more level, and therefore allowing a steady progress by night. Pursuing our march with alacrity, we encamped, after a stretch of about sixteen miles, in a spot which was full of those remarkable crystallized tubes which are called "bargom-chídibe" by the Kanúri, and "kauchin-kassa" by the Háusa people, and the character of which has been explained in such various ways, some supposing them to be the effect of lightning, while others fancy them to be the covered walks with which the white ant had surrounded stalks of negro corn. Pursuing from here our march, a little before two in the afternoon we entered a sandy waste, which well deserved to be compared to the wide expanse of the ocean, although even here small rocky ridges protruded in some places; and after a march of about ten miles, we ourselves encamped under the protection of such a ridge.

Thursday, June 7th. Starting again from here at a very early hour in the night, we reached, after a march of about six miles, the well of Díbbela, the romantic character of which, with its high sand-hills, from which black rocky masses towered forth, together with its dúm palms, struck me not a little. But the water is abominable, being impregnated with an immense quantity of natron; and it was here that Mr. Henry Warrington, who had accompanied Mr. Vogel to Kúkawa, succumbed to the dysentery, with which he had been seized on the road, the bad quality of the water having probably brought the disorder to a crisis. It was, moreover, a very hot day, although not hotter than usual, the thermometer at two o'clock indicating 109° in the best shade I could find; and the masses of sand all around were quite bewitching and bewildering. Starting again in the afternoon as soon as the heat had reached its greatest intensity, we ascended the sandy downs with a considerable westerly deviation, leaving just beyond this hollow another one, with some talha-trees, and then keeping over the sandy level with a ridge of the same character, and passing, after a march of about five miles, a great quantity of kajíji, till, after a good stretch of altogether seventeen miles, we encamped on hard sandy ground. On this tedious journey I always felt greatly delighted, on our arrival at the camping-ground, to stretch myself at full length on the clean sand, the softness of which makes one feel in no want of a couch.

June 8th. Having encamped at a rather late hour, we did not start so early as usual, and halted, after a march of about eight miles, on a ground almost entirely destitute of herbage, but, what seemed very remarkable, soaked by the rain of the previous day, and affording another and still stronger proof of the incorrectness of the opinion which had hitherto been entertained of this whole tract never being fertilized by the rains. The soil also was full of the footprints of the "bagr-el-wáhesh," *Antelope bubalis*, which, being pursued by the sportsmen of A'gadem and Díbbela, had evidently sought a refuge in this region.

Having from hence made a stretch of about ten miles in the afternoon, and halted for nearly four hours at sunset, we started again for a wearisome night's march, deviating very considerably from our former track; and after a march of a little more than eighteen miles, the latter part over a difficult range of sand-hills, we reached in the morning the well of Zaw-kurá in a dreadfully-fatigued state, and with the loss of four camels; but it was

cheering to find that the locality—a vale richly adorned with siwák, or *Capparis sodata*, afforded some relief not only to the body, but even to the mind. We here met with a small caravan of Tebu, natives of the very ancient village of A'gherim or A'ghram, the place of which I have spoken on a former occasion,* and which lies three days northwest from here by way of Yawi. Being on their road to Bórnu, they were anxious to exchange their camels for mine, the latter being accustomed to the climate of Bórnu, whither they were going. Such an exchange is certainly advisable to travelers proceeding in either direction, in the event of the animals of each party being equally good; but, on the one hand, I wanted too badly the few camels which had withstood the fatigue, and, on the other, those of these people were too poor to allow me to accept their offer, and, in consequence, they had to load the five horses which they had with them with water-skins. These people gave us the important information that the ghazzia of the Tawárek had returned from Tibésti, having made only a small booty of forty camels and thirty slaves, on account of the Tebu having been on their guard, although they threatened to return at some future period. We remained here the following day, enjoying the repose of which we stood so much in need. A strong wind had been blowing all night, but the heat, at two o'clock in the afternoon, reached its usual elevation of 108° in the best shade.

Monday, June 11th. We started again in the afternoon, winding round the southeastern edge of the considerable mountain group to which the vale is indebted for its existence, and having on our right sandy downs. Just at the spot where we left the small oasis, known to the traders of the desert as Zaw-kanwa, on our left, we fell in with the footsteps of a small party, when, supposing them to be marauders, we followed them up for a while, till we had convinced ourselves that they were people in search of a runaway slave. Pursuing then our march altogether about sixteen miles, we halted at nine o'clock in the evening, but started again at midnight, and, after a march of fourteen miles, reached Muskátenu, the southernmost limit of the oasis of Kawár, although nothing but an inconsiderable shallow depression, full of marl and alum.

Although the heat was greater than usual, the thermometer indicating as much as 110°, we started with great alacrity in the afternoon, as we were now approaching the seats of Tebu power and

* See vol. ii., p. 595.

civilization in the heart of the desert, where nature has provided this little fertile spot in order to facilitate intercourse between distant nations. However, several sandy ridges opposed themselves to our progress before we reached the real beginning of the valley, at the western foot of a large and broad-topped rocky mound; but the sand was not so deep as I had been led by the description of other people to expect. Here the scenery became highly interesting, the verdant ground—where small patches of the grass called "ghedeb" and vegetables were sown, surrounded by slight fences of palm bushes—being overtopped by handsome groups of palm-trees; and cheered as I felt by this spectacle, after the dreary march which we had made, I could not grudge my people a few shots of powder. But while our friends, the Dáza salt-traders, encamped at the very thickest grove, where the dilapidated town of Bilma is situated, we ourselves entered a dreary salt-pan, and encamped about a mile farther on, near a miserable little village called Kalála, without the ornament or shade of a single tree. Moreover, the ground was so hard that it was only with the greatest difficulty that we were able to pitch the tent; and having no wood wherewith to cook a supper, a small hospitable gift from our friend Kólo, consisting first in a dish of fresh dates, and afterward in a mess of cooked pudding, proved very acceptable. The miserable hamlet, besides a few hovels scarcely to be distinguished from the ground, contained only the ruins of a mosque, which had been turned into a magazine for salt.

Our stay here became the more disagreeable, as toward the morning of the following day a heavy gale arose, against which this open tract offered not the slightest protection; but I amused myself by paying a visit to the salt-pits, in the high mounds of rubbish a few hundred yards to the east of our encampment. I was highly interested in the very peculiar character which they presented, the pits forming small quadrangular basins of about four or five yards in diameter, deeply cut into the rock, where all the saltish substance contained in the ground collects, and is thence obtained by pouring this water, impregnated with salt, into moulds of clay, of the shape which I have described in my notice of the salt-trade,* in that part of my journey where I was myself traveling in the company of the salt-traders of A'sben. The salt, filtering through the sides of the mound, had all the appearance of long icicles. But at present only a small quantity of

* Vol. i., p. 392.

prepared salt was lying here, the season for the Kél-owí to carry it away being some months later, when this tract must present a very different aspect, and exhibit a considerable degree of activity; and it would have been highly interesting if Mr. Overweg had been able to visit the place at such a season, as he had intended.

It was also a circumstance of considerable interest, that about two o'clock in the afternoon, while the thermometer indicated 107° 3′ in the best shade I could find, we had a slight shower, although this whole region has been set down as an entirely rainless zone. My camels being greatly reduced, and several of them of little value, I exchanged the two worst among them for one belonging to the Dáza, our former fellow-travelers, who, being bent upon staying here a few days before they undertook their home-journey to Bórnu, were thus enabled to wait until the animals had recruited their strength.

June 14*th*. At an early hour in the morning, long before the dawn of day, we continued our journey northward along the Wádi Kawár, as it is called by the Arabs, or the Héneri-tegé, valley of the Tegé or Tedá, as it is called by the natives, having the steep rocky cliffs, which at times formed picturesque platforms, at about three miles distance on our right. Meanwhile the country became beautifully wooded at the dawn of the day, and numerous travelers attested a certain degree of industry in this curious abode of men in the heart of the desert. After a march of about twelve miles, where the valley became contracted by a lower rocky ridge crossing it, we encamped at the side of a palm grove, with a number of draw-wells, or "kháttatír," where every kind of vegetable might be easily raised. The ground produced "aghúl" and "molukhía," or *Corchorus olitorius*, and was surrounded by high sandy downs, while at some distance eastward a village is situated of the name of E′ggir. Having halted here for about five hours, we pursued our journey, the strip of trees closely approaching the rocky cliff, and after a march of three miles, left on our right the village E′m-i-máddama, and farther on, that called Shemídderu, lying partly at the foot, partly on the slope of the rocky cliffs on our right. Having then left a small isolated grove of date-trees on the same side, we reached the beginning of the plantation of Dírki; and traversing the grove where the fruit was just ripening, we approached the dilapidated wall of the town, which presented a very poor spectacle, and then kept between it and the offensive salt-

pool on our right, and encamped on the north side. This town, which, notwithstanding its insignificance, has a name all over the desert, was of some importance to me, from the fact of its containing the only blacksmith in the whole of this oasis, whom I wanted to prepare for me a double set of strong shoes for each of my horses, as we had a very stony tract to traverse beyond this oasis. He promised to make them, and to bring them up to us at A'shenúmma, but he did not keep his word, and thus was the cause of my losing one of my horses in that difficult tract. Having passed the villages of Tegimámi and Elíji, we reached the town of A'shenúmma, the residence of the chief of these Tebu, situated on a lower terrace formed by a gentle slope at the foot of the steep cliffs, and encamped in the bottom of the valley near an isolated group of sandstone rock, round which the moisture collects in large hollows, scarcely a foot below the surface of the gravel. All around, a rather thin grove of date-trees spreads out; farther westward there are the two salt lakes mentioned by the members of the former expedition.

In the afternoon I went into the town to pay my respects to the chief, whose name is Mai-Bákr. The place, which seems to have attracted the notice of Arab geographers from an early date, consists of about 120 cottages, built with rough stones, and scattered about on the slope, besides a few yards erected with palm branches. The cottages are very low, and covered in with the stems and leaves of the palm-tree. A solitary conical hut, like those of Sudan, was likewise to be seen. One of the stone houses exhibited a greater degree of industry by its whitewashing, but the residence of the chief was not distinguished in any way. The latter, who bears the title of Maina, was a man of advanced age and respectable behavior. At the time of our entrance he was squatted on fresh white sand in front of his "diggel," placed in the ante-chamber or segífa. He received my present (which consisted of a black tobe, two túrkedís, and a harám, worth altogether about four Spanish dollars) kindly, and expressed his hope that I might get safely over the tract before me, if I did not lose any time by a longer delay. Meanwhile a Tebu merchant who was present gave me the very doubtful information that the people of Tawát paid to the French an annual tribute of 60,000 dollars. The inhabitants of A'shenúmma and of the neighboring places are very differently situated from those of Dírki and Bilma, for the latter, on account of their being the medium of communication in the salt trade, are

respected by the Tawárek, for whom they prepare that article, and who, in consequence, do not plunder them even when they meet them in the desert. Nay, they even protect them, as I have described in the former part of my journey, so that merchants from Dírki and Bilma were proceeding to Háusa by way of A'sben. The inhabitants of the other places, on the contrary, such as A'shenúmma, are exposed to all sorts of oppression from the former, and even run the risk of being slain by them when met alone. With regard to the Tebu in general, I have already spoken repeatedly about their intimate connection with the Kanúri race, and have enumerated the names of the sections of their tribe, so far as I have become acquainted with them, and I shall say more on the subject of their language in a preface to my vocabularies. It was a remarkable fact, but easily to be explained, that the greatest heat which I experienced in the desert was in this valley, the thermometer at two o'clock in the afternoon rising daily to between 110° and 112°.

We remained here the following day, when I enjoyed the scenery of the locality extremely, and made a sketch of it, which is represented in the plate opposite. I also desired Corporal Church, who, as I have stated above, was in my company, and who felt assured that Captain Clapperton had indicated the mountain chain on the west by mistake, to ascend the slope of the chain above A'shenúmma, in order to convince himself that that meritorious traveler had not been misled in such a strange manner. With the aid of my telescope, he discovered in the far distance to the west a chain bordering the valley in that direction. This breadth of the valley is even indicated by the distance intervening between A'gherim and Fáshi on the one side, and Bilma and Dírki on the other.

It was the holiday of the 'Aíd el fotr, and the inhabitants of the little town celebrated the day by a religious procession, in which there figured even as many as ten horses, and a few rounds of powder were fired. The petty chief also sent me a holiday dish, consisting of a sort of macaroni made of millet, with a porridge of beans. It is a very remarkable circumstance, and one that must not be forgotten by any traveler who pursues this road, that the inhabitants of the Tebu country esteem nothing more highly, nay, scarcely value any thing at all, except dried fish, the stinking "búni," and that he may starve with all sorts of treasures in his bags unless he be possessed of this article. I myself was even

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obliged to buy the grass or ghedeb (of which I stood in need for my camels) with dried fish, and I felt sorry that I had not laid in a greater supply of this article in Bárruwa.

Monday, June 17th. Before setting out, I thought it prudent to pay another visit and bid farewell formally to Mai-Bákr, as I was anxious, unprotected as I was, to secure my rear. I then followed my camels, and having crossed two defiles, formed by projecting cliffs, which interrupt the valley, reached, after a march of seven miles, the town of Anikímma, situated at the side of an isolated promontory projecting from the cliffs, which form here a sort of wide recess, and encamped at the border of the palm grove, when I immediately received some hospitable treatment from my friend Kólo, who was a native of this place. This is the modern road which is taken at the present time, the town of Kisbi, or rather Gézibi, which lies on the western side of the valley, and along which the former mission passed, being at present deserted. This road led in former times by Kisbi to Azanéres. But, although we were treated in a friendly manner in this place, I did not like to lose any time, but was anxious to proceed at once to A'nay, the northernmost town in the valley of Kawár, in order to prepare myself there, without the least delay, for that second great station of my desert journey, which I had to traverse quite by myself, as my friend Kólo was to stay behind, and was not going to undertake the journey for a month or so. I recommended to him my freed slave 'Othmán, who had remained behind, as he was suffering from the effects of the Guinea-worm. Kólo, however, accompanied me in the afternoon for a few hundred yards, together with a Tebu from Tibésti of the name of Maina Dadakóre, who had recently been plundered of all his property by the Tawárek. The distance from Anikímma to A'nay is not very great, about two miles and a half. The site of A'nay is very peculiar, as may be seen from the description given by the former expedition,* who were greatly struck by its singular appearance, although the view which they have given of the locality is far from being correct. The first thing which I had to do here was to endeavor, by means of dollars, cloves, and the remnant of dried fish which I still had left, to procure as large a supply of ghedeb as possible, in order to carry my camels through this trying journey, as my only safety with my small band of people consisted in the greatest speed. It was very unlucky for me that the black-

* Denham and Clapperton's Travels, p. 17.

smith of Dírki broke his word in not bringing up the shoes for my horses, a circumstance which would have been productive of the most serious consequences if I had been attacked on the road, as both my horses became lame.

Tuesday, June 18th. Having prepared every thing in the forenoon, we set out on our lonely and dangerous journey with a fervent prayer, and after a march of little less than two miles emerged from the valley, or hénderi, through a rocky defile. We then gradually ascended the higher level of the desert plain, and having made a stretch of about sixteen miles, we encamped. Having kept strict watch, as it was not improbable that some people might have followed us, we started again at an early hour, long before the dawn of day, and, after a march of about thirteen miles, reached I'ggeba (Denham's Ikbar), a shallow depression at the western foot of a mountain, clothed with some herbage, and adorned with a rich profusion of dúm palms. The well here afforded a supply of the most delicious water. However, the locality was too unsafe for our small troop to make here a long stay, it being frequently visited by predatory expeditions. We therefore thought it prudent to start again in the afternoon along the western road, by way of Síggedim, which has been laid down very erroneously by the former expedition, they probably not having taken the accurate distances and directions of this route, as they relied upon the direct track, which they had traced with accuracy. This road is called "Nefása seghíra," from a defile or "thníye" which we crossed about two miles and a half from our starting-point. About ten miles beyond we encamped, and reached the next morning, after a march of ten miles more, over a beautiful gravelly flat, and crossing the track of a small caravan of asses coming from Brábu, the beginning of the oasis of Síggedim, stretching out at the western foot of a considerable mountain group, the direction of which is from east to west, and well wooded with dúm palms, date-trees, and with gerredh, or *Mimosa Nilotica*. The ground, which is richly overgrown with sebót, in several places shows an incrustation of salt. We halted for the midday hours, a little more than a mile farther on, near the well, as we could not afford to make any long stay here. The place was at present quite deserted, but I was told that about a month later in the season people occasionally take up their temporary residence here, and a few isolated stone dwellings on a projecting cliff testified to the occasional presence of settlers.

From hence we reached, in an afternoon's and a long morning's march of altogether nearly thirty-four miles, the shallow vale of Jeháya (Denham's Izhya) or Yát. We were in a sad state, as besides being exhausted by fatigue, we were almost totally blinded by the glare of the sand in the heat of the day. A smaller strip of vegetation on the west side of the rocky eminences which dotted this country had already some time previously led us to hope that we had reached the end of our march; but when at length we had gained the spot, we found the vale, with its rich growth of herbage, very refreshing, and men as well as animals had an opportunity of recruiting their strength a little.

June 22*d*. The horse which the sheikh had given me being quite lame, I wanted to mount the only one of the camels which seemed strong enough to carry such a burden in addition to its load, but it refused to rise with me, and I was thus obliged to mount the donkey-like nag which the Sultan of Sókoto had given me, my servant going on foot. It is certainly very difficult to carry horses through this frightful desert with limited means, but it is of the utmost importance for a small party to have a horse or two with them, in order to scour the country to see whether all be right, and to make a spirited attack or to pursue the robbers in case of a theft having been committed.

Having advanced in the course of the evening a little more than eighteen miles, we traversed early the next morning a narrow defile, inclosed between rocky heights on both sides, in a very stony tract of country, and halted, after a march of about twelve miles, at a little distance from the mountain group Tíggera-n-dúmma, where the boundary is formed between Fezzán and the independent Tebu country, by a valley clothed with a good profusion of herbage and a few talha-trees just in flower. From here we reached, after a march of sixteen miles more, the well of Mafaras, the southernmost well of Fezzán, in such a state of exhaustion that we felt induced, notwithstanding the danger from the E'fadaye, to allow ourselves and the animals a day and a half's repose; I myself being particularly in want of a little rest, as I had been suffering a great deal from rheumatism for the last few days. In addition to this, the well contained so little water that it required an enormous time to water the animals and to fill our skins. The vale was pleasantly adorned with a good number of fine talha-trees, and there was even one isolated dúm palm, while of another one nothing but the trunk was remaining. Although we had

advanced so much toward the north, we did not yet feel the slightest decrease in the temperature, and the thermometer all this time, at two o'clock in the afternoon, constantly indicated 109°.

This is the southern well of the name of Máfaras, while the northern spot of the same name, where Mr. Vogel made his astronomical observation, is about nineteen miles farther to the north. We did not pass the latter till early in the morning of the 26th, when, stretching over an open desert flat, a real mirror or "meraye," the exhaustion of our animals became fully apparent, so that just in the very place where a small Tebu caravan, which had preceded us a few days, had left behind one of their camels, we also were obliged to abandon the camel upon whose strength we had hitherto placed our chief reliance.

About eleven miles beyond the northern well Máfaras, we halted during the heat of the day in a spot entirely destitute of herbage, and made another stretch of fifteen miles in the afternoon, leaving the well-known mound of Fája, along which the road leads to Tibésti, at some distance on our right. In order to recruit the strength of the camels we gave them a good supper of dates, ground-nuts, and millet, so that each of the poor animals, according to his habits and national taste, could pick out what was most palatable to him.

June 27th. A march of about thirteen miles brought us to the well "El A'hmar," or "Máddema," in an open desert country, bounded on the west by a large, imposing mountain group, and distinguished by a great profusion of kháreb or kaye, the whole ground being overgrown with "handal" or colocynth, and strewed with bones. Here we passed an excessively hot day, the thermometer indicating 114° at two o'clock in the afternoon in the best shade I could find, and 105° at sunset, it remaining extremely hot the whole night, till after midnight, when a heavy gale arose. Nature here showed some animation, and beetles were in extraordinary numbers; we also beheld here a herd of gazelles, but no beast of prey.

At a very early hour the following morning we started with a good supply of water, and, after proceeding for about ten miles, reached a valley tolerably well provided with talha-trees and overgrown with dry herbage. We were obliged to stay here the whole day, in order to give the camels a feed, as they were reduced to the greatest extremity: we had also to provide ourselves with wood and water. But, although we staid here till the fore-

noon of the following day, we had only proceeded a few miles when we lost another of our camels, and thus were obliged to halt earlier than we intended. In order to retrieve this loss we started before midnight, and marching the whole night, a distance of about twenty-four miles, and making only a short halt during the hottest part of the day, we encamped in the evening of the 30th close to the well "El Wár" or "Temmi," having entered the narrow winding glen leading into the heart of the mountain mass itself, although caravans in general encamp at its opening. We remained here the following morning, when I found shelter from the sun in the cave where the water collects, which is of a cool and pleasant character, a heavy gale which had sprung up the previous evening continuing all the while. But we had no time to tarry here, this being the worst and most fatiguing part of our journey. Taking all things into consideration, there is no reason to wonder how Mr. Vogel made no observation during the whole of this journey, comprising a tract of three degrees and a half.

Having filled our water-skins and watered the animals we pursued our journey before noon, and made a stretch of about fifteen miles. Starting then again at midnight, and marching twenty miles, only halting about four hours at noon, we encamped at night, but halted only for a couple of hours, after which we marched about fifteen miles, and again halted for the heat of the day. On this march we passed a very rugged passage called "Thníye e' seghíra," where the rocks were rippled in a very remarkable manner, like the water. Having been accustomed to an intense degree of heat for some time, we felt it very cold this morning at sunrise, the thermometer indicating 68°, which was certainly a great difference, it having been 81° the preceding morning.

July 3*d.* Again we started, a little after midnight, and having passed, early in the morning, with considerable difficulty and long delay, the rugged sandy passage called "Thníye el kebíra," we halted, after a march of eight hours and a half, having accomplished only a distance of about fifteen miles. I felt greatly exhausted, and I was the more sensible of fatigue, as I had a long march before me, the well being still distant; and after a most toilsome and wearisome stretch of more than eighteen miles, with numerous delays, and several difficult passages over the sand-hills, we reached the well "Mésheru," which is notorious on account of the number of bones of the unfortunate slaves by which it is sur-

rounded. The water of this well, which is five fathoms in depth, is generally considered of good quality, notwithstanding the remnant of human bones which are constantly driven into it by the gale; but at present it was rather dirty. The whole country around presents a very remarkable spectacle, especially the tract closely bordering on the well to the north, and which, in a rather maliciously witty manner, has been called by the Arabs "Dendal Ghaladíma" ("the Promenade of the Minister"). It would form a good study for a painter experienced in water colors, although it would be impossible to express the features in a pencil sketch.

But not even here were we enabled to grant ourselves the slightest repose, only staying long enough to take in a sufficient supply of water, and to slaughter one of our camels, which was totally unfit to proceed. Having made this day about eighteen miles, we reached the following day, after a moderate march of from nineteen to twenty miles, the southernmost solitary date-grove of Fezzán. Here we were so fortunate as to meet a small caravan of Tebu, comprising a few very respectable men, who brought us the latest news from Múrzuk, where I was glad to hear that Mr. Frederick Warrington, the gentleman who had so kindly escorted me out of Tripoli more than five years previously, was awaiting me, and that the very governor who had been appointed to the government of Fezzán during our first stay there had a few days before again been reinstalled in that office.

July 6th. This was an important day in my journey, as, having performed the most dangerous part of this wearisome desert march, I reached Tegérri or Tejérri, the first outlying inhabited place of Fezzán. The village, although very small in itself, with its towering walls, the view of which burst suddenly upon us through the date-grove, made a most pleasing impression, and I could not prevent my people from expressing their delight in having successfully accomplished the by no means contemptible feat of traversing this desert tract with so small a band by firing a good number of shots. In consequence of this demonstration, the whole population of the little town came out to salute and congratulate me on having traversed this infested desert tract without any accident. But that was the only advantage that we reaped from having reached a place of settled habitation; and having taken up our encampment on the northwestern side of the kasr, among the date-trees, we had the greatest difficulty in procuring even the slightest luxury, and I was glad when I was at

length able to obtain a single fowl and a few measures of dates. There was, therefore, no possibility of our staying here and allowing the animals a little rest, but we were obliged to push on without delay to the village of Madrúsa. But I had the greatest difficulty in reaching that place in the evening of the 8th, having lost another camel and one of my horses; and of the animals which remained to me, I was obliged to abandon in Madrúsa another, while I had to pay for the hire of a couple of camels to carry my luggage to Múrzuk.

This was the native place of my servant El Gatróni, who had served me for nearly five years (with the exception of a year's leave of absence, which I granted him in order to see his wife and children) with the strictest fidelity, while his conduct had proved almost unexceptionable; and, of course, he was delighted to see his family again. Besides a good breakfast and a couple of fowls with which he treated me, he made me also a present of a bunch of grapes, which caused me no little delight as a most unusual treat. However, being anxious to get over this desert tract, I started a little after noon the same day, and met at the village of Bakhíl, about six miles beyond, a Tebu caravan, which was accompanied by a courier from Kúkawa, who had found an excuse in the state of the country to remain absent on his mission to Múrzuk nine months, instead of having retraced his steps directly to his own country. About four miles farther on we reached Gatrón, consisting of narrow groups lying closely together, and by the fringe of its date-grove contrasting very prettily with the sandy waste around.

Here also we were hospitably treated by the relatives of another servant, who was glad to have reached his home; and we encamped the following day at Dekír, where we had some trouble first in finding and then in digging out the well, which was entirely filled up with sand. In two very long days' stretches from here, the first including a night's march, we reached the well, two miles and a half this side of the village Bedán, when we heard that Mr. Warrington was encamped five miles beyond, in the village of Yesć.

Saturday, July 13th. Having got ready at an early hour, we proceeded cheerfully through the poor plantation, scattered thinly over a soil deeply impregnated with salt, and fired a few shots on approaching the comfortable tent of my friend. I could not but feel deeply affected when, after so long an absence, I again found

myself in friendly hands, and within the reach of European comforts. Having moved on a little in the afternoon to a more pleasant spot, we entered Múrzuk the following morning, and were most honorably received by a great many of the principal inhabitants, including an officer of the bashá, who had come out a great distance to meet us.

Thus I had again reached this place, where, under ordinary circumstances, all dangers and difficulties might be supposed to have ceased. But such was not the case at the present time; for, in consequence of the oppression of the Turkish government, a very serious revolution had broken out among the more independent tribes of the regency of Tripoli, extending from the Jebel over the whole of Gurián, and spreading farther and farther, cutting off all intercourse, and making my retreat very difficult. The instigator of this revolution was a chief of the name of Ghóma, who, having been made prisoner by the Turks many years before, had, through the events of the Crimean war, contrived to make his escape from confinement in Trebizond. This unforeseen circumstance caused me a little longer delay in Múrzuk than I should otherwise have allowed myself, as I was most anxious to proceed on my journey; nevertheless, I staid only six days.

Having some preparations to make for this last stage of my march, I had thus full opportunity of becoming aware of the immense difference in the prices of provisions between this outlying oasis of Northern Africa and Negroland, especially Kúkawa, and for the little supply which I wanted for my journey from here to Tripoli I had to pay as much as 100 makhbúbs. Besides procuring here my necessary supplies for the road, my chief business was in discharging some of my servants, and more particularly Mohammed el Gatróni, whose fidelity I have mentioned before. I added to the small remainder of his salary which I still owed him the stipulated present of fifty Spanish dollars, which I would willingly have doubled if I had had the means, as he well deserved it, for it is only with the most straightforward conduct and with a generous reward that a European traveler will be able to make his way in these regions.

As for encountering the dangers of the road, the arrangement of the bashá, that a party of soldiers whom he had discharged, and who were returning home, should travel in my company, seemed rather of doubtful effect, as such a company, while it afforded a little more security in certain tracts, could not fail to

turn against myself the disposition of the native population in those districts where the revolt against the Turkish government was a popular movement; I was obliged, therefore, to leave it to circumstances to decide how I should make my way out of these difficulties. The bashá for some time thought that the only safe course for me to pursue would be to turn my steps toward Ben-Gházi, in order to avoid the revolted district altogether; but such a plan seemed very objectionable, as well on account of the greater distance and expense of this road, as with regard to the disposition of the Arabs of that region, who, if the revolution should prove successful, would certainly not lose a moment in following the example of their brethren.

July 20th. I left the town of Múrzuk in the afternoon, and encamped in the plantation, and the next day moved on a short distance toward Sheggwa, where Mr. Warrington took leave of me. Halting then for the greater part of the following day near the village of Delém, and making a good stretch in the evening and the early part of the morning, we reached Ghodwa, with its pretty plantation and its many remains of former well-being. Starting again in the afternoon, and making a long stretch during the night, we encamped in the evening of the following day at the border of the plantation of Sebha, some twenty years ago the residence of the chief of the Welád Slímán. Here we staid the following day in order to obtain some rest. The heat all this time was very considerable, and the thermometer at two o'clock in the afternoon, on an average, indicated from 110° to 112°.

July 26th. A march of from eighteen to nineteen miles brought us from Sebha to the small town of Temáhint, and we encamped a little beyond the well, where a numerous herd of camels, belonging to a camp of Arabs, was being watered. I was greatly pestered during my halt by a number of Welád Slímán, who were anxious for information with regard to their relations in Kánem, and greedy for some presents.

Making a short halt in the evening, and starting a little after midnight, we encamped the following day near Zíghen. Here I had to hire fresh camels in order to pursue my journey, and therefore did not set out again till the afternoon of the following day, when, through the barren desert tract by O'm el 'abíd, and by a very rugged mountainous passage, we reached the important town of Sókna in the morning of the 2d of August.

Here the difficulties of my journey, in consequence of the r-

olutionary state of the province, increased, and, after a long consultation with some friends to whom I had been recommended, the only possible way of proceeding was found to be that of leaving the usual track by way of Bónjem altogether, and taking an entirely different road by a series of valleys lying farther west, the road by Ben-Gházi also having been found impracticable. Sókna, even at the present time, is a very interesting place, as well on account of its mercantile activity and its fine plantations of date and other fruit-trees, as owing to the peculiar character of its inhabitants, who still retain a distinct idiom of the Berber language;* but at the present moment, on account of the total interruption of the communication with the coast, the price of provisions was very high, and the natives scarcely knew what political course to pursue. There was especially a merchant of the name of Beshála, who showed me an extraordinary degree of kindness and attention.

Having therefore waited until the arrival of the "rekás," or courier, in order to obtain the most recent news, and having, in consequence of their unfavorable tenor, been induced to increase the wages of my camel-drivers, whom I had hired previously, I at length got off on the 12th of August. Pursuing the track called Trík el Merhóma, which was never before traversed by a European, and passing by the wells El Hammám, El Maráti, Ershidíye, and Gedafíye, and then by the narrow Wádí Ghirza (the place once the great object of African research for Lieutenant, now Admiral Smyth), with its interesting ancient sepulchres in the form of obelisks, we reached Wádí Zemzem on the 19th. Here there was a considerable encampment of Arabs, and some of the ringleaders of the revolution residing here at the time, I found myself in a serious dilemma. But the English were too much respected by these tribes for them to oppose my passage, although they told me plainly that, if they suspected that the English were opposed to the revolution, they would cut my throat, as well as that of any European traveler who might fall into their hands. However, after some quiet explanations with them as to what was most conducive to their own interests, and about the probability of their succeeding in making themselves independent of the Turkish sway, and after having promised a handsome present to one of the more influential men among them, they allowed me to

* Also in El Fok-ha, distant three days from Sókna, on the road to Ben-Gházi, the same idiom is spoken.

pass on. I had also great difficulty in hiring some fresh camels, the safety of which I guaranteed, to take me to Tripoli. I thus pursued my journey to Beni-Ulíd, with its deep valley overtowered by the ruins of many a Middle-Age castle, and adorned by numbers of beautiful olive-trees, besides being enlivened by many small villages consisting of stone dwellings half in decay. On approaching the place, I fell in with a messenger, sent very kindly to meet me by Mr. Reade, her majesty's vice-consul in Tripoli, who, besides a few letters, brought me what was most gratifying to me in my exhausted state, a bottle of wine, a luxury of which I had been deprived for so many years.

I had some little trouble in this place, as there was residing here at the time a brother of Ghóma, the rebel chief himself, who had sent an express messenger on my account; and differences of interest between the various chiefs of the place caused me at the same time some difficulties, though, in other respects, they facilitated my proceedings. Altogether I was very glad when I had left this turbulent little community behind me, which appeared to be the last difficulty that opposed itself to my return home.

In the evening of the fourth day after leaving Beni-Ulíd I reached the little oasis of 'Aín Zára, the same place where I had staid several days preparatory to my setting out on my long African wanderings, and was here most kindly received by Mr. Reade, who had come out of the town with his tent, and provided with sundry articles of European comfort, to receive me again at the threshold of civilization.

Having spent a cheerful evening in his company, I set out the following morning on my last march on the African soil, in order to enter the town of Tripoli; and although the impression made upon my mind by the rich vegetation of the gardens which surround the town, after the long journey through the desert waste, was very great, yet infinitely greater was the effect produced upon me by the wide expanse of the sea, which, in the bright sunshine of this intermediate zone, spread out with a tint of the darkest blue. I felt so grateful to Providence for having again reached in safety the border of this Mediterranean basin, the cradle of European civilization, which from an early period had formed the object of my earnest longings and most serious course of studies, that I would fain have alighted from my horse on the sea-beach to offer up a prayer of thanksgiving to the Almighty, who, with the most conspicuous mercy, had led me through the many dan-

gers which surrounded my path, both from fanatical men and an unhealthy climate.

It was market-day, and the open place intervening between the plantation of the Meshíah and the town was full of life and bustle. The soldiers who had recently arrived from Europe to quell the revolution were drawn up on the beach in order to make an impression on the natives, and I observed a good many fine, sturdy men among them. Amid this busy scene in the most dazzling sunshine, with the open sea and the ships on my right, I entered the snow-white walls of the town, and was most kindly received by all my former friends.

Having staid four days in Tripoli, I embarked in a Turkish steamer which had brought the troops and was returning to Malta, and having made only a short stay in that island, again embarked in a steamer for Marseilles, in order to reach England by the most direct route. Without making any stay in Paris, I arrived in London on the 6th of September, and was most kindly received by Lord Palmerston as well as by Lord Clarendon, who took the greatest interest in the remarkable success which had accompanied my proceedings.

Thus I closed my long and exhausting career as an African explorer, of which these volumes endeavor to incorporate the results. Having previously gained a good deal of experience of African traveling during an extensive journey through Barbary, I had embarked on this undertaking as a volunteer, under the most unfavorable circumstances for myself. The scale and the means of the mission seemed to be extremely limited, and it was only in consequence of the success which accompanied our proceedings that a wider extent was given to the range and objects of the expedition;* and after its original leader had succumbed in his arduous task, instead of giving way to despair, I had continued in my career amid great embarrassment, carrying on the exploration of extensive regions almost without any means. And when the leadership of the mission, in consequence of the confidence of her majesty's government, was intrusted to me, and I had been deprived of the only European companion who remained with me, I resolved upon undertaking, with a very limited supply of means, a journey to the far west, in order to endeavor to reach

* This greater success was especially due to the journey which I undertook to the Sultan of A'gades, thus restoring confidence in our little band, which had been entirely shaken by great reverses.

Timbúktu, and to explore that part of the Niger which, through the untimely fate of Mungo Park, had remained unknown to the scientific world. In this enterprise I succeeded to my utmost expectation, and not only made known the whole of that vast region, which even to the Arab merchants in general had remained more unknown than any other part of Africa,* but I succeeded also in establishing friendly relations with all the most powerful chiefs along the river up to that mysterious city itself. The whole of this was achieved, including the payment of the debts left by the former expedition, and £200 which I contributed myself, with the sum of about £1600. No doubt, even in the track which I myself pursued, I have left a good deal for my successors in this career to improve upon; but I have the satisfaction to feel that I have opened to the view of the scientific public of Europe a most extensive tract of the secluded African world, and not only made it tolerably known, but rendered the opening of a regular intercourse between Europeans and those regions possible.

* "It appears singular that the country immediately to the eastward of Timbuctoo, as far as Kashna, should be more imperfectly known to the Moorish traders than the rest of Central Africa."—*Quarterly Review*, May, 1820, p. 234. Compare what Clapperton says about the dangers of the road from Sókoto to Timbúktu. Sec. Exped., p. 235.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX I.

PRESENT CONDITION OF THE PROVINCE OF ZA'NFARA.

THE province of *Zánfara* in former times was far more extensive than at present, its ancient capital being situated half a day (hantsi) east from Sansánne 'Aísa, on the road to Tóze, and this is perhaps Birni-n-Zánfara, founded by the powerful chief Babári about a century ago. At that time the province was a powerful kingdom, but at present it is in the most distracted condition, half of the places belonging to it being still under the rule of the Fúlbe, while the other half have revolted successfully, and are strictly allied with the Góberáwa.

Under the rule of the Fúlbe, or Fullán, are the following places:

Zýrmi, with three governors: one, A'bu Hámid, who has ruled (in 1853) seven, another, Tarna, who has ruled fifteen years, and a third one, a younger brother of Tarna, but who has exercised power for thirty years;* Káuri-n-Namóda, at present governed by Mahamúdu, a younger brother of the warlike and far-famed chief Namóda, who has ruled for the last twelve years; Búnka, Bóka, Góga, Yánkaba, Dába, Banga, Birni-n-Máddera, Módiki, Moríki with Ne-ébbúsuwa, Kóre with Makauru, Dunfáwa, Dúchi, Badaráwa, Katúru, Kanna, Dan I'sa, Waúnaka-n-Féllani (in order to distinguish it from another town of the same name, which is allied with the Góberáwa), Yangwoy, Kiáwa, Rúra, Waúni, Jirgába, Gabáke, Kangwa, Kadámusá, Yanbúkki, Také-adoy, Birni-n-Mágaji, Birni-n-Torówa or Márekay, with Dan Korgú, Tuddu Makángerí, Ráwiya, Bidáji, Chíbiri.

The independent places are the following:

A'nka, residence of 'Abdú, the rebel chief of Zánfara (Serkí-n-Zánfara); Máffara, residence of Serkí-n-Tléta; Gummi, residence of the chief Banyári; Zóma, residence of 'Alí, and close by Gólli; Sabónbirni Dáragá, residence of Bánagá; Marádu, residence of Serkí-n-Káya; Gáumaché and Góra close by; Mátusgí, residence of Ajía; Gárbadú and Kággará, Munré, Bokúra, residence of Serkí-n-Báwa; Damrí, Sabóngarí, Dúffwa Máffará, a district, with the chief place, Rúwa-n-bóre; Dankó, U'ya.

In order to arrange these places topographically, I shall first give *an itinerary from Kanó to Sókoto*, by way of Káuri-n-Namóda.

Day.

1st. Rími-n-Gadó.
2d. Shá-nóno, a large walled place, having passed Yángadá.
3d. Kúrkejáu or Kúrkejángo, first place of the province of Kátsena, having passed Sábberé.
4th. Músáwa, a large walled town, with a market; short march.
5th. Yá-mántemáki, with a water-course on its east side running south; having passed U'ngwa Sámia.
6th. Sáwi, having passed Yá-músa, Shawáre, and Jigáwa.
7th. Ajja, a walled place of middle size.
8th. Kiáwa, very large walled place, formerly the capital of Zánfara, at present rather thinly inhabited.
9th. Káuri-n-Namóda, residence of Namóda (brother of Mahamúdu), with a market held every Monday and Tuesday, and a considerable water-course on the west side, once a very large and populous place. A short day's march south, a little west from this place, lies Riyáwa (not Ránia), and west from it Búngudú, at present said to be the largest place in Zánfara among those which belong to the faction of the Féllani; to its district or territory belong the smaller places of Alíbawá, Bidáji, Kasaráwa, Módomáwa, Fáddamáwa,

* Formerly there was in Zýrmi a powerful governor belonging to the faction of the Góberáwa, called Dan Jéka, who ruled twenty years, when he was murdered by Mámmedu (Mohámmedu).

Day. Kontambáni, and the settlements of the Féllani-n-Dáwaki, and the Féllani-n-Také-adoy.

10th. Birni-n-Góga, on the east side of the same water-course.

11th. Kúsará, a small place inhabited by Fúlbe.

12th. Gwára, large walled place, having crossed a water-course.

13th. Bakúra, large walled place, formerly residence of 'Atíku, the son of Hámedu, till the town was taken by the Góberáwa. To the territory of this town belong the places Sabóngarí, Dámmerí, Sála, Dogóje.

Bakúra from A'nka one long day south, farther than Gándi from Wurnó; Bakúra from Gándi one good day south, passing by Gáumaché. The river forms a large bend west of Bakúra, and at the angle lies Týmba.

14th. Tymba, walled place on the west side of the Gúlbi-n-Bakúra, at present in the hands of the A'zena. Between Týmba and Bakúra lie the towns Birni-n-Dámbo and Birni-n-Riyáde, and hereabout are the places Alíbaná, Bidáji, Kasaráwa, Féllani-n-Dáwaki, Féllani-n-Také-adoy, Módomáwa, Fáddamáwa, Kontambáni.

15th. Galádi or Danfa, large place, with a pond of stagnant water.

16th. A place of elephant-hunters.

17th. Sókoto.

I shall now connect Bánagá, or rather Sabónbirni Dáragá, as it is more properly called, with a few other places, and shall then conclude this Appendix, reserving for Appendix III. an enumeration of the towns and villages situated along the course of the Gúlbi-n-Zóma to where it joins the Gúlbi-n-Sókoto.

From Bánagá to A'nka is one long day north, just as from Gándi to Wurnó; from Bánagá to Gúmmi three days W.N.W.: 1st day. Adébka, Garí-n-serkí-Kiyáwa. 2d. Birni-n-Týddu, on the south side of the Gúlbi-n-Zóma. 3d. Gúmmi, passing by the town of Kaiwa.

From Bánagá to Kotórkoshé six moderate days' march: 1st. Bíni or Béna. 2d. Mutúmji. 3d. Mágami. 4th. Samrí. 5th. Cháfe. 6th. Kotórkoshé.

N.B.—Besides Bíni and Mutúmji, there are, in the same quarter, the district inclosed between Bánagá, Kotú-n-kúra—Kotú-n-kúra being from Bánagá two days S.W.—and Gwári, the small principalities of Machéri, Bána, Morébbu, and Kumbáshi, all residences of petty chiefs, dependent in some degree on the governor of Kátsena.

Between Bakúra and Zóma lie Damrí, Sabóngarí, Sála, Takáre; farther on, entering the territory of Zóma, Dangarúnfa, Másu, Matsáfa, Gúsará, Bókuyum, Solli.

From Sókoto to Zóma, south, three days: first day, Danchádi, the same as from Sókoto to Wurnó; then a long night's march, reaching in the morning Birni-n-Mágaji, distance the same as that from Zékka to Búnka; from Mágaji to Zóma short march. From Gandó the distance is shorter.

Zóma lies about half way between A'nka and Gúmmi, on a river called after it, Gúlbi-n-Zóma; but I shall give all the particulars with regard to the towns lying along this valley farther on, in Appendix IV., as this river, which lower down is called Gúlbi-n-Gíndi, unites with the Gúlbi-n-Sókoto within the boundaries of Kebbi.

I here subjoin a list of the places situated along the water-course, which lower down is called "Gúlbi-n-Sókoto," between Sansánne-'Aísa and Dímbisó, but at present almost all of them are destroyed and deserted: first, Tóze on the south side; Gawángasó, where the branch of Marádi and Chéberi joins the greater trunk valley; Alkaláwa (written Alkadháwa), the former capital of Góber, destroyed by the Fúlbe, Laijínge, both south; Páday, north; Tsámay, north; Tsíche, north; Bóre, south; Kakákia, north; Márennú, south; Maráfa, south; Kiráre, north; Shináka, south; Giyáwa, Dímbisó. The valley, which probably has a very winding course, must therefore approach Giyáwa a little nearer than it has been laid down on the map.

APPENDIX II.

A FEW HISTORICAL FACTS RELATING TO GO'BER AND ZA'NFARA.

(*a.*) *Princes of Góber.*

Sóba, residing in Magále, one day west from Chébiri, made war against Gurma and Barba (Bargu), beyond the River Kwára, wherein he discovered a ford.

U'ba Ashé succeeded to Sóba.

Babári, King of Góber, reigned about fifty years, was introduced by the chief men of Zánfara into Birni-n-Zánfara, then a wealthy place and the centre of an important commerce (1764), which he conquered and destroyed; whereupon he founded Alkaláwa, which then became the capital of Góber. This was the origin of the national hatred which exists between the Góberáwa and Zánfaráwa.

Dángudé, killed by the A'sbenáwa.

Báwa, with the surname Mayáki, the warrior, on account of his restless and warlike character. During the eight years of his reign he only remained forty days in Alkaláwa, waging war the whole time.

Yákoba, a younger brother of Báwa, reigned seven years, was killed by Agoréggi, the ruler of Kátsena, which place appears at that time to have reached its highest degree of power.

Búnu reigned seven years, died in Alkaláwa.

Yúnfa reigned forty-four years.

Dáne or Dan Yúnfa reigned six years, made war against 'Othmán the Reformer, son of Fódiye, when he was killed by Bello, son of 'Othmán, at the taking of Alkaláwa.

Sálehu dan Babáliwá resided in Mázum, reigned two years, till killed by Bello.

Gómki, seven years, slain by Bello.

'Alí, eighteen years, according to others twelve, slain by the Fúlbe, together with Ráuda serkí-n-Kátsena.

Jibbo Táwuba reigned seven years, according to others three years, residing in Marádi.

Báchiri, seven months.

The present King of Góber, generally known under the name of Mayáki, the warrior, on account of his martial disposition, son of Yákoba, has ruled since 1836.

(b.) A few data with reference to the ruling families in Sókoto and Gandó.

Bello built Sókoto while 'Othmán was residing in Gandó; from hence the latter went to Sifáwa or Shifáwa, thence to Sókoto, where he resided ten years more.

Rulers of Sókoto.

'Othmán died 3 Jumád II., 1817 (A.H. 1233), aged sixty-four years, having resided thirteen years in Gandó and Sifáwa, and ten in Sókoto.

Bello, twenty-one years, died 25 Rejeb, 1837 (A.H. 1253), aged fifty-eight years.

'Atíku, another son of 'Othmán, succeeded him, reigned five years three months, died in the beginning of 1843.

Alíyu, son of Bello, had reigned ten (lunar) years four months in April, 1853.

Rulers of Gandó.

Abd Alláhi died 1827, Wednesday, A.H. 20 Moharrem, 1245.

Mohammed Wáni died 1836, A.H. 4 Ramadhán, 1250.

Khalílu was, A.D. 1853, in the eighteenth year of his reign.

Children of Fódiye, son of Mohammed.

'Alí, father of Módibo 'Alí; Sheikh 'Othmán; 'Abd-Alláhi; Hotíhun Máununa; Enhatákko, a daughter—all born of one mother.

Mameñáro; Elfá 'Omáro; Mamma Júma, still alive; Bakódda—born of different mothers.

Children of 'Othmán dan Fódiye.

Mohammed Bisáda; Sambo Wulíy; Bello; 'Atíku; Mohammed Bokhári, a very learned man, died 1840, A.H. the 23 Háj, 1255, aged fifty-five years three months; Hassan, father of Khalílu dan Hassan; Mohammed Hájo; 'Abd el Kádiri; Hámed el Rufáy, and 'Isa, alive still, the former residing in Tózo.

'Alí Jédi, the father of A'bú 'l Hassan, serkí-n-yáki; Moćji, an influential chief of the tribe of the Wolóbe; and the serkí-n-Sylleháwa, were the three principal advisers of 'Othmán dan Fódiye, and were the persons who placed his successor, Bello, upon the throne.

(c.) Fúlbe Tribes.

Divisions of the Féllani-n-Sókoto.

Torunkáwa, Toróde or Tórobe, Torunkáwa Sabúni (thus called because, when as

yet nothing but m'allemín, or learned men, they prepared much soap, in order to keep their dress of the purest white), Wolárbe, in Kebbi, Féllani-n-Konne, U'da, herdsmen, Kasaráwa, in Zóma, 'Alebáwa, in Zyrmi, 'Aláwa, in Kámmané, Bidazáwa, in Dánkogí, Féllani-n-danéji, in Kátsena, Féllani-n-Delláji, in Kátsena, Féllani-n-Bebéji, Féllani-n-Yandótu, Gezáwa, Gátari, Féllani-n-Rúma, Féllani-n-Takabáwa, Jaúbe, dengi-n-'Othmán (the family of 'Othmán).

Féllani-n-A'dar.

Mansúbin Mohammedáni, Bálerankoyen, Ránerankoyen, Baréngankoyen, dengi-n-'Abd el Kádiri, Tamankoye, Kngga, Tánagamáwa, Sunsunkoyen, Kofayenkoyen, Hirlábe, Chiláwa, Alínkoyen, Alkámunkoyen, Gúmborankoyen, Bórotankoyen, Šékke, Mábberankoyen, Sísankoyen, Wewébe, Bororoye, Gurgábe.

The Governors of A'dar.

To the N.E. of Sókoto lies the province of A'dar, with the chief market-place Konni, ruled by four different chiefs or sáraki:

Serkí-n-A'dar Hámidu, belonging to the Tauzamáwa, in A'zaw, a place four days north from Wurno, fortified with a Keffi or stockade.

Serkí-n-A'dar M'allem, likewise of the Tauzamáwa, in Illéle, five days from Wurno, with keffi; one day from A'zaw.

Serkí-n-A'dar Yákoba, also Tauzamáwa, in Táwa, six days from Wurno, one from Illéle.

Serkí-n-A'dar Sherif, in Tsambo, four days from Wurno, one S.W. from A'zaw.

APPENDIX III.

Gímmul Sékho 'Othmáno.	Song of Sheikh 'Othmán.
Alláho lámido dum essaláto burdo fukka:	God, the Lord, he excels all in superiority:
Domáda yá A'hmedu jenído lesde fukka.	He is greater than you, A'hmed (Mohammed); his light illumines the whole earth.
Alláho gettaini omóje omojínde neïmmo fukka.	I praise the Lord God, who sent his blessing [mercy?].
Neloimo A'hmedu hinne kúbdo takélle fukka.	He sent A'hmed to all his creatures.
Annóro makko yokám wóni ásseli tákeli fukka:	His light shines over all his creatures:
Annóro hakkíllo non annóro gíde fukka:	the light of intelligence, as well as that of sight, all-comprising:
Annóro Imáni Mumeníye toháute fukka;	the splendor of the Imám of the Faithful reaches every where;
Annóro yímbe Wiláya ka ánnaba kó fukka:	all the splendor of the Weli [holy men] and of the prophets:
Nange he léuru he móbgel jenatódi fukka,	and when sun and moon unite all that is splendid,
Fandáki ússuru jellimmádo fukka.	their light does not reach His resplendence.
Alláho búrnerí I'brahíma tákele fukka.	God blessed Abraham among the whole of his creatures.
Bolídel wolwíde Músa der togéfe fukka.	Moses obtained eloquence among mankind.
Ahókki I'sa bosémbido roibo róho fukka.	To Jesus was given strength and spirit.
Amóbda mágiki bóluki non boyíde fukka.	Thou hast obtained a sight of Him (of God); thou hast obtained eloquence and authority.
Alláho kamsódi A'damu der togéfe fukka.	God has distinguished Adam among all mankind.
Nan súbtedí Núhu I'brahíma woddu fukka;	Thus Noah and Abraham were distinguished in all their dealings;
Kuréshe Háshimo der baléje makko fukka.	Kurésh and Háshem in their dwellings.

Wollâhe ansúbtida hesobbábe Alla fukka. — By God thou hast been distinguished over all God's creatures.

Toggéfo Alla bedó bébelés hekalfiníma : — All the creatures of God, in heaven and on earth, bless thee :

Toggéfo Alla bedó bébelés hetammihíma : — all the creatures of God, in heaven and on earth, praise thee :

Toggéfo Alla bedó bébelés bebé chappeníma : — all the creatures of God, in heaven and on earth, salute thee :

Toggéfo Alla bedó bébelés hedótaníma : — all the creatures of God, in heaven and on earth, do homage to thee :

Kaunay halfeníma awesíle tákele fukka : — all that is blessed in creation is blessed through thee :

Subábe der takélle fú ídemá gamídemá bechúbba : — all those who have been distinguished among the creatures, have been distinguished on thy account :

Libábe der takélle fú gam gaingumá belíba. — all that has been created, has been created through thy grace.

Ajéjiam ojúdiam gardoimi dótoma nonémbo : — On account of thy blessing have I come to thee :

Gam nómbo hajá mererrétadúm tomá. — for such a purpose have I addressed thee.

Gam derje mábe [mada?] deûm turoye dwaíjima. — May God hear my prayer through thy grace.

APPENDIX IV.

PARTITION OF KEBBI.

KEBBI, ACCORDING TO ITS PARTITION BETWEEN THE EMPIRE OF SÓKOTO AND THAT OF GANDO.

Garúrua-n-Kebbi, rába-n-'Alíyu.

That portion of Kebbi which belongs to 'Alíyu :

Jekáwadú, Tózo (the residence of Rufáy, a younger brother of Bello), Dánkala. Siláme, Gandí, Koido, Kalámmi, Birni-n-Gungu, Bubúche, Aúgi,* Tiggi, Lelába. Fadisúnko, Méra, all along the gulbi-n-Sókoto. Dundáy, B. Gómashé, Sébera (close by the latter), Punúri, Dangádi, B. Gamínda, Bakále, B. Rúwa, Bínji, Gammagamma, Lokkëáwa or Lukuyáwa, Bodínga, B. Magebéshi, Jarédi, B. Dandi, Danchádi, Wabábi, Bádo, Fóro, Sirgi, Asáre, Gangam, B. Buldi, Shagári, Gadaráre, Bulonáki, Kajíji, Jábo, Yábo (two towns of the name), Sañína, Kalángu, Saláhu, Mandéra, Baiwa, Dankal or Dánkala, Gudáli, Dukké, Bangáwa, Gudúm, Réré, Tiggi, Bágura on the N. shore of gulbi-n-Kebbi, Nátsini, Kalílladán, Deména (near Aúgi), Túwo-n-sóro (W. near Aúgi), Bangáwa, Kaláng (W. of Sañína), Matánkarí, Illéla, Gajáre, Dútsi-n-Kúra, Gankay (E. from Aúgi), B.-n-Chéra, B. Yaréndi, Sassagíre, Bónkarí, Díddibá, Gannajáë, Arába, Daráye, Túmmuní (E. of Aúgi), two towns of the name of Físsena, one of them inhabited by Syllebáwa, Gallujíul garí-n-Syllebáwa, Gínnega, Baúje G. Syllebáwa, O'ri, Báaró, Kubódo, Laini, Gerterána (E. of Dánkala), Tuddú-Mankéri, Denke (Syllebáwa), Girábshi, Kalambéna (W. of Sókoto), B. Gésseré (Syllebáwa), Hausáwa, Díngadí (Syllebáwa), Bádáwa, Gúmbi, Arkílla, B. Wásaké (Toronkáwa), Danajíwa, B. Séfe, Akátukú, Rékiná, Shúni, Damba, Ríyo Sínsirga, Bagaráwa, Báregay, Sangaláwa (Syllebáwa), Basoyí (or Bajoyí), Bámgi, B.-n-Bodáye, B. Wagérro, Dange, Rúdu, Sabadáwa, Sesséda, Gájará, Gántamó, Lámbo, Dangéda, Sárufé, Kutútturú, B.-n-Gínnegá, Sifáwa, Jarédi, Gingáwa, Kimba, Chilgóri, Alkalíji, A'diga, Dandángel, B.-n-Musúro, Dagáwa, Rumdemaunde (the great slave hamlet), Faká, Dóno, Búlbulí, Woáké (baki-n-dáji : on the border of the wilderness), Zanzómo, B.-n-Sárahó, Danehádi, B.-n-Foro (between Sókoto and Zóma : mountainous), B.-n-Gírgirí, Gájerá, Dángoré, Bádo, B.-n-Fakku (on the rock), B. Pangalalla, B. Móza, Yakurútu (all W. from Sókoto), Gu-

* Aúgi and Méra, the principal towns of Kebbi, together with Koido, were destroyed by 'Aliyu. Aúgi was situated N. from Señina, the same distance as from Gáwasú to Sókoto, from Argúngo E.N.E. eight or ten miles. Opposite Aúgi the dallul Gaminda joins the gulbi-n-Kebbi from the N., and along it lie the following places : Birni-n-Gaminda, B. Rúwa, Bakále, Alkalíji, Bizzer, Sakibiyáre, B. Buldi, Múza, Baiyáwa, Dankal, Bubúche, close to the junction, and about eight or ten miles from Argúngu.

dáli, Labáni, Gédembé, Girébshi, Baidi, Gáwazé (garí-n-Bonkáno), B.-n-Mamman Gabdú (W. of Gajúre), Löagóbi, Máchisí (garí-n-Róba), Innáme, Ajóge, B.-n-Gungúnge, Kámbamá, Gertarána, Suráme, Léka, B.-n-Filfilé, B.-n-Kókilo (now deserted), Lokóko.

I here enumerate the towns and villages along the *gulbi-n-Zóma*, although only part of them belong to Kebbi. This is a branch which joins the gulbi-n-Sókoto at the town of Gindí, about eight miles S.E. from and opposite Bunza, and is equal to it in the quantity of water, although the whole valley (or fáddama) is said not to be of the same width. Commencing from Bámaga, you pass on the S. side of the river the town of Zóma, which has given its name to the river, and is situated half way between A'nka and Gummi, and three good days S. from Sókoto; starting from Sókoto you reach Danchádi, at the same distance as Wurno; thence to Mágaji, a long night's march the same distance as from Zekka to Bunka; from here Zóma, the same distance as Rába from Wurno; then you pass Dan Garúnfa, Jáka, Birni-n-Fellelé, B. Kaiwa (on the S. side of the river), B. Tuddú (still in the territory of Zóma), B. Kágalí; B. Gummi (S.W. from the river, with a small territory of its own), Gelénge, B. Gússurá (in the territory of Gummi), B. Adábka, B. Gairi, Girkau (the first town of Kebbi), Zabga, Dánganám, Birni-n-Kebbe (different from Kebbi). Along the N. side of the river, again beginning with B. Zoma: Takáre, Sabónbirni, B. Mágaji, B. Gazúrra (where 'Atíku, the predecessor of 'Alíyu, made a foray), Búkkuru, B. Solli, B. Fanda, B. Kunda (belonging to the territory of Gummi), B. Falamgúngu (N. of Gairi); from hence Gindí W. at a short distance. It is impossible to lay down the river from these data with accuracy. Probably not all the towns have been given in their natural order. According to other information, between A'nka and Takáre, which lie on the N. bank, there are Birni-n-Tuddú káramí and Bunkádo, and between Takáre and Gazúrra, Dan garúnfa and B. Mázu.

At Birni-n-Zondu, 25 m. from Gindi, the máyo-rannéo, or dhannéo (a very general name, also to be recognized in Clapperton's Maiyarro), or fári-n-rúwa, joins the gulbi-n-Sókoto, and is said to be larger than the G. Zoma.

Garúrua-n-Kebbi, rába-n-Khalílu.

Towns of Kebbi belonging to Khalílu, as far as they are inhabited by Hausáwa and Fúlbe (or Féllani):

The chief places besides Argúngu, the residence of the rebel chief, and the centre of the pagan worship with the holy tree (a tamarind-tree), called "tunka," are Gando, Birni-n-Kebbi, Támbawel,* and Jéga;† the following list observes a certain topographical order. The direction (W.S.) refers to Gando:

Madádi, Kóchi, Fágha, Mágaji-n-káda, Kaúri-n-ladáu, K. Mammañédi, Mangádi, Géfuru, Margay, Ráfi-n-bauna, Kangíwa, B. Báme, Dodá-n-gússuma, Masáma, Kósgará, B. Bagári, Gumbaye (E. of Gando), Yelóngu, B. Mágu, B. Kóldi (W.), Lígi (W.); Góra-n-Daháwa (S.), Góra-n-Kúttudú, B. Lalle, Gurzaw, Shímferí, B. Másu, Bágidá, Ráfi-n-dorówa (all of them S.); Gerge, Razáy, Chimbílka (between Alíru and Jéga), Gumbi-n-dári (between Alíru and Alélu), Málissa, Dancha (close to it Dógo-n-dáji), Mamangóma (all of them S. between Gondu and Gindí); Kóriyá, Marúda, Kosári, Babanídi (E.), Lokerénga, Rúgga-n-dáwa, Rumbúki, B. Ráwa, Kalambaina sóíwa (between Gondu and Támbawel, at present deserted), Kalambaina sábwa; Yóle (W., to the E. of Kámbasa), B. Yámamá (W. of Gondu, close to Kalgo), Kamba garí-n-'Abd e' Salámi, Sambáwa, Bákayá (close to Mádochi on the River Gindí, E. of Birni-n-Gindí), Letséda (near Gondu), Sobáki (between Gondu and Argúngu), Ambúrsa (between Argúngu and Zóro), Dútsicl (E. of Gondu), Dálijam (N.), Dináu (N. on the fáddama-n-Argúngu), Ujáriyó (E. of Ambúrsa, between this and Argúngu), B. Kósoró (between Argúngu and Zóro), Zóro or Jéggara (W. of Gondu), Kallíul-ladán (E. of Gulma), Gulma (on the gulbi-n-Kebbi), Kallíul Mamma Yídi, Birni-n-Gatágo, B. Mádara (close to Gulma), Sówa (N. of Gondu), Zazagáwa, Kókosé (on the border of the territory of 'Alíyu and Khalílu, and commanding the ford between Gulma and Argúngu, therefore called "serkí-n-rúa"), A'damangutta (W. of Sówa), B. Bunga, B. Mornánga (where natron is gathered),

* Támbawel, formerly the residence of the learned Bokhári, at present that of his son 'Omáro, two days N. from Yúna. Near Támbawel Alíru. Yábo, two days E. of Birni-n-Kebbi, residence of Mohammed Nyello, with the title of "Serki-n-Kebbi."

† *Jéga*, a very important place S.E. from Birni-n-Kebbi, at the same distance as Sókoto from Wurno; going there from Gando, you pass the night in Alíro, whence the distance to Jéga is the same as that from Wurno to Bamúrna. Jega is the residence of Múslemu, a grandson of 'Abd e' Salam.

Súru (E. of Bunza, on the gulbi, with a very white kind of salt); B. Geggi, B. Kúka, Tilli, Zogírma, Gotómo, Aluwása, Félindé, Lígi (two towns of the name), Kámbasa, Ambúrsa, B. Tári, Gúlumbé, B. Lága, Kardi, Zóro, Hammáhi, Dógo-n-dáji, Randáli, Fulmungáni, Kermi, Giwa-tazó, Maizumma, Kéra, B. Gindí, Kimba, Alélu, Jadádi, Kalgo, Maddochí, Rómo, Dammádi, B. Kaya, Bargá, U'mbutú, Girkau, Zabga (close to the frontier of Zóma); back from Kebbi, Kóla, Júggurú, Díggi, Mutubári, Bangánna, Samáu, Maidehíni, Gáradi, Rába, Sabó-n-birni, Basáura, Matánkarí (all these on the fáddama-n-Kebbi).

Sections of the Féllani-n-Kebbi:

Njábtangkoyen, Jógadánkoyen, Magájiankoyen, Beyínkoyen, Terébbe, Jarángankoyen, Kálinkoyen, Díkankoyen (the first tribe of the Fúlbe who immigrated into Kebbi), Módibankoyen, Gúndarunkoyen, Tárasankoyen, Kámakankoyen (regarded as the most warlike among these tribes), Gúmborunkoyen, Dégelankoyen, Tafáran-koyen (from Tafára, near Gandi), Tammankoyen, Jennankoyen.

The eastern part of the province of Déndina, in a political point of view, is now comprised in the province of Kebbi.

APPENDIX V.

PART I.

TOWNS AND VILLAGES OF DE'NDINA.

The eastern part of the province of Déndina, in a political point of view, is now comprised in the province of Kebbi.

Yélu,* the principal place of Déndina, at present the residence of a rebel chief. See what I have said, p. 270; Gáya,† on the east side of the river, a most important market-place of Déndina; Kalímmadhí (Kalímmori); Tara; Tánda; Komba, an important place for crossing the river; Karimámma; Sanáfiná, junction of the gulbi-n-Sókoto; Débe; Kúsará; Dáki-n-garí, Birni-n-Zágha, Foná, three important towns, very flourishing in former times; Fingílla; Kengakoye, formerly very important; Kamba; Túnunga; B. Kókkobá; B. Dóle; Bánamakáfo; Chúso; Bákway; Matánkarí; Kainíki, with a wonderful tree (an idol?); B. Sengélu, with salt, close to Súru; B. Ginga, with salt; Bákoshi, with salt, which is boiled here; Déndené, salt-work, baki-n-gulbi, on the bank of the I'sa; Shábe or Sábe, salt; Kéji, Jakwa, Tauro, Bendu, all along the gulbi-n-Kebbi; Birni-n-Lanne; Girro; Zondo; B.-n-Búda; Jáwaru baki-n-Kwára; Aljennáre; B. Kátaru, between Kéji and Foná; Ungwa M'allem, east of Síko; Koifa, east of Gíro; Shíba, east of Bendu on the Kwára; Baindi, between the Kwára and the fáddama Súru; B. Zondu, near B. Súru; Banimétte; Lína; Sólulú baki-n-Fógha; B. Ríya baki-n-Fógha; Banágagá, on the Kwára; Dúde, on the Kwára; B. Alahínne; B. Táre, all these on the east side of the Kwára, E. and S.E. of Gáya; B. Donubéni (almost deserted); B. Kangnuáwel, between Gáya and Dóle; Nyánsamá, south of Yélu baki-n-Fógha; Latakírri, between Bunza and Fógha; Géza, in the wilderness between Bunza and Fingílla; Tórmushí baki-n-Fógha, south of Débe; Rúma baki-n-Fógha; Jókwa; Séllowé, between Bunza and Zogírma; B. Góde; Síri, west of Góde; Gedé, on a mountain in the fáddama, between Iléde abd Zogírma; B. Tarríkorá, east of Bakway; Kébia, south of Tarríkorá; Járiya, north of Kébia; Bájurú, south of Járiya; B. I'ssedó, between Bakway and Gíro; Kóla, baki-n-fáddama; Toddul, east of Bakway, S.E. of Tarríkorá; Hóre [Hóre?], east of Súru, baki-n-fáddama; Kahebóka, north of Súru; Ballebómbori, on the Kwára, half a day east of Gáya; Karjatáme, on the Kwára, S.E. of Ballebómbori; Dumtínde, once destroyed by the governor of Zóma; Dodíre, on the Kwára, S.E. of Karjatáme; Sónkoro, west of Zá-

* Yélu, one day from Zogirma through forest, one day W. from Bunza, south of the former road, and about 8 m. S. of Kalliul, on the dallul Fógha.

From Yélu to Gáya, one day S.W., passing through the following places: Bamba, a large hamlet, Kahinjanáwa, Fatagísu, Rúwa-n-kangwa Zagónji, Póde-bodéji, a hamlet of Fúlbe, or rather Zargábe; then Birni-n-Gáya.

From Yélu to Yáuri, S.S.E., 8 short days. Foná, formerly a large town, which gave its name to a whole province; Kúsará; Windefída; Bessekúttu, a hamlet belonging to the territory of Yáuri; Shenga: Sáwasi; Tóndi; Birni-n-Yáuri.

† Between Gáya and Kirotáshi, another town higher up the Niger, about 15 m. S. from Say, lie the following places: Tara, Sanáfiná, and Bángagá. At Kirot'shi, the rafi-n-Zabrmi, which skirts the east side of Támkala, joins the I'sa, or Niger.

gha; B. A'nganá; B. Wágguru, on an island in the river; B. Niyaila, on the river; B. Zaghây, on the river; Búla, S.E. of Zaghây; Ubínga; B. Yógumu, on an island as large as Egga, and accessible by a ford in summer; Gullingáre, S.E. of Yógumu; Dabbéje; B. Mongóttere, on an island; B. Sóka, between Jókwa and Tóro on the river; B. Kormíssa, between Ráha and Bunza; Sómbila; Kullwa, an island, m. by Fúlbe; B. Gabáilo, on the river; B. Tutúbará, on the river S.W. of Dódime; Kojángu; Chíwa, in the fáddama west of Tutúbará; Júngul, in the fáddama; B. Gerkwa, on the Kwára, S.E. of Dáki-n-garí, once the residence of a king of Kebbi, who fled before the King of Zánfara; B. Kamagéme, south of Zágha; B. Júgudí, north of Foná; B. Dánia, on the river between Ráha and Nyanga; B. Nánia, on the fáddama, a rocky eminence with plenty of deléb palms; B. Kíria, on the ford where the river is crossed to Ilo (baki-n-maikétare-n Ilo); B. Modibóji, on the river; Kúllwa, in the Kwára, birádam gungu; Gungu-n-Gáya (Akéteku), island of Gáya; B. Dorówa, between Gáya and Tara, nearer to the former, on the river; B. Baléa, on the Kwára, a small and populous town; B. Buldi, between Gáya and Kengakoye; B. Máddochí or Káhi, south of Túnunga, on the Kwára; B. Káttika, south of Síko, on a branch of the Kwára, with plenty of river horses; B. Yáay, on the Kwára, Féllani-n-Jogadáwa; B. Béli, at a short distance north of Yógumu; B. Kárufa, also called Jamde and Munday, on the fáddama of the Kwára; B. Bokki-bodéhi (bokki means baobabs), east of Bakway, many Féllani; B. Rufáni, close on the west side of Súru; B. Gójia, called B. Biríji by the Fúlbe, on the west side of the river of Bunza; B. Fónia, on the same water; B. Kusége, west of Bákoshi, between it and Matánkarí, south of Bunza; Dembul, between Jinga and Bunza, west of Kermíssa; Shéma, south of Bunza; B. Issafay, south of Bunza, with much agriculture; B. Bókkiré, south of Bunza; B. Dúkkishi on a ráfi, between Géza and Fingílla; B. Kúkadó, at a short distance east of Débe; B. Karíya, east of Kúkadó, south of Zogírma; B. O'wa, on an eminence overhanging a water with crocodiles, east of Karíya; B. Belaide, south of O'wa; B. Bamba, south of Yélu; Kahínjanáwa, south of Bamba, east of Débe; Búnu, east of Kahínjanáwa; Wauna, between Débe and Gáya; Dówa, west of Gíro; Babá-abú, between Bendu and Gíro; Barkéhi or Kalgo, between Tóro and Gíro, on a ford of the river; Bilámo, south of Jókwa, between it and Gíro; Yánderúdwel, formerly a hamlet, now a town in the fáddama; Bólopássi, south of the former, and between it and Gíro; Goljilláhi, on the Kwára.

Towns inhabited or colonies founded by Dendi or Songhay, on the west side of the river, in the country of Barba or Burgu.

Ilo, beyond the Isa, one day from Búsa; Garú; Loló; Birni-n-Sámiya, a Songhay colony, one day S.W. of Ilo, on the Góru, a shallow branch joining the Kwára; Takku, one day south from Sámiya; the inhabitants have vindicated their independence against the Fúlbe;. Shéguná, at no great distance W.N.W. from Takku; Derénna, S.W. of Sheguná; Ifínna, south of Derénna; Súgu, residence of an independent governor; Udíllo; Garí-n-Danga, Lord of Géndane; B. Girris; Yántalá; B. Táru; B. Gésseró; Láffagá, west of Beréwuay; B. Búttulé, east of Ilo; B. Fúttufúttu, west of Búttulé; B. Kóchi, west of Fúttufúttu, inhabited by people called Koi-jebába, subjects of the Governor of Gáya; B. Genne, on the Kwára, rich in dorówa-trees; B. Búri, on the Kwára, east of Genne; B. Bailil, on a rocky eminence on the Kwára; B. Béfoye, west of Tanda, south of the Kwára; B. Somsum, south of the Kwára, which separates it from Gáya; B. Fárma.

I here add the itinerary of the track from Sókoto to Komba on the Niger, which was the common route of travelers a few years ago, and which will show the situation of several places mentioned in this and a former Appendix.

Day.

1st. Tózo, open place, having passed the gulbi-n-Sókoto.
2d. Katámmi, territory of Khalílu.
3d. Aúgi, walled place, skirted on the west side by a water-course navigable in the rainy season.
4th. Kánará, in the same valley.
5th. Gulma, at the foot of a large mountain, skirted on the east side by a fáddama.
6th. Sáwa, rich in corn.
7th. Kaikayágí, a village skirted on the south side by a fáddama.
8th. Kúka, birni, with a fáddama on the south side.
9th. Dáji (wilderness; no town).

Day.
10th. Débé, birni.
11th. Yélu, birni, in the valley of Fógha, where salt is found.
12th. Tunga, a hamlet on a fáddama, with plenty of rice and fish.
13th. Sánehína, on a fáddama or backwater of the Kwára.
14th. Komba, on the other side of the Kwára, which you here cross. The latter places, beginning with Débé, inhabited by Songhay or Jermábe.

PART II.

A FEW REMARKS ON THE PROVINCE OF YA'URI, AND ON THOSE OF MA'URI AND ZABE'RMA.

Mohammed, the elder brother and predecessor of Khalílu, granted imána to Dan-Ay, a Nyffáwi by birth, who ruled Yáuri for thirty years, and was succeeded by Maféri, who governs Yáuri at the present time.

The annual tribute which Yáuri pays to Gandó consists of 500 shirts, and from thirty to fifty slaves, while that of Núpe consists of 1000 shirts and 300 slaves.

I will here add a few remarks with regard to Núpe or Nyffi. The northern frontier of Núpe or Nyffi is Fáshi; the eastern border toward Gwári is Líffe; the southern one, Kóro, toward Yúguchi and Búnu. The large town Charágí, inhabited half by Yorubáwa, half by Nyffáwa, is two days from Rába by way of Karákará. It is the Yorubáwa who call the Núpe people Tápa. The Nyffáwa themselves call the Háusáwa, Kenchi, and the Fúlbe, Goy. The Háusáwa call the Nyffáwa, as well as some other related tribes, Baibay. The rivulet or fáddama called Kontagóra separates the territory of the Abéwa or Ebbáwa from that of Núpe, while on the other side it borders upon Yáuri. On the Kontagóra is the large town Kúra, belonging to the Kámbari. The Abéwa live especially on the Manjára, are said to have an idiom of their own, and are armed exclusively with arrows. The people of Núpe Proper are exclusively cavalry.

Principal towns and villages in the province of Yáuri, beginning from Bessekúttu: Shenga, Kákaté, Dukku, B. Yáuri, Gangwo, Sáwasi, Tondi, Funtu-n-dúchi, Fombo, Sombo, A'rgidá, Shóbbonó, Rábakó, Bágedé, Mofóngi, Lúchi, Móchipá, Ngáski, A'gurá, O'baká (large place), Berway, Kwéne, Zente, Mojínga, all near to B. Yáuri; Mófiló (domain of the heir apparent or "dan serkí," half a day east from Yáuri), Wára (a place of embarkation, "báki-n-makétare," on the Kwára), Jatáwu, Kawóje, between Yáuri and a place called Dandi Féllani; Bokki-júrurú, Lanne, Sonwuay, Dúchi- or Dútsi-n-Mári. Now follow the islands, or "gúngu," in the river, all of which are inhabited by Kámbari: Shíshiya, Rópiya, Gabáilo. The principal towns of the independent Kámbari are Rejó, Béto, Fantandáchi, A'chira, Shébbenó, Rába-n-Kámbari, Ubakka.

I here add the seats of three particular tribes settled in the neighborhood of Yáuri: the Bangi, between Yáuri and Kotórkoshe; the Shengáwa in Jakwa, between Yáuri and Haúsa; and the Dekérkeri, settled in Tabé, Zúru, Bangenjatáwa, and in Kagaye.

From Bunza to Yáuri.

(*a.*) *Western road.*

Day.
1st. Tsáru.
2d. A'llelú, on a river of the same name.
3d. Dáji, perhaps the word meaning wilderness; no town.
4th. Gangu (gúngu, "the island" [on the Kwára?]).
5th. Yáuri.

(*b.*) *Eastern road.*

Day.
1st. Bussukúttu, according to this information, a village of Kebbi; but generally regarded as belonging to the territory of Yáuri.
2d. Kúsará, lying on the other side of a rivulet called Gulbi-n-Chúso; here you sleep when the river is full of water, the crossing of it occupying a long time; else proceed, and halt in Zángo-n-dúmmia.
3d. Gangwo.
4th. Yáuri.

I here give, as I have no other place, a short itinerary from Yáuri to Kotú-n-kúra, or rather Kotá-n-koró.

Day.
1st. Rágadá, belonging to the territory of Yáuri.
2d. A hamlet of the Kámbari.
3d. Kotá-n-koró, a place larger than Zínder, under the dominion of Kátsena, with a daily market.

ZABE'RMA.

The province of Zabérma or Zérma (Jérma) is bordered toward the southwest by the Niger, toward the south by the province of Déndina and the district of Támkala, and toward the southeast by the province of Máuri. Its northern, or rather northwestern border can not be well defined with the insufficient knowledge which we possess of that quarter; although thus much is clear, that the district of I'mmanan, which lies between the former and Kidal, the province of the Debbákal, or the Benú Sékki, is to be sought for in that neighborhood. It is inhabited by a race of Songhay and Tawárek, but apparently of a degraded and mixed character, who give to the country, or at least to the eastern portion of the province, the name Chéggazar, which, however, seems to attach to one locality in particular; the people of this tract appear to have a chief of their own named Hatta. The country, with the exception of one or two open places, appears scarcely to have any centres of a settled population, and the chief interest attaching to it seems to be the broad valley, rich in natron, which intersects the province. (See Itineraries in the note.*) The trees most common in the province are the góreba or dúm palm, the ákkora, and the g'aó, and the valley is said to be girt by fine tamarind-trees. This province is also famous on account of its rich pasture-grounds, and is for this reason frequented also by a good many sections of the Fúlbe or Féllani during some months of the year, if the state of the land is favorable, even the cattle of the Féllani-n-Kátsena pasturing in that country.

I here give a list of the sections of the Fúlbe or Féllani who usually pasture here.

Féllani-n-Zabérma:

Jelgóbe, Démbubé, Kurmé, Seññankoye, Módibankoye, Wárbe, Fíttuga, Nibángankoyen, Kúlasankoyen, Jáborinkoyen, Chenbángankoyen, Dárëankoyen, Fármaké,† Báliyankoyen, Túkankoyen, Kúdurankoyen, Gargánga.

The Féllani-n-Háusa call all those countrymen of theirs who are scattered over these western districts by the nickname Menénnata Háusáre (properly, "I do not understand Háusa"), proving by such a name, which is an opprobrium to themselves, their own loss of nationality, and that they, although Fúlbe, usually address their own people more in Háusa than in their own idiom, the Fulfúlde language.

LIST OF PLACES IN MA'URI OR A'REWA'.

Zormakoye (residence of a special governor), Lokoye (the capital of the province

* 1. *Itinerary from Aúgi, along a winding track, by way of Máuri and Zabérma, to Támkala.*

Day.
1st. Kókoshé.
2d. Dámbugél, belonging to the territory of Máuri or A'rewá.
3d. Dammána.
4th. Karákará, at the western frontier of A'rewá.
5th. Fergéza, village of elephant-hunters, the first place (mafári) of Zabérma.
6th. Tembekíre.
7th. Dóso, open capital of Zabérma; residence of Dáúd, son of Hammam Bákara, during the period of my journey independent. Besides him, there seems to be another chief in Zabérma, named Hammam Jymma. From here direction S. or S.E.
8th. Yéni, on the eastern side of the broad dallul Bóso or Bosso, which comes from Kúrfay, and rejoins the Kwára at Kirotáshi; it is full of natron, but along the border of the valley there are wells of fresh water one fathom in depth.
9th. Támkala.

2. *Indication of a route from Yéni to Kúrfay, in very long marches in a N.W. direction along the natron valley.*

1st Station. Téghazar or Chéggazar, on the west side of the dallul, at several miles' distance, and evidently E. or N.E. from Dóso. The data furnished by Mohammed el Másini are of the utmost importance, and fully confirmed. Jérma (Zabérma) *on the right*, probably S.E., of Téghazar, and extending down to the very border of the River Kwára: Téghazar, on the contrary, *three* days from the river, through a barren desert full of wild beasts, and the deep stream running at half a day's distance.
2d Station. I'mmanan, likewise on the western, or rather northwestern side of the dallul.
3d Station. Kurfay.

† Whether the name of this tribe has any connection with the name of the province Fermágha to the west of Timbúktu, I can not say. Mr. Cooley suggests to me that it may have some relation to the Mandingo.

in former times), Gíwaye, Dámana or Dammána, Tiwellíje (Séberi), Gómbora, Birni-n-Máuri, Bébe (with caverns), Gálewa, Degéji, Sákari, Báki-n-dútsi,* Lóga.

APPENDIX VI.

INFORMATION WITH REGARD TO THE PROVINCES OF GURMA, MO'SI, AND TOMBO.

The whole triangle interposed between the Niger toward the north, and the country of the Eastern Mandingoes or Wángaráwa toward the south, appears to be inhabited by a single race of people, whose language, although they are divided into several different states and nations, nevertheless appears originally to have been of the same stock. It is very probable that this race in ancient times occupied the whole upper course of the Niger, and that this tract may have been wrested from them in later times by the Songhay and the Mandingoes, especially that section of the latter which is generally called Bámbara. These are the Gurma toward the N.E., the Tombo toward the N.W., and between them the Mósi, or, as they appear to call themselves, Móre. Gurma, also, does not appear to be the indigenous name by which those people designate themselves, but is, I think, of Songhay origin. The Gurma, on account of the neighborhood of the centres of the Songhay empire, appear to have lost almost their whole independence and nationality, the Songhay conquering from them great part of their territory, and wasting the remainder by continuous predatory expeditions; but the former seem to have recovered part of their strength since the weakening of the power of the Fúlbe in these quarters, who followed upon the heels of the Songhay, and who appear to have formed settlements all along the great high road from Másina to Háusa, having established themselves firmly in the latter province from very remote times. The strongest among these pagan kingdoms five centuries ago, and even at the present moment, is that of the Mósi, although the country is split into a number of small principalities, almost totally independent of each other, and paying only some slight homage to the ruler of the principality of Wóghodogó. The Mósi are called Morba (perhaps originally Móre-bá, bá being, as Mr. Cooley informs me, a formative of personal nouns in the Mandingo language) by the Bámbara. They themselves give peculiar names to the tribes around them, calling the Fúlbe, Chilmígo; the Songhay, Marénga; the Gurma, Bimba; the Wángara, Tauréarga; the Háusa people, Zángoró; the Asanti or Asianti, Santi. The inhabitants of Gurma call the Háusáwa, Jongoy; but the name of the Fúlbe they have changed only very slightly, calling them Fuljo in the singular, Fulga in the plural form. The Bámbara give to the A'swánek or Swaníŋki the name Marka. With regard to the line of Mandingo or Wángara settlements, which extend through the whole breadth of this tract along the tenth parallel of north latitude, I shall say more farther on. I will here only remark that Mr. Cooley ("Negroland of the Arabs," p. 79) seems to have been right in his supposition respecting the original settlements of that eminent African race.

Besides the nationalities mentioned, there are in the tract described several smaller tribes, the degree of whose affinity it is not so easy to determine, especially as the names are more or less corrupted by the traders: Tuksáwa, Gurúnga, Basánga, well known also from other sources, with the chief places Lárabu and Tangay, the Susámga, Samgay, Kántantí, Kárkardí, Chókoshí, whose chief place, situated on an eminence, seems to be Gambága, formerly supposed to be the name of a country; Choksáwa is probably only the Háusa form of Chókoshí.

The Tombo† seem to have been very powerful in former times, extending probably to the very banks of the Niger at Timbúktu, and became known to the Portuguese from the end of the fifteenth century; but having still, in the latter half of the last century, constituted an important political power, they seem to have suffered very severely by the continual attacks of the Fúlbe, who have invaded their territory from two different quarters at the same time—from Másina toward the N.W., and

* It is very remarkable that, while this town is mentioned in that excellent little geographical treatise of Mohammed ben A'hmed Másini, appended to Captain Clapperton's Second Travels, p. 332, as belonging to the country or district of Emanoo, none of the other towns of Máuri which I have enumerated are there named, with the exception of Lokoye (Lu-koo-yow), but in their stead four others of which I heard nothing. But those places which then were the most considerable may have been since either greatly reduced, or even destroyed. There can be no doubt that Mohammed's Emanoo is the district I'mmanan, mentioned by me as lying between Téghazar and Máuri.

† The Tombo call the Songhay "Jennawélam."

from Gilgóji toward the N.E., the latter province being entirely wrested from them, so that they have lost all national independence, although they still retain a large territory of about 150 miles in every direction. I will here at once proceed to communicate the little information which I have been able to collect with regard to them, in order then to subjoin a network of routes which will constitute a fair framework whereupon to lay down, in an approximate manner, the topography of Gurma and Mósi.

The country of the Tombo at present extends from the province of Gilgóji in the N.E., the greater part of the inhabitants of which belong to the same race, and Dwentsa in the N., and from near Konna toward the N.W., to the territory of Benendúgu, or country of the Beni, in the S., and to that of Yádega in the S.E. From the latter they seem to be separated by the territory of the Urbá and Tinógel, who, however, evidently belong to the same stock. The eastern and western portion of the region thus included is mountainous, the central part more level, and clothed with a rich vegetation of tamarind and other trees. The chief place of the whole territory is said to be A'rre, situated fifteen days from Gilgóji, and fifteen from Dámmajé, a place on the road to Wóghodogó, nine days from Sofára; and the next in importance are said to be the following towns or villages: Nínge, one day south from Dwentsa, Bambar, Kája, Nayámma, Hónduk, Dímbilí, Kong, Shóle, A'mmalá, Kómmogam, Shógo, Kaulu, Yelme, Kul, Tiyaugu, Shanger, Wódibú (apparently inhabited, at least partly, by Mandingoes), Kána, Andúl, Gímle, I'nde, Kawar, Fanjékkara, Kommaige, Tamtóngo, Mówe, Tímmin, Ulúl. All these places or towns are said to be of considerable extent, and to have each its own chief.

I now proceed to give the itineraries illustrating the geography of Gurma and Mósi. But I must first say a word about Mr. Duncan's route from Abóme to Adafudia,* or, as he writes, Adda-foodia, which will be found to coincide partly with the region here described by myself. This route of Mr. Duncan will be found, in course of time, to contain a few gross mistakes, to say the least. It is quite impossible for an African traveler to go over such distances in so short a time as Mr. Duncan did, who one day counts his journey at not less than forty-four miles.† It is not clear from his journal whether the population of the places visited by him be Mandingo or Fulfúlde, although it appears to be evident, from certain hints which he throws out, that he supposes it to consist of these two elements;‡ but, in reality, the more northern part of the route traveled over by him is entirely inhabited by native tribes. Supposing the population of the country thus traversed consisted of Felláta or Fúlbe, it seems very unlikely that these people, who are so suspicious, should allow a traveler to hurry on at this rate, without any stoppages. Moreover, I doubt very much whether in any of the countries hereabout dromedaries and elephants will be found tamed, such as Duncan found in Sogbo, and whether the sugar-cane and oil-palm grow there. I have not been able to connect any of the towns between Assafúda and Adáfudía, as laid down by Duncan, with my itineraries, nay, I have not been able to learn the names or become aware of the existence of any such places; but this I leave to future travelers who may have the fortune to visit that quarter.

I now give first an itinerary from Komba on the Niger to Sansánne Mangho, in order to circumscribe the country of Gurma on its southeastern side, and thence to Selga, the great entrepôt of the gúro-trade.

A. *Route from Komba to Sansánne Mangho.*

Day.

1st. Korkojángo garí-n-'Abdu Féllani, a Púllo settlement.
2d. No village.
3d. Mákuru, on a water-course without a current, numbers of wild beasts.
4th. Dágu, a village belonging to Gurma, and skirted by a fáddama on its west side.
5th. Sófo-n-Dágu, "Old Dágu," at present uninhabited.
6th. Bizúggu or Bisúgu, large place, residence of chief Yanjo. Between Dágu

* Duncan's Travels.

† Vol. ii., p. 82. From Baffo to Zafoora. "I had traveled forty-four miles (in one day) almost without halting." A still greater rate of traveling occurs p. 145.

‡ Duncan says (vol. ii., p. 96) that the Niger appears to be known here only by the name Joleeba, not Joliba. Whatever the form, that name is Mandingo; nevertheless, he states the population expressly to belong to the Felláta (or Fúlbe). The latter, from what he says (p. 109 and 126), seem to hold the dominion of the country; but none of the names which he gives belong to that language. Then the customs do not agree at all with such a state of society, neither the péto (p. 101, 116, 119), nor the prostration (p. 104, 111, 151, 155, 160, 173).

Day.

and Bizúggu one day perhaps is left out; at least, other travelers make three stations between these two towns, the first in Súdo-melle, the next in Zokóga, a Gurma village, the third in Mekkéra, another Gurma village.

7th. Tanga, a hamlet, bordered toward the south by a mountain, and skirted on the east side by a water-course running from W. to E.

8th. Majóri, a hamlet, on the north side of a large mountain.

I here add another direct road from Komba to Majóri without passing by Bizúggu:

Day.

1st. Korkojángo.

2d. Féllalé, a mountain, and therefore called Féllalé-n-dútsi (dútsi meaning mountain in Háusa), with a water-course.

3d. Small water-course, with water occasionally.

4th. Dágu, a village of Gurma.

5th. Súdo-melle, a large market-place of Gurma, probably a settlement of the Wángara, who are always called by the natives of this district Wángara-Melle; "súdo" means dwelling in Fulfúlde.

6th. A village belonging to Barba or Búrgu.

7th. A village of idolaters in a mountainous district.

8th. Sabálga, a pagan village, still under Gurma. Bizúggu, one day west from here.

9th. Sabálga, a small village, the whole country mountainous.

10th. A small water-course.

11th. Majóri, now deserted.

9th. Halt in the wilderness "on the bank of a river" (baki-n-gulbi), which is crossed on skins.

10th. Barbar, a hamlet.

11th. Famma; a mountain toward the east.

12th. Halt "on the bank of a river" (baki-n-gulbi) in the wilderness.

13th. Fálalé or Féllalé, a large village, inhabited by native Gurma, naked, and only protecting their hind quarters with a wisp. Mountainous. "Fálalé," as I have said, means mountain or rock.

14th. Belgu, called by the Háusa traders "maigigíña," on account of its being so rich in deléb palms. Situated on the bank of the river in a mountainous district.

15th. Sansánne Mangho or Mango ("the camp of Mohammed"), an old settlement of the Mandingoes or Wángaráwa, who seem to have been settled in this quarter from ancient times, engaged in the gold trade between Kong and Kúkia (the old capital of Songhay), which received its gold from hence. Even now a peculiar weight of mithkál (see vol. iii., p. 360) is still used here. The number of inhabitants about 3000. The name of the present governor is Kancho. From hence a track leads to Wóghodogó.

16th. Halt on the border of a river, having crossed another river in the course of the day.

17th. A well-inhabited (probably Mandingo or Wángara) place, called by the Háusa traders "garí-n-maíbéndega," on account of the people being all armed with muskets. Territory of Governor Mangha.

18th. Sakoiga, territory of Yendi.

19th. Yendi, an important place, but not near so large as was believed formerly, from the account given by the travelers to Asianti, it appearing, in reality, to have a population of about 5000. They are idolaters, and drink búza or péto in great quantity. The name of the governor is Kirgángu, before whose house two baskets of meat are daily given to the vultures, to whom a sort of worship seems to be paid.

20th. Sambo, a village situated on the other side of the river.

21st. Kóbier or Kóbia.

22d. A halt on the bank of a river, no village.

23d. Sungúngu.

24th. Túru, a village.

25th. Yánsalá.

26th. Salga or Selga, capital of the province of Gonja, residence of a governor;

population about 1000 inhabitants, the market of the gúro trade, and destitute of water, which is brought from a rivulet at some distance, called "gulbi-n-baráwu," on account of its being occasionally infested by robbers.

I will now give at once the route from this place, which is connected with Kumássi, the capital of Asianti, by a tolerably ascertained route, to Tañéra or Tangréra, an important point approximately laid down according to Caillié's route.

B. *Route from Selga to Tañéra by way of Kong, very short marches.*

Day.

1st. Súgunkollo, a small town belonging to the province of Gonja, but ruled by a governor of its own.
2d. Kónkorosú, a place in a district rich in gúro-trees.
3d. A rivulet, called by the Háusa traders "kúrremi-n-fítta," on account of its banks being richly clad with the tree which supplies the leaves called "fítta," wherein the gúro is packed up in the little baskets called "wágha."
4th. Halt in the wilderness, traversed by a rivulet, and frequented by elephants.
5th. A rivulet containing gold particles in its sand, and therefore called "gulbi-n-zinária." Territory of Gonja.
6th. Bitúgu, a large town, residence of a governor of the name Adángara, who acknowledges the supremacy of Asianti.
13th. Another river with gold, called therefore "gulbi-n-zinária."
26th. Kong, a large town, the houses consisting entirely of clay dwellings. The inhabitants, Mandingoes or Wángara, and most of them Mohammedans. Also Fullán or Fúlbe are found there. They have a good deal of weaving, and their cotton is very celebrated, especially the kind called "el harrotáfe" in Timbúktu, with alternating stripes in red and black.
27th. Náfaná, a village.
28th. Halt in the fields of Náfaná.
29th. A village belonging to the territory of Tágonó, which stretches southward to the neighborhood of a considerable place called A'rna.
30th. A large place, likewise in Tágonó.
31st. Halt on the bank of a rivulet running from N. to S., navigable during the rainy season, and then animated by river-horses, but without water in the dry season.
32d. Kému, a large town of the territory of Tágonó, with a considerable mountain toward the south, and many small water-courses.
33d. Another village of Tágonó.
34th. Village belonging to the territory of Fúluná.
35th. Another village of the same.
36th. A village of the territory Kurdúgu. All these different territories are inhabited by Mandingoes or Wángara.
39th. Kanyénni, a large town, situated on a kúrremi or a small water-course, and an important market-place, the most important one of this whole tract with the exception of Furá. The inhabitants Wángaráwa, Moslemín, and idolaters.
40th. Ségganá, on a water-course, as it seems, the same as that of Kanyénni.
50th. Ganóni, an important market-place of the Fúluná.
59th. Tañéra, another place of the Fúluná, larger than Ganóni, and built of clay. This is evidently Caillié's Tangréra (i., p. 385 *et seq.*). In going from Tañéra to Yámina, or Nyámina, a journey of twenty-nine short marches, the traveler reaches on the fourth day a large river (probably the Bagoë of Caillié), on the other side of which the territory of Yámina commences.

C. *From Kirotáshi, a town on the east side of the Niger, one day south of Say, to Wóghodoghó.*

Day.

1st. Halt on the west side of the Kwára or I'sa.
2d. Bóti, residence of a chief of Gurma.
3d. Wilderness.
4th. Wilderness.
7th. Bizúggu, called by the Háusa traders "Fáda-n-Gurma," "palace of Gurma," and residence of a chief called by them Tobáni-n-kífi.
8th. Yenga, the frontier town of Mósi in this direction.
9th. Bennanába (or rather Be-nába) or Nungu, called Nomma by the Fúlbe,

Fáda-n-Gurma by the Háusa people, the residence of Bojjo, the supreme chief of Gurma: the name of his predecessor, it seems, was Chenchírma or Yengírma. The distance from Bizúggu to the latter place seems rather long for two common marches, although it certainly does not exceed sixty miles; other people make four halts, the first in Landó, the second in Burgu, the third in Kankancháli, a large town, and the fourth in a place called by the traders "Garí-n-Magájia."

I here subjoin a route leading from Champagóre to Landó or Lendó, a place which is of considerable importance on account of its being the residence of the warlike chief Wintélle, whose princely title is Fan-du. From Champagóre: Mayánga, a hamlet inhabited by slaves of the Fúlbe; Champelga, already belonging to the territory of Lendó; Lendó.

Day.
10th. Tánkurgú.
13th. Kulféla, a well-frequented market-place of Mósi, and of greater importance than all the other towns of Mósi; the governor's name is Nábere Gáger. The inhabitants are celebrated archers. Another informant going from Kulféla to Tánkurgú makes three stations, the first in Ligílde Málgumá, a large town, the second in Lúlugú, and the third in a village called Kógo.
15th. Wóghodoghó.

N. B.—If this were a tolerably direct road, it would have a great influence upon the position of the various places mentioned; but it would seem that my informant turned away from his direct track in order to visit the market-place Kulféla. Other people, in going slowly from Kulféla to Wóghodoghó, spend eight days on the road, sleeping the first night in Páshipánga, the second in Tángay, the third in Zorógo, the next in a place ruled by a man called Máne Bogónje, the fifth in another village called Tángay, and reach Wóghodoghó on the eighth. I shall here join Tánkurgú with Sansánne Mangho by an itinerary, which, however, does not lay claim to completeness.

Day.
1st. Benda, belonging to the territory of Busánga.
2d. Samga, a large town.
3d. Kántantí, residence of a chief of its own.
4th. Yanga.
5th. Sansánne Mangho.

D. *From Yágha to Belánga (long marches).*

Day.
1st. Kábo, a village of Yágha.
2d. Selúngu, a Gurma village belonging to the territory of Belánga.
3d. Jafánge, a large Gurma place (long march).
4th. On the bank of the River Shirba in the wilderness.
5th. Belánga or Belánga, residence of one of the Gurma chiefs, styled Bélem-béttu (béttu means chief, king, in the Gurma language), who at present is one of the most powerful rulers of that country, his territory extending about four days' good march in every direction, the more important places being Yamba, Sírbalé, Jepángalé, Basérilú, Balga, Tubga, Déngo, Tampódo, Mokka, Yopónga, Japángo, Béla.

From Belánga to Nungu or Be-nába there are four very short days, passing by Yamba, a large place, Yébel-yébel, and Tubga.

E. *From Jíbo, capital of the province of Gilgóji or Jilgódi (about 60 miles S. from Mundóro, 55 W.S.W. from A'ribínda, and 35 S.S.W. from Tínge), by way of Kaye, to Máni and Wóghodoghó (very short marches).*

1st day. Kájc. 2d. Sebbe. 3d. Gánkomá (not Gaikomá). 4th. Tóngomelle or Tóngomaye, a market-place of some importance, which may be reached on horseback in one day from Jíbo. 5th. Nyange. 6th. Kóbay. 7th. Surgúsumá, the last place of the territory of Gilgóji. 8th. Kélbo, the first village of the territory of Mósi; the border district in general is regarded as very unsafe. 9th. Déffia. 10th. Sokkopéndu. 11th. Kondu-bétto (probably not the name of the place, but that of the chief; this is perhaps the place Kondú or Kamgo which is said to have

resisted successfully an expedition of Sheikho A'hmedu). 12th. Sába. 13th. Mákkeri. 14th. Kaye, an important place where several roads meet.

From Kaye to Wóghodoghó.

1st day. Jetínga. 2d. Nessemetínga. 3d. Lúda. 4th. Máku. 5th. Bússumo (or, as it is called by the traders, "Fádan Bússumo"), an important place, residence of a powerful chief, probably the most powerful of the Mósi chiefs at the present time, especially with regard to cavalry. 6th. Kurzumógo, residence of a governor ("yeríma") under Bússumo. 7th. Máni, another residence of a powerful chief, who, however, in a certain degree, seems to acknowledge the supremacy of Bússumo. 8th. Yáko, a considerable place. 10th. Wóghodoghó.

F. *From Máni—Yádega.*

1st day. Yáko. 2d. Kurzomógo, not identical, as it appears, with the synonymous place mentioned in the previous itinerary; residence of a governor under Yádega. 3d. Jegá, a considerable place, with huts of reed. 4th. Zámehe. 5th. Damméko. 6th. Píssela. 7th. Yerímehí (probably only a name given to the place by the traders as being the residence of a yeríma or governor). 8th. Yádega.

G 1. *From Máni to Kong, and back by a more easterly road.*

1st day. Temma. 2d. Yáko. 3d. Lá. 4th. Sarma. 5th. Bófori. 6th. Sáfané. 7th. Langaféra. 8th. Ditóri. 9th. Téberé. 10th. Kong, a large place, according to my informant, inhabited by Bámbara. It can scarcely be identical with the well-known town Kong, if the itinerary be correct; but nevertheless it may be the case.

G 2. *Return from Kong.*

1st day. Furá, a large market-place. 2d. Dálo. 3d. Kebéne. 4th. Dúllugu. 5th. Dakay, a place belonging to the territory of Mósi. 6th. Kamshégo. 7th. Neténga. 8th. Lúmbilé. 9th. Jéngaré. 10th. Tenga. 11th. Yáma. 12th. I'migu. 13th. Máni.

H. *From Kaye to Belússa, and thence to Belánga.*

1st day. Dimla, a large town of Mósi, with a warlike population, therefore called "Maimáshi" (mistress of spears) by the traders. 2d. Ponsa, also a considerable place. 3d. Píssela. 4th. Belússa, a large town, seat of an independent Gurma chief who possesses numerous cavalry.

From Belússa a person on horseback reaches Belánga comfortably the second day, the great station between these two towns being Alitínga, still belonging to Mósi, and an important place, inhabited by Mósi and Háusa traders; but common native travelers generally halt twice between Belússa and Alitínga, in Nyennyéga and Kobúri, and once between Alitínga and Belánga, in a Gurma village called Yamba. Belússa seems to be situated from Belánga not true W., as I have placed it in the map which I sent home, but a little more to the N.

Between Belússa and Kulféla lie the following places: Jíga, Zámehe, Sálugu (still belonging to the territory of Belússa), Kumshégu, Sóre (a market-place), Wunógo, Yirnába (residence of a Mandingo or Wángara chief, whom the traders call Yergáwa), then a village belonging to a Púllo resident in Kulféla ("ungwa serkí-n-Féllani-n-Kulféla"), Futínga, Nakálba, Ligíddemél-demá, and Kulféla.

I. *From Píssela to Dóre in Libtáko (very short marches).*

1st day. Nagabíngo. 2d. Ponsa, a large place, the same as that mentioned in the preceding itinerary. 3d. Gungay. 4th. Nantínga. 5th. Lógu. 6th. Sambánga. 7th. Nákorí. 8th. Kéum. 9th. Belga. 10th. Néba. 11th. Kwála. 12th. Tambo. 13th. Marárraba, belonging to Libtáko, and inhabited by Fúlbe. Marárraba means "half way" in the Háusa language, and it would be important to know what the names of the two places are between which this village is considered as lying half way. 14th. Kála, also inhabited by Fúlbe. 15th. Débbero-ónkoy, Fúlbe. 16th. Láraba. 17th. Dóre.

K. *Route from Ségo on the Niger to Méggará in Mienka or Menka.*

1st day. Fenya, having crossed a considerable river called Bábelé Sirsénkené.

2d. Fáraní, a place inhabited by Dhiúli, Júli, or Mandingoes. 3d. Fínyaná (ditto). 4th. Kaya, inhabited by Júli and Bámbara. 5th. Gondígasó. 6th. Sinsúnkoró, Bámbara. 7th. Enjénené. 8th. Furá, a village inhabited by slaves of the Fúlbe. 9th. Konobúgu, Bámbara. 10th. Sanánkoró, Bámbara. 11th. Kónina, Bámbara. 12th. Segebúgu. 13th. Yensa, in the territory of the Fóngfoná. 14th. Yessímaná. 15th. Jinna or Jinniná, in the territory of Menka. 16th. Jitámaná, residence of the chief of Menka. 17th. Méggará; here the territory of Bóbó begins; Tenyéra from here ten days S.S.W., and Kong about twenty-three, by way of Fó and Natkhe, S.E.

APPENDIX VII.

PEDIGREE OF THE SHEIKH SI'DI A'HMED EL BAKA'Y.

Sídi 'Ukbâ, son of 'Omár, with the surname El Mústajáb, the great conqueror of Barbary.

Sakéra.	'Abd el Kerím.	Dóman.
Yadrúba.	Mohammed.	Yahia.
S'aíd.	Yakhsha.	'Alí.

Sídi A'hmed, or Mohammed, el Kuntí, born of a Limtúna mother called Yágedásh. He is said to have died in Fask, a district W. of Shingít.

Sídi A'hmed el Bakáy, died in Walâta.

Sídi 'Omár e' Sheikh, is said to have changed the cruel custom prevailing in the family before him, of murdering all the (male) children except one, and to have left all his three sons alive. For this reason it is that his name occupies a prominent position in El Bakáy's poem. He was a great friend of 'Abd el Kerím ben Mohammed el Maghíli, and is said to have visited in his company the learned Sheikh e' Soyúti in Egypt. He is said to have died A.H. 960 (A.D. 1553), in the district of Gídi or I'gídi, E. of the Sákiet el hamra.

Sídi el Wáfi, although Sídi 'Omár's second son, succeeded his father as Welí, while the Sheikhdom rested with his elder brother Sídi Mukhtár, who died in the sanctuary or chapel called Zawyet Kunta, situated in the neighborhood of Bú-'Alí, the ksar or village of Tawát, where the family of El Maghíli resided. El Wáfi's younger brother was Sídi A'hmed e' Regá.

Sídi Haiballa (Habíb-allah).
Sídi Mohammed.
Sídi Bú-Bakr.
Bábá A'hmed.
} These four were only Welíye, without having the dignity of Sheikh.

Mukhtár, also called Mukhtár el kebír, in order to distinguish him from his grandson. With him the dignity of Sheikh was transferred into this branch of the family. He died A.H. 1226 (A.D. 1811). A dream or sacred vision, which he had in the year 1209, is very famous in those parts of Negroland.

Sídi Mohammed e' Sheikh died 2d Shawál, 1241 (10th May, 1826), during Major Laing's residence in the hilleh in A'zawád.

Mukhtár, his eldest son, died 1263, in Timbúktu.

Sídi A'hmed el Bakáy, Mukhtár's younger brother, the present chief.

APPENDIX VIII.

TWO POEMS OF THE SHEIKH EL BAKA'Y, WHEREIN HE SATIRIZES THE FU'LBE OF MA'SINA.

الحمد لله وحده وصلى الله على من لا نبى بعده

و لشيخنا و سيدنا احمد البكاى بن شيخنا و سيدنا محمد بن شيخنا و سيدنا المختار يخاطب الجماعة الفلانية الماسنية لما ارادوا ضيفه عبد الكريم بارث الانكليزى النصرانى

قُلْ لِجَيْشِ الفُلَّانِ قُلْتُ شَنِيعا رِمْتُ امْرًا امْرًا عظيما فظيعا

قد طلبتُمْ ضيفى ستلقون ضيفى يومَ تلقونه عزيزا منيعا

ضيفَ حُرٍّ لحرّة بنتِ حرّ وابوه حرٌّ اجاد الصنيعا

لم تَلِدْنى إماؤُ ثم ما ربْـ ـبَيْنَنِى فى حجورهنّ رضيعا

و ابى مَنْ عرفتم وابوه ما عردنا مِنْ سامَ الّا رفيعا

ما عردنا من سام الّا كريما أَبْيَضَ الوجه سيّدا او قريعا

ليس فى أمّهاتهمْ بنتُ عبدٍ تَحْمِل الفَحْمَ مثلَها أنْ تَبيعا

ابنها ربها ولاكنِ أبوه ربهُ بثَّ عنقهُ مستطيعا

لم تلدنى بنتٌ لِحامَ ولا ابنٌ لبنى حامَ الألِى لَنْ اطيعا

لبنى حام الالى لا يرون الضـ ـضَفَ الاّ شهيرةٌ وبديعا

ان صيفى عِرْضى وما كان عرْضى بمضاعٍ فضيفهُ لَنْ يضيعا

انّ عبد مناف بن قُصَى بـ ـن كلاب بن مُرّة المستطيعا

ولوى بن غالب ونزار بـ ـن معدّ أوصوا بأَنْ لا أكيعا

ونهانى فَهْرُ بنُ مالكِ بْنِ النـ ـضْرِ أنْ أستريبَ او أستريعا

عمر الشيخ من بنى احمد البكـ ـاءَ ينمى الوأى حرّا نصيعا

ونماه الكُنْتِىُّ نجل علِىٍ كان من عُقْبَةَ المجاب صريعا

تلكَ آبائِىَ الكرامُ وكالوا ضيفُهمْ لا يَموتُ فى الدَّهْرِ ضَيْعا

لا يَخافُ السلطانُ أنّ حَيْفَ أوْ أنّ بَيْعَ السلطانِ لَيْسَ مَبيعا

منكم لن يراع الا اذا السلـ ـطان عبد المجيد من نكمه ريعا

دُونَ ما تَطْلبونَ حَرْبٌ وضَرْبٌ وطعانٌ فى الزِنْجِ يُزْجِى النجيعا

دون ذاك الفتى وسمر العوالى ومصاعُ السيوفِ حولاً كنيعا

واحْتِباطُ الأَنْفاط هنّا و هنّا كَرُعُودٍ قَصَفْنَ ريحًا وريعا

تَحْمِلُ الموتَ فيه فِتْيانٌ ضرّوا تَحْسِبُ الموتَ رَوْضَةً و ربيعا

مِنْ رَعاريعَ أَوْ غطاريفَ مُرْدٍ و كهولٍ شاخَتْ فى العزّ حميعا

فَوْقَ جُرْدٍ من الجياد عناجيـ ـجِ يَعاليبِ عُوِّدَتْ انْ تميعا

من سِيَطْرٍ نُمْرٍ رباع شناحٍ كان غُرْبًا سُكْبا ذريعا سريعا

و نشاصيةٍ مطهّمةٍ سلـ ـهبةٍ أَوْثَقَتْ قَرىً ودسيعا

من عِرابٍ للْحوض او لثكانَتْ او كِدالٍ تَسْقُوا الحَليبَ النقيعا

شَحْمتى فى قَلَعَتِي مَنْ تصدّى لِشِقاتى اضحى قميعا قليعا

حَسَبى الله ربُّ موسى وعيسى و النبيين أَنْ ارانى كنيعا

آيَدَ الواحد الفريدَ بنصرٍ فاظلّ الجموع منه الجميعا

إِنَّ فِرْعَوْنَ كان أَغْوَى وأَقْوَى ضَلَّ فى اليمّ والجموع صريعا

ماسِنَى عَقِّلوا اخاكم يكُنْ لى مِثْلَ بَلِّ الإمامِ خِلاًّ تبيعا

او يكُن لى كما مضى ابواه إِنْ هُما لَمْ يُصابِرا لمْ يليعا

أَوْ يَدَعْنِى مِنْ شَرِهِ وَأَدَعْهُ إِنَّ خيرا فى الشرّ أَنْ لا يشيعا

إِنَّ الاعْلامَ اهل الاحْلام مِنْكُمْ آلَ فُودىَّ ما تَبَنُّوا رفيعا

ماتبنوا الّا فتًى أحوذيًا فى طريقِ العلي بصيرا سميعـــا
يُكْرِمون الكِرامَ إذ مِنْهُمْ هُمْ ثم لا يصحبون خلقا خليعـــا
ثم لا يصحبون الّا وليًّا عالمًا شارعاً تقيًا و ريعـــا
احْسنها مِنْ جوارنا ما أساتْ فلَدَيْنا الودادَ أَبْقوا وديعـــا
و لَدَيْنا انشاءَ أَبْقوا ربيطا ولدينا الإخاءَ ابقَوْا وضيعـــا
لَوْ تَشاعونَ مِثْلَهُمْ فيه كُنْتُمْ فَأَجَرْتُمْ رايًا مَعًا و صنيعـــا
لاكن الطَّبْعَ مالِكٌ فَلَوَ اسْطَا ع جبانُ الوَرَى لَأَضْحَى شجيعـــا

وله ايضا يخاطب الفلان فى شان ضيفه

أَحَقًّا انى مِنْ عِنْدَ أَحْمَدَ احمد محمّد سيد العَبْد والعبد اسْوَدَ
يُسَايِلُ عن ضيفى لِيَرْجِعَ ضيفَهُ فَيَسْلبه من ماله و يُقَيَّدُ
و يجعله ضيفًا لِكاوورِ عِنْدَهُ وصن شِرْفُ ما ضَيْفِي لِهَذَا مُعَوَّدُ
أَبطانٌ قال القول ام هو حالم بلى حالمٌ والله احمد احمد

ومن دكّون ضيفى عاقل ويلملم ورضوى وهملان وقدس وذرود

اياخذه من قبل أن تاخذ الفتى على راسه والمشرفى المهند

اياخذه والسيف والرمح نائم على سرق إن الوشيج مقصد

اياخذه أين النوارق كلها ومن عرب شيخ وكهل وأمرد

بنو الشيخ عثمان بن فودى جندنا ومن جندنا موسى بن بوضال يشهد

وتر غبتموت الاسد يقدم حيهم لكاوى بن ام القطبى ببرق يرعد

واخبى بن سالم حوله إبكودن ولوعد أكب الحن جيش محشد

وفى تنكريكيف رجال أعزة بنو حملس القوم فيها تسود

وتنصر ضيفى من كلسوق فتية لهم أسد فى النابيات وأسود

هم القوم فى إلا سلام لا يخذلونني وهم اخوتى اجدى الى وانجد

ولى من بنى الفلان الارض عصبة الى نصر دين الله تسعى وتحشد

أحب اليهم من بينهم واهلهم وأنفسهم دين الاله يويد

اذاما راوا كفرا وعصيان ربهم ابوا ونبوا عن كل من هو مفسد

ولى من رجال الله فى الارض ثم من ملايكة تصر وجيش مشرد

وحسبى فحسبى الله جل جلاله نما النصر الا منه والله أمحد

فما النصر الّا مسه ٥ من مَليكِ وإن كثروا جدًّا وعزّوا وحمّدُ (١)

هو الله جلّ الله عوّد نصرَه على كلِ جبارٍ يضرّ ويعندُ ،

وانّى لتكفيني من احمد دعوةٌ إلى الله فى جوفِ من الليل تصعدُ

أُسدّدها منها اليه بسحرةٍ فيصبح منها وهو بالموتِ مقصدُ

وإن ناب يومًا فهو خير له وان ابى لم يتب فالأمر لله مسندُ

فمن قبله فرعونُ نمرودُ قبله وعاد وشدادُ بن عاد تمرّدُ وا

فكلٌّ عليه قد دعى انبياءهم فقادوا وبادوا كلّهم وثمودُ وا

دعى ربّه موسى وعيسى وصالح وهود وابراهيم ثم محمد

فمدّعونا سبحانه واحدٌ كما اجيبوا يجيبُ المومنين وينجد

فيا ربِّ انصرنى كما قد نصرتهم فانّك لا حجّر عليك ولا يد

وصلِ عليهم ثم سلّم مباركًا فما منهم الا حميدٌ وأحمدُ

TRANSLATION OF THE TWO POEMS OF A'HMED EL BAKA'Y.

BY DR. JOHN NICHOLSON, PENRITH.

"In the name of God," &c.

"And our Sheikh and Lord, A'hmed el Bakáy, the son of our Sheikh and Lord Mohammed, the son of our Sheikh and Lord El Mukhtár, said, addressing the assembly of the Fulán of Másina, when they attacked his guest, 'Abd el Kerím Barth, the Englishman, the Christian. (The metre is khafif.)

"Tell the host of the Fulán—I say, shameful! I am attacked in a great and weighty matter. Ye have sought my guest: you will find him, when you do find him, mighty, protected, the free guest of a free man, who is the son of a free woman, who was daughter of a freeman, and whose father was a freeman, who lavished benefits. No slave bore me, nor did such foster me in their bosoms as a suckling; and my father is he whom you know, and his father. We have not descended from Sém, except as noble, as munificent, as white of face, as lords or chieftains. Among their mothers there is no daughter of a slave who bears coals, like herself, that she may sell them; whose son is her master, whereas his father is his master; who effected his manumission, as being obedient. No daughter nor son of Hám was my parent, nor will I obey the sons of the lazy Hám. Among the sons of the lazy Hám none but fat women and corpulent men see guests [?]. My guest is my honor, and

my honor never was in jeopardy, therefore its guest shall never be imperiled. 'Abd Menáf ben Kosay ben Kiláb ben Morra, my ancestor, and Luway ben Gháleb, and Nizár ben M'add admonish me not to fear, and Fehr ben Málik ben El Nadhr* forbids me to entertain alarm or suspicion. El Wáfi increases 'Omár, the Sheikh of the sons of A'hmed el Bakáy, by the addition of a fair, freeborn man; and El Kuntí increased him—the progeny of 'Alí—who sprang from 'Ukba the Accepted, who perished heroically. Such were my ancestors, noblemen, and their guest never died in agony.

"The Sultan is not alarmed that the homage and allegiance of the Sultan will not be duly paid.† He will not be afraid of you until the Sultan 'Abd el Mejíd is afraid of Nukmah.‡ War and blows are to be found elsewhere than where ye seek; and wounds among the Zinj drive forth the flowing blood—without molesting this man—and long spears and cuts of swords round about on all sides, and the explosion of cannons hither and thither, like thunders which crash in blasts and reverberations. They consider the death in which men are destroyed—they count it a garden and a vernal season of noble youths and gallant lads, and mature men, who have grown old together in dignity, mounted on sleek, swift horses, steeds, coursers trained to run, tall piebalds, five-year-olds, tall, fleet, wide-stepping, rapid, apple-rumped, plump, long-boned, strong in back and neck, Arabian blood-horses of El Hódh, or Tagánet, or Kidál,§ that are fed upon cooling milk.

"I am secure in my position.‖ He who attempts to contend with me will be cut off, overwhelmed. I rely on Allah, the Lord of Moses, and Jesus, and the prophets, that I may see myself contented. He aids the solitary and deserted with His help, so that He overwhelms the multitude altogether. Lo! Pharaoh was very wicked and very mighty: he lost his way in the sea, and the host were laid low.

"Oh, Másina! reprove your brother, that he may become a submissive friend to me, like the Imám Bello; or that he may be to me as both his parents were before: if they did not suffer, they did not fear. Or let him leave me alone with his evil, and I will leave him alone. The best of evil is that it should not manifest itself.

"Behold! the learned and the humane among you, the A'l Fódiye;¶ they do not adopt a chief; they do not adopt any but one who is wise about the way of the Most High, and who sees and hears. They respect the honorable, because they are themselves such. They do not associate with the ignoble; they only consort with those that are saints, learned, poets, pious, abstemious. Repair the evil ye have done our neighbor, and preserve affection for us; preserve for us unfailing gratitude and inviolate brotherhood. If ye were willing, like them, ye should be in it, and would earn both fame and benefits. But nature is queen. If cowards only could, they certainly would be brave."

"And he said again, addressing the Fullán on the subject of his guest. (The metre is Tawíl.)

"Did Mohammed Síd, the slave, and that slave a black one, really come from A'hmed [ben] A'hmed, to inquire about my guest, in order to make him return as [become] his guest, that he might plunder him, and fetter him, and make him a guest of Kaúri with him, and with San-Shirfu?** My guest is not accustomed to this! Or did Yaktán say the speech? Is he not a dreamer? Yes, a dreamer, by Allah! A'hmed, A'hmed! And, besides my guest, there is 'Aákil, and Yalam-

* All the preceding names are those of well-known ancestors of Mohammed, the prophet; those that follow are the poet's own.

† I can not approve this translation of Dr. Nicholson. I read سبعا, and translate, "The Sultan is not afraid lest he may not be feared, or obedience not be paid him. The Sultan ('Abd el Mejíd) is not a young lad." El Bakáy, I think, opposes here the Sultan 'Abd el Mejíd to the young chief A'hmedu ben A'hmedu, who was quite a young man. Dr. Nicholson observes that there is a great fault in the metre of the first hemistich, but that the consonants of the text are strictly those of the MS.—H. B.

‡ This place, Nukmah or Núgguma, is probably the small place of that name in Másina, and not the village called also "Ksar el M'allemín," mentioned above, p. 179; but I am not quite certain about it.—H. B.

§ Three districts celebrated for their breed of horses. Kidál lies between Mabrúk and the country of the Awelimmiden.—H. B.

‖ Literally, "My fat is in my wallet." Freitag, "Arab. Prov.," i., p. 664.

¶ The poet here exhibits to the hostile ruler of Másina the docile behavior of his friends, the rulers of Sókoto, the successors of the Sheikh Fódiye.—H. B.

** San-Shirfu is the name of one of the two kádhis of Timbúktu. Kaúri is the name of the emír.—H. B.

lam, and Ridhwa, and Hamlán, and Kudsu and Dhurwad.* Will he take him before death and the Indian cimeters seize on his own head? Will he take him, while the sword and the spear are asleep, by stealth. Lo! the lances do not miss their aim. Will he take him where all the Tawárek are, and of the Arabs, a Sheikh, and a mature man, and a lad?

"The descendants of the Sheikh 'Othmán ben Fódiye are our army; and of our army Músa ben Bodhál is a witness; and Targaitamútu, the lions, whose tribe Likáway,† the nephew of Alkúttabu, leads, who lightens, thunders; and A'khbi ben Sálem, round whom are the Igwádaren, and Woghdu Agga 'l Henne has a gathered host. And among the Tinkiríkíf there are noble men, the Benu Hammalása, whose troop shows valor; and young men from the Kél e' Súk, who are lions in calamities, and who are brave, assist my guest. These are the people in El Islám: they do not disappoint me, and they are my brothers, and very useful and helpful to me. I have among the tribe of the Fullán a body of men in the land who run and hasten to defend the religion of Allah. Dearer to them than their house, and family, and souls is the religion of Allah, who is mighty! Whenever they see infidelity and rebellion against their Lord, they resist, and go aside from every impious person. And I have some of the men of Allah in the land, and also of the angels, as an auxiliary and a scattering host. And my trust—my trust is in Allah, whose majesty is great! and there is no help except from him; and Allah is most mighty! So there is no help except from him—not even from the angels, though they be mighty and worthy of praise. He is God, who is great! He redoubles His aid against every oppressor who is violent and exorbitant. As for me, it is sufficient protection against A'hmed that I should pray to Allah in the belly‡ of this night that approaches. I will aim my prayer at Him, at the dawn, like an arrow. He shall find himself, when he sees to-morrow, smitten with death. But if he repents one day, that will be best for him. But if he refuse—will not repent—then the matter is referred to Allah. Before him Pharaoh, and Nimród, and 'Aád, and Sheddád ben 'Aád rebelled; but all those on whom their prophets invoked vengeance perished, and disappeared, and were desolated. Moses, and Jesus, and Sálih, and Húd, and Abraham, and subsequently Mohammed, called on their Lord. He alone then—glory to his name!—is the One we invoke. Just as they obey, so will He answer and help the faithful. Then help me, O Lord, in the same way as Thou didst help them, for there is no defense and no help above Thee. And bless and prosper them with benedictions, for there are not any among them but those that deserve praise and honor.

"Finished with the help of God," etc., etc.

APPENDIX IX.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE HISTORY OF SONGHAY AND THE NEIGHBORING KINGDOMS.

Songhay.	Neighboring Kingdoms.
A.D. 300.	The kingdom of Ghána, or Ghánata, the central portion of which comprises the present province of Bághena, founded by Wakayamagha or mangha (mangho = great? Magha = Mohammed?) about three centuries before the Hejra; the ruling family whites (Leucæthiopes? Fúlbe?). At the commencement of the Hejra twenty-two kings had ruled.§
Zá Alayámin (Zá el Yemeni) comes to Kúkiá (El Bekrí's Kúgha, Ca da Mosto's Cochia), a very ancient place, and the older residence of Songhay, and founds the eldest dynasty of the Zá. The Libyan origin of this dynasty, of	Beginning of 7th century. Begin. of Hejra. A.D. 679. A.H. 60. Already, at this early date, an extensive Mohammedan quarter existed in Ghánata, containing 12 mosques.‖ There is considerable doubt with regard to the accuracy of the date.

* This passage about Yaktán neither I nor Dr. Nicholson are able to clear up fully.—H. B.

† See what is said about this man, whose name is generally pronounced Elágwi, in Appendix XII. of this volume, p. 720. A'khbi, Woghdu, and the other people are mentioned repeatedly by me. —H. B.

‡ *i. e.*, The latter third.

§ A'hmed Bábá, J. L. O. S., vol. ix., p. 526.

‖ Mémoires de la Soc. de Géogr., vol. iii., p. 1.

Songhay.

which that of the Sonní was a mere continuation, is very distinctly intimated by Leo Africanus, in the words, "della stirpe di Libya."*

Neighboring Kingdoms.

A.D. 837. A.H. 222. Death of Tilútan, chief of the Limtúna, very powerful in the desert; he adopted Islám, and converted the neighboring Negro tribes.

Gógó, an important commercial place, where Makhled E'bn Kaidád, with the surname of A'bú Yezíd, that great revolutionist who brought so much mischief over Northern Africa, was born. His father came often from Tózer to this place for trading purposes,† evidently by way of Wárgelá, that most ancient trading place on the northern border of the desert. We thus see that *the commerce between Northern Africa and Negroland was infinitely older* than it has ever been supposed. I may here add that I have not the slightest doubt that Wárgelá is meant by the Bakalitis of Ptolemy (lib. iv., c. 7, p. 305, ed. Wilberg.), which he describes from the side of Egypt as lying beyond Fezzán, although no Roman ruins exist in Wárgelá.

A.D. 893. A.H. 280.

A.D. 900. A.H. 287. Death of Ilettan, the successor of Tilútan.

A.D. 918. A.H. 306. Temím, the successor of Ilettan, slain by the Zenágha or Senhája, after which a division takes place among the Berber tribes established on the border of the desert and Negroland.

Kúkiá still the ordinary residence of the King of Songhay, who already at that period becomes very powerful.

A.D. 961. A.H. 350. Tin-Yerútán, king of, or rather a Berber chief having his residence in, Aúdaghost, an important trading colony of the Zenágha, who appear at that time to have dominated over the whole of the neighboring part of Negroland, including Ghánata. In the very year mentioned, this place, which carried on at that time a most flourishing trade with Sijilmésa, was visited by the Arab geographer, E'bn Haúkal.‡ Kúgha (Kúkiá) was at that period so powerful that the King of Aúdaghost thought it prudent to make presents to the king of that place (the King of Songhay), in order to prevent him from making war upon him. Nevertheless, twenty-three Negro kings are said to have been tributary to another king of Aúdaghost, named Tinezwa, in the fourth century of the Hejra. The site of Aúdaghost is quite evident from El Bekrí's excellent itinerary: "You march five days in the sand-hills of Warán, till you come to the copious well of the Benî Wáreth; then, farther on, the well Warán; then a well-watered district of three days." At the same time the abundance of gum-trees near Aúdaghost proves distinctly that the distance of fifteen days intervening between Aúdaghost or Ghánata (near Waláta), is to be reckoned in a westerly direction, and that Aúdaghost therefore is to be sought for in the neighborhood of Tejigja and Kasr el Barka, and not to the north-east of Waláta. I shall say more on this subject in another place. At that time Aulíl was the great place for salt.

A.D. 990. A.H. 380. Intercourse established with Negroland, according to the statement of Leo.§

Zá Kasí, the 15th prince of the dynasty of the Zá, adopts Islám.

A.D. 1009. A.H. 400.

* Descr. dell' Africa, lib. vii., c. 1.

† For this highly important statement, see E'bn Khaldún, trans. by De Slane, vol. iii., p. 201.

‡ Journal Asiatique, i., 1842, p. 50.

§ Leo, l. vii., c. 1, even speaks of Negroland as if it had been quite unknown before his time, "furono scoperti."

Songhay.	Neighboring Kingdoms.
A.D. 1034. A.H. 426.	A'bú 'Abd Allah, son of Tifaut, surnamed Naresht, again unites under his sway all the Berber tribes of the desert; makes a pilgrimage; dies 429.
A.D. 1040. A.H. 432.	Warjábi, the Mohammedan apostle of Tekrúr, died. Among others, the inhabitants of Silla were converted by him.
A.D. 1043. A.H. 435.	Jinni is founded,* and soon becomes wealthy, owing to the trade in salt (from Tegháza) and gold (from Bítu).
A.D. 1048. A.H. 440.	'Abd Allah E'bn Yasín begins to teach and to reform.
A.D. 1052. A.H. 445.	Aúdaghost, which had become dependent upon Ghánata, conquered and ransacked by the Merábetín, the disciples of 'Abd Allah E'bn Yasín, in the same year as Sijilmésa.
A.D. 1055. A.H. 447.	Yahia E'bn 'Omár, chief of the Merábetín, dies, and is succeeded by his brother A'bú Bakr. The King of Ghánata, Tankámenín, son of the sister of Besí, an excellent king, evidently dependent on A'bú Bakr.
A.D. 1061. A.H. 453.	A'bú Bakr ben 'Omár makes an expedition on a grand scale against the Negro tribes.

A'bú 'Obaid Allah el Bekrí's invaluable Account of Negroland.

Gógó,† or Gágho (the capital of Songhay), consisting of two towns, one the residence of the king and the quarter of the Mohammedans, the other inhabited by idolaters.

The Mohammedan worship so predominant already that none but a Moslím could be king; nay, on the accession of a new king, three royal emblems, consisting of a ring, a sword, and a Kurán (مصحف), which were said to have been handed down from former times, having been sent by an Emír el Múmenín (evidently from Egypt), were given to him. Thus we see that already, at that early period, the King of Songhay was a Ruler of the Faithful, and the account of A'hmed Bábá, who dates Islám in this kingdom from the year 400, is confirmed in a remarkable manner. El Bekrí calls the then ruling king Kandá, and he is most probably identical with the Zá Bayuki or Bayarkoy Kaima (of A'hmed Bábá), the third successor of Zá Kasí.

Gógó already at that time was an important market place, chiefly for salt, which was brought from the Berber town Taútek, six days beyond Tademékka, which place was nine days from Gógó.

El Bekrí, besides Gógó, gives a very interesting account of Kúgha, but, unfortunately, he gives‡ no particulars with regard to its situation, except the distance of fifteen days from Ghánata, and espe-

A.D. 1067. A.H. 460. The Senhája, at this period, ruled over the whole western part of the desert, and spread Islám over the neighboring parts of Negroland, especially toward Ghánata.

Farther eastward, between the southerly bend of the Niger and the later town of A'gades, were the Seghmára, under the dominion of the Tademékka, who had a very large town (Tademékka), a great commercial centre, nine days from Gógó, and forty from Ghadámes.

Between Tademékka and Ghánata there was a commercial place of importance called Tirekka (see vol. iii., p. 438). Sáma and Hómbori, considerable seats of power.

* A'hmed Bábá, J. L. O. S., vol. ix., p. 528, seq. He describes the site of this important town in the most perspicuous and clear manner as being part of the year, from August to February, an island. The town was first founded in a place called Zagaru, on the south side of the southerly branch of the river, and therefore not identical with the Zaghári of E'bn Batúta. El Bekrí appears to have had no knowledge of Jinni.

† El Bekrí, ed. Macguckin de Slane, p. 183. The name بزركانيين, which the Arabs give to the inhabitants seems to have some connection with the surname of one of the successors of Sunni, Bázekin or Bázerkin.

‡ El Bekrí, 179. It is a great pity that just in this place the author, whose statements in general are distinguished by their clearness, should commit a palpable mistake, by placing Ambára (Hómbori) west of Ghánata.

Songhay. Neighboring Kingdoms.

cially neglects to determine its situation with regard to Gógó; but there is no doubt that it was identical with the Kúkíá of A'hmed Bábá, the old capital, Ca da Mosto's Cochia.*

This town, therefore, which was lying at the very outset of the Egyptian caravan road, already at that time was inhabited exclusively by Mohammedans, while all around were idolaters. It was the greatest market for gold in all Negroland, although the quality of the gold brought to Aúdaghost was better than that exported from Kúgha. Besides gold, salt, wod'a or shells (from Persia?), copper, and euphorbium (قربيون?) were the chief articles of trade.

A.D. 1076. A.H. 469. Ghánata conquered by the Senhája, and great part of the inhabitants, as well as the neighboring districts of Negroland, compelled by the Merábetín to embrace the Mohammedan faith.

A'bú Bakr ben 'Omár takes up his residence in this part of Negroland.

Toward the end of the fifth century of the Hejra, Timbúktu, or Túmbutu, founded by the I'móshagh (Tawárek), especially the tribes of the I'denán and the Imedídderen, after it had been for a time their occasional camping ground, just as was the case with A'rawán. First settlement at Bósebángo. It was at first a small market place for the inhabitants of the province of R'ad. (?)

A.D. 1087. A.H. 480. A'bú Bakr ben 'Omár dies.

Gógó, according to Edrísi, powerful, and dominating over the neighboring tracts; horses and camels; the nobility well dressed, having the face veiled; the common people wearing leathern frocks. The natives of Aújila already, at that period, carried on a spirited trade with Gógó (Edrísí, vol. i., p. 238).

A.D. 1153. A.H. 548. El Edrísi's account of Negroland, composed at this period, is not to be relied on in general, with the exception of a few instances, where he enters into particulars: for instance, the populous state of the towns of Silla and Tekrúr (Zágha), the latter being more populous and industrious; the salt mines of Aulíl, the only ones known at that time in Negroland! (p. 11); the rising of the Mandingo or Wángara race (the Wákoré), a name then first appearing. Very doubtful appear the following data: Tirki, or Tirekka, belonging to Wángara; even Kúgha, a dependence of Wángara, while at the same time Gógó—the real Gógó†—is said to have been absolute and independent. The great commercial importance of Wárgelá is confirmed, the inhabitants supplying Gógó with dates, and buying up the greater part of the gold brought there to market. Rice cultivated on the Niger, in the district of the Merása.

Ghánata ruled by a descendant of A'bú Táleb,‡ of the Zenágha tribe, who paid allegiance to the khalíf in the East; but, if we can believe Edrísi, he had still a large empire.

A.D. 1203. A.H. 600. Ghánata, having become very weak, is conquered by the Súsu, a tribe related to the Wákoré.

A.D. 1203. A.H. 600. The tribe or dynasty of the A'rúsíyin becomes powerful in the neighborhood of Waláta.

The inhabitants of Jinni, at least the ruling portion, including the king, adopt Islám.

Timbúktu (erroneously) stated by Leo Africanus§ to have been

A.D. 1213. A.H. 610. ? Baramindána, first Moslim king of Melle, styled King of Tek-

* Aloise Ca da Mosto, Navigazione, c. 14.

† Edrisi makes great confusion, produced by the similarity of the names Gógó or Kókó, Kúka (on the Fittri), and Kerker, but what he relates (i., p. 23) seems really to refer to Gógó.

‡ Edrisi, i., p. 61; compare Cooley, p. 66.

§ Leo, l. vii., c. 6. As it is certain that no king of the name Slimán ruled at that period over

Songhay.		Neighboring Kingdoms.
founded by Mansa Slímán. This is evident confusion, the reason of which is that Mansa Slímán, who reigned in the middle of the fourteenth century, restored Timbúktu after it had been plundered by the people of Mósi.		rúr by Makrízi, makes the pilgrimage.
	A.D. 1233 to 1234. A.H. 631 to 633.	With the death of E'bn Ghanía the domination of the great race of the Senhája ends.* The remains of this great tribe in the southern part of the desert (the Limtúna and Messúfa) [the latter as Meshedúf] are gradually reduced to the degraded condition of tributaries. Islám spreads east of the Niger, and the name Tekrúr appears in Kebbi, probably in connection with the town of Zágha (see Appendix VI.). *Bíru* or *Walàta* at that time the great emporium of Western Negroland.
A.D. 1235 to 1260. A.H. 633 to 658.		Mári Játah, King of Melle, on the upper Niger, conquers the Súsu, who at that time were masters of Ghánata. This is evidently the period of the beginning of the great commercial importance of Jinni, which now became a most powerful and wealthy state, as a well-frequented market of the Serracolets or Wakoré, Fúlbe, Jolof, Zenágha, the inhabitants of Western Tekrúr, and the Udáya.†
	A.D. 1259 to 1276. A.H. 658 to 675.	Mansa Wáli, son of Mári Játah, performs the pilgrimage to Mekka in the reign of Sultan Bibars.
	A.D. 1276. A.H. 675.	Mansa Wáli, brother of the latter. Mansa Khalífa succeeds him; of insane mind; is murdered by his people. Mansa A'bú Bakr.
Some authors, such as Makrízi (Opuscl. Mscr., fol. 129, r.), attribute to this chief the conquest of Gágho or Gógó, that is to say, Songhay, by the Mellians; but from the account of A'hmed Bábá it is clear that such was not the case.	A.D. 1310. A.H. 710.	Sákúra, or rather Sábkara, a usurper, made the pilgrimage to Mekka in the time of El Málík e' Násir.
	A.D. 1311 to 1331. A.H. 711 to 731.	Mansa Músa (properly Kunkur Músa), the greatest king of Melle, succeeds this usurper, develops the whole military and political power of that kingdom, which, according to the expressive terms of A'hmed Bábá,‡ the Songhay historian, possessed "an aggressive strength without measure or limit." While thus extending his dominion over an immense portion of Negroland, he kept on the very best terms with the Sultan A'bú 'l Hassan of El Mághreb (Morocco).
		Mansa Músa subjected to his dominion the four large territories of the Western part of Negroland; first, Bághena, formed out of the remnants of the kingdom of Ghánata, and including the whole inhabited country of Tagánet and A'derér; secondly, Zágha, or the Western Tekrúr, together with Silla; then Timbúktu, at that time still, as it seems, independent of Gógó; and finally Songhay, with its capital Gógó. Jinni, however, probably owing to its nearly insular character, seems not to have become subjected to Melle even at this period, although it was engaged in continual warfare.
It is probably at the period of this pilgrimage, and not before, that	A.D. 1326. A.H. 726.	Mansa Músa makes a pilgrimage to Mekka, with a very numerous

Melle, Mr. Cooley, in order to explain Leo's statement, supposed him to be a king of the Súsu.—*Negroland of the Arabs*, p. 67, seq.

* E'bn Khaldún, trans. by De Slane, vol. ii., p. 83. The same author, vol. ii., p. 160, seq., is the authority for the history of Melle. Comp. Cooley, "Negroland," p. 61, seq.

† De Barros, Asia, ed. Lisboa, 1778, l. i., c. 8, p. 220.

‡ A'hmed Bábá, in Journ. Leipsic Oriental Society, p. 530.

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both Songhay and Timbúktu became dependent on Melle, although the dependence was even at this time limited, the King of Songhay having, as it seems, quietly made his subjection on the approach of the host of Melle. Músa built a mosque and a mihráb outside the then town (Mohammedan quarter?) of Gógó.

Timbúktu also, as it would seem, surrendered without resistance,* and the King of Melle built here a palace (m'a-dugu), and the great mosque Jéngeré-bér, or Jám'a el kebíra, with the assistance of the same I's-hák, a native of Granáta (the "Granata vir artificissimus" of Leo, although commonly called e' Sáheli, as if he were a native of Morocco), who built his palace in Melle. That space of the town of Timbúktu included between the two great mosques, Jéngeré-bér in the southwestern and San-koré in the northern quarter, was at that time open and not inhabited. The mosque San-koré is generally stated to have been the oldest mosque in Timbúktu, although A'hmed Bábá, who only states that it was built at the expense of a rich wife, is not very explicit with regard to this circumstance.

Although Timbúktu thus lost its independence, it reaped a great advantage from becoming a portion of a powerful kingdom, and being thus well protected against any violence offered on the part of the neighboring Berber population; and in consequence the town increased rapidly, it becoming soon a market place of the first rank, so that the most respectable merchants from Misr, Fezzán, Ghadámes, Tawát, Tafilélet, Dar'ah, Fás, Sús, and other places gradually left Bíru or Waláta, and migrated to Timbúktu, although this was more frequently the case after the time of Sonní 'Alí.

The town of Timbúktu ransacked and destroyed by fire and sword by the King of Mósi, the garrison of Melle making their escape and giving up the town. The power of Mósi, which up to this time has

A.D. 1329. A.H. ? 730.

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cortége, resembling an army, and with great riches, going by way of Waláta and Tawát and returning by Gágho or Gógó.

Melle Proper seems to have had a double principle of government, one political and the other national. In political respects Melle was divided into two provinces, a northerly and a southerly one, probably divided by the Dhiúliba; the governor of the former being called Faraná (Farengh) Súra, the other Sangharzú-m'a.† But in national respects Melle formed three large provinces, Kála, Bennendúgu, and Sabardúgu, each with twelve chiefs or governors,‡ and each represented at court by an inspector; the inspector of the province of Kála was called Wafála-ferénghi. Kála comprised evidently the province next to Jinni, along the northern side of the river, including the towns of Sáre and Sáme; and the town of Kála itself, which formed the residence of the province, will be spoken of in the Appendix to this volume. Bennendúgu, also, the country of the Benni, known from other accounts, lay entirely on the S. side of the river, and Sabardúgu beyond, in the direction of the central portion of Melle. The important district Bitu or Bido seems to have been included in Melle Proper.

* The translation of Mr. Ralfs in the Journal of the Leipsic Oriental Society is here not correct. He translates "er bezwang Timbúktu," while the words of the author are طوع تنبكت. We do not know what part in these affairs the general, Sagminhu, bore, who, according to Ebn Khaldún's account, was stated by some of his informants to have achieved this conquest. There may have been partial resistance in Songhay.

† سنغرزو مع - فرنا سرا. The final "m'a," in Mandingo, corresponds exactly with the final "ma" in the Kanúri titles.

‡ It is a very remarkable fact that the titles mentioned by A'hmed Bábá are all formed by attaching to the name of a town the syllable "koy," which would seem to be of Songhay origin.

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always been the successful champion of paganism, is very remarkable at such an early period, but the date is not quite certain within a year or two. If the date given be right, it happened toward the end of the reign of Mansa Músa.

A.D. 1331 to 1335. A.H. 732 to 736. Mansa Mágha succeeds to his father Mansa Músa, and reigns four years.

The Songhay prince 'Alí Killun, or Kilnu, son of Zá Yásebí, escapes in the company of his brother from the court of Melle, where the princes had served as pages, Songhay owing allegiance to Melle at that period. Having safely reached his native country, Songhay Proper, with the capital Gógó, he makes himself independent in a certain degree from Melle by founding the dynasty of the Sonni.*

A.D. 1335. A.H. 736. Mansa Slímán, a brother of Músa and uncle of Mágha, succeeds to the throne of Melle, and restores the strength of the kingdom.

Timbúktu having been left, as it seems, to itself for seven years, relapses into a state of subjection or allegiance to Melle, and remains in this condition for the next 100 years.

A.H. 737. Mansa Slímán again takes possession of Timbúktu,† and even obliges Songhay Proper to acknowledge his supremacy.

A.H. 752. A king of Tekrúr makes a pilgrimage.‡

Travels of E'bn Batúta, who visits Waláta, the frontier province of Melle, and an important trading place, where at that time the Masúfa formed the higher class; thence, by way of Karsekho, he went to Melle, or Máli, the capital of the great empire, situated on a northerly creek of the Dhiúliba,§ whence he proceeded by land by way of Mímah to Timbúktu. A.D. 1352 1353. A.H. 753 754.

Timbúktu at that time was inhabited mostly by people of Mímah and by Tawárek (Moláthemín), especially Masúfa, who had a head man of their own, while the Melle governor was Farba Músa.

E'bn Batúta embarked in Timbúktu, or rather Kábara, and went along the river to Gógó, evidently at that time the common highroad of travelers. Gógó at that period was in a certain degree dependent on Melle.

The town of Tademékka, or rather Súk, in the territory of the Tademékket, had by this time evidently lost a great deal of its importance.

A.D. 1359. A.H. 760. Mansa E'bn Slímán reigned nine months.

A.D. 1360. A.H. 761. Mansa Játah, son of Mansa Mágha, ascended the throne.

A.D. 1360. A.H. 762. The same king sent an embassy to A'bú el Hassan of Morocco.

The fact of Mari Játah conquering Tekádda, at that time the commercial entrepôt between Songhay and Egypt, also mentioned by E'bn Batúta, shows clearly

A.D. 1373. A.H. 775. Mansa Músa (II.), son of the latter, a weak king, the vizier Mári Játah usurping the power and conquering Tekádda (the trading place spoken of on a former occa-

* A'hmed Bábá says (p. 524), "'Alí Killun put an end to the supremacy of Melle over Songhay. After his death his brother ruled, Silman Nár. Their dominion was limited to Songhay and the neighboring districts."

† The date seems to be certain, for if A'hmed Bábá had only known that the second dominion of the kings of Melle over Timbúktu, which they lost in the year 837, had lasted 100 years, we might doubt about the fact that the epoch began exactly with the year 737, but the author gives the precise date of that very year. I therefore prefer his arrangement to the arguments of Mr. Ralfs, p. 582.

‡ Makrízi, Notes et Extraits, vol. xii., p. 638, *note*.

§ Cooley, "Negroland," p. 79.

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that he was master of Songhay, and exercised over it a certain degree of supremacy. Timbúktu, as Timbuch, appears in the *Mappamondo Catalan*—the first time that it becomes known to Europeans.

Timbúktu conquered by the I'móshagh (probably not the Masúfa, at that time not yet blended with the Arabs, and who had always been powerful in that place) under A'kil (Eg Malwal). The people of Melle had been so much weakened by continual inroads that they retired before the greater force, and were driven out forever. A'kil, however, did not reside in the town, preferring a nomadic life; but he installed as governor, or Túmbutu-koy, Mohammed Násr, a Senháji from Shingít, who had also taken part in the government of the town under the rule of Melle. This Mohammed Násr built the mosque Yáhia in Timbúktu, which was called after his friend the Weli Yáhia from Tádelest. To the Túmbutu-koy belonged the third part of all taxes and of the whole revenue of the town. In the beginning the rule of the Tawárek, which, according to the distinct statement of A'hmed Bábá, never extended beyond the river, was mild; but gradually they became overbearing, using even violence toward the wives of the inhabitants, and offending 'Omár, the son and successor of Mohammed Násr, by cheating him out of his revenue.

Timbúktu, or Túmbutu, an important entrepôt for the salt-trade.

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sion, vol. i., p. 365) for a short time.

A.D. 1387. A.H. 789. Mansa Mágha, brother of the preceding king, succeeds to the throne; is killed after a reign of about a year.

A.D. 1388. A.H. 790. Another usurper.

A.D. 1390. A.H. 792. Mahmúd, a descendant of Mári Játah, the first king.

A.D. 1431. A.H. 835. A king of Tekrúr makes a pilgrimage, dies in the town of Tór, in the peninsula of Sinai.

A.D. 1433. A.H. 837. The empire of Melle begins gradually to decline, the power being divided among three, or rather five, separate parties, the governors of each of the three national provinces and the two governors of the political provinces; the Tawárek at the same time spreading devastation every where.

A.D. 1448. A.H. 852. The Portuguese Company for opening the trade along the coast of Africa is established.

A.D. 1454. A.H. 860. Melle, in the account of Aloise Ca da Mosto, still a very powerful kingdom, the most powerful in the whole of Negroland, including the whole of the Gambia, and most important for the commerce of gold, the trade in which divided into three branches; one proceeding from Melle toward Kúkiá, and thence to Egypt; the other from Melle to Túmbutu, and thence to Tawát: the other likewise by way of Túmbutu, but thence to Wadán (Oden), which then was a very important place, not only for gold, but also for the slave-trade.* Timbúktu already at that time was a very important entrepôt for the salt, which all came from the mines of Tegháza.

A.D. 1460. A.H. 865–6. The town of A'gades built, according to Marmol (see vol. i., p. 361), and nothing is more probable than that this commercial entrepôt was built about this time, perhaps a few years later, as it is Sonni 'Alí who is said to have destroyed the very important market-place of Tademékka, which for many centuries had carried on the commerce between the Niger and Egypt.

* Ca da Mosto, Prima Navigazione, c. 13. With regard to Oden, see c. 10; for Timbúktu, c. 12.

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Sonni 'Alí, son of Sonni Mohammed D'aú, "the great tyrant and famous miscreant," but a king of the highest historical importance for Negroland, the sixteenth of the Sonni, ascended the throne in Gágho, and changed the whole face of this part of Africa by prostrating the kingdom of Melle. A.D. 1464–5. A.H. 869.

Invited by 'Omár, the Túmbutu-kóy, Sonni 'Alí marches against Timbúktu, which had never before belonged to Songhay Proper. While his horsemen appear on the south side of the river, A'kil makes his escape toward Bíru or Waláta. Sonni 'Alí then, instead of attacking immediately the town of Timbúktu, went first to El Hódh, the southwestern province of Waláta. Having thence returned to Timbúktu, from whence 'Omár also, the Túmbutu-koy, had meanwhile fled to Bíru,* he ransacked and plundered the town, and made a terrible havoc among its inhabitants, even surpassing that which took place on the occasion of the pagan king of Móshi conquering the town. Sonni 'Alí seems especially to have exercised some cruelty against the learned men. But, notwithstanding, the town seems soon to have recovered from this blow, for it was in the latter part of this century that it became more densely inhabited than before. But the reason was that, in consequence of the conquests of Sonni 'Alí, the Arab merchants from the north broke off their traffic with Ghánata or Waláta (Bíru), and instead began to visit the markets of Timbúktu and Gógó. A.D. 1468–9. A.H. 873.

Waláta or Bíru becomes insignificant, all the merchants emigrating to Timbúktu and Gógó.

Sonni 'Alí conquered Bághena, that is, the centre or original part of the ancient kingdom of Ghánata and the later Waláta, but satisfied himself with making the chief of that country his tributary. Sonni 'Alí then made Jinni likewise tributary, which place had not been conquered even by the kings of Melle, and he there likewise caused an immense bloodshed. Jinni was at that time highly flourishing through its industry in native cloth.† At a later time the first A'skíá held the King of Jinni as a prisoner in his capital. (Leo, l. vii., c. 3.)

In the southwestern part of the desert the Berabísh and the Udáya struggling for the predominance. The Zenágha already in a degraded position.

It must have been Sonni 'Alí to whom João II. of Portugal sent an embassy; and it was evidently that king who allowed the Portuguese to establish a factory in Wadán, or Hóden, which however they did not preserve for a long time, the place being too barren and at too considerable a distance from the coast. But nevertheless the establishment of this factory is a very remarkable fact.

A.D. 1471. A.H. 876. The coast of Guinea explored by the Portuguese.

A.D. 1481. A.H. 886. Alfonso V. dies; is succeeded by the still more energetic João II. The Portuguese build Elmina, the first European establishment on the coast of Guinea.

A.D. 1488. A.H. 894. The Jolof prince, Bemoy, came to Portugal, and communicated so much information with regard to the nations of the interior of Africa, especially the Mósi, who, according to him, had much in common with Christians, that he excited the greatest interest. It was supposed that the King of Mósi was the long-sought Prester John. Ogane is the native royal title of the King of Mósi. In consequence, from this time forward, nu-

* From A'hmed Bábá we learn nothing more respecting the fate of 'Omár; but we see in another passage that Sonni 'Alí imprisoned Al Mukhtár, another son of Mohammed Násr, who, from what follows, it is evident was Túmbutu-koy.

† De Barros, in the highly interesting passage, i., l. 3, c. 12, p. 257; and the curious report of the German Valetin Ferdinand, by Kunstmann, in Abhandlungen der K. Baier., Akad., cl. iii., vol. viii., first section a, 1856. It is, however, remarkable that the German author, although he speaks of Wadán, does not say any thing of it ever having been a factory.

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merous messengers were sent into the interior by the King João from different quarters, and a nearer alliance seems to have been concluded with the King of the Mandingoes, although it was well understood in Portugal at that time that the empire of the Mellians had fallen to ruin.

Sonni 'Alí was drowned in a torrent on his return from an expedition against Gurma, after having conquered the Zoghorán* (not Zaghwána) and the *Fullán*. 5th November, A.D. 1492. 15th Mohar., A.H. 898.

The power of the tribe of the Fullán in those quarters, in the south of Songhay, at so early a date, is of the highest interest; in the west they are noticed at the same period repeatedly by De Barros.†

The army of the deceased king proceeded from B'anebi (Ben'aba? the capital of Gurma; see Appendix VI., p. 647) to Dangha, evidently the place (Denga) touched at by myself on my journey, and here A'bú Bakr D'aú, son of Sonni 'Alí, ascended the throne. But Mohammed, son of A'bú Bakr, a native of Songhay ("Nigrita"—Leo) and officer of Sonni, collected his party and marched against the new king. But having attacked him at Dangha, he was beaten, when he escaped to the neighborhood of Gágho, where he collected again his army, and vanquished the king in a most sanguinary but decisive battle. Sonni A'bú Bakr D'aú fled to Abar (Adar?), where he died. 2 Jumad, A.H. 898.

Mohammed ben A'bú Bakr, surnamed e' Thúri, on ascending the throne with the titles Emír el Múmenín and Khalífa el Moslemín, adopted as royal title A'skíá or Síkkia.‡ Thus the dynasty of a foreign family, Libyan, Coptic, or Himyaritic, was supplanted by a native Songhay and African (e tornò el dominio nei Negri), although it leaned more toward Islám and Mohammedan learning than the former one, for A'skíá was a friend of the learned and followed their advice. 14 Jum. II., A.H. 898.

The first thing which this great Songhay king felt it incumbent to do was to give his subjects some repose, by reducing his army and allowing part of the people to engage in pacific pursuits, all the inhabitants having been employed by Sonni 'Alí in warlike purposes.

Altogether it does not appear exaggerated what A'hmed Bábá says of this distinguished king, that "God made use of his service in order to save the true believers (in Negroland) from their sufferings and calamities."

Immediately after his accession to power, A'skíá sent for his brother 'Omár, from Bíru or Waláta, which place already at this time had so totally merged into a Songhay province that the Songhay idiom, at least in the higher circles, where a traveler like Leo was likely to move about, had become the common language. "Questa gente," says Leo of the inhabitants of Waláta, "usa un certo linguaggio detto Sungai."§ A'skíá then made his brother, in whom he had implicit confidence, Túmbutu-koy, in the place of‖ Al Mukhtár ben Mohammed Násr.

The Songhay language extends as far as Waláta and Jinni.

He then sent his older brother, likewise called 'Omár, but with the surname Kumzághu,¶ the Feréng of Kúrmina, who conquered the important town of Zágha, and made war against "Bukr m'a," A.D. 1494. End of A.H. 899.

* See what I have said respecting the tribe of the Zoghorán or Jawambe, p. 129.

† See De Barros, in the passage mentioned before, "Rey dos Fullos."

‡ The origin of this name, as stated by A'hmed Bábá, is not very probable; but although it is true that "A'skíá" was rather a royal title, which the founder of this new dynasty adopted, nevertheless, in Negroland, the popular name of this great ruler and conqueror is nothing but A'skíá, and that was the reason why Leo calls him only by this name, changing it into Ischia.

§ Leo, l. vi., c. 2, p. 138, ed. Venezia, 1837.

‖ These words Mr. Ralfs (p. 533) has neglected to translate.

¶ Whether this 'Omár received his surname Kumzághu only from the circumstance of his taking

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(Burkum'a?), evidently a Mandingo governor of the empire of Melle. He also, according to Leo, imprisoned the ruler of Jinni, whom Sonni 'Alí had allowed to reside in his own capital, and kept him during his lifetime a prisoner in Gágho, ruling Jinni by means of a governor.

Having thus not only consolidated, but even extended the empire, the first A'skíá undertook a pilgrimage to Mekka, which brought him into contact with the princes and learned men of the East, and made him more famous than any other of his enterprises. The most distinguished men of all the tribes under his command accompanied him on his great journey, especially the great Weli Múr Sáleh Júr, a Wákoré, native of the town of Tutálna,† in the province of Tindírma, and 1500 armed men, 1000 on foot and 500 on horseback. He took with him 300,000 mithkál, but behaved so generously that, according to Leo, he was obliged to contract a loan of 150,000 mithkál more. He had an official investiture performed by the Sherí'f el 'Abási, as Khalífa in Songhay, and took the advice of the most learned and pious men, such as Jelál e' Soyúti. He also founded a charitable institution in Mekka for the people of Tekrúr.

20th Sept., A.D. 1495. A.H. 901. Safer, A.H. 902.

João II., the indefatigable king of Portugal, died, whose spirit found no repose but in promoting the welfare of his people, and in distant discoveries, especially in Africa. As we learn from an occasional hint in De Barros,* this king had already sent an embassador to the Mansa of Melle.

Háj Mohammed A'skíá returned to Gágho.

August, A.D. 1497–8. Dhu el Hajja, A.H. 600.

Háj Mohammed undertakes an expedition, or a formal jihád, against N'asi, the Sultan of Mósi, having sent the Weli Múr Sáleh Núr as an embassador to that king, in order to induce him to embrace Islám. But the Mósi people having consulted the souls of their ancestors, and refused to change their native worship, A'skíá devastated their country. He came back from this expedition in Ramadhán.

A.D. 1498–9. A.H. 904.

He (himself or 'Othmán) then conquered the country of Bághena, the ancient seat of the empire of Ghánah or Ghánata, the king of which had already been made tributary by Sonni 'Alí, and slew the Féllani (Púllo) chieftain Damba-dumbi. We therefore at this early period find the Fúlbe very powerful, as well in the south (Gurma, see p. 666) as in the northwest; while from De Barros we learn that their power in the southwest was not less great. The Songhay king made an expedition against Abairu (?), and deprived him of his kingdom.‡

A.D. 1499–1500. A.H. 905.

A.D. 1500. A.H. 906.

A'skíá then sent his brother 'Omár Kumzághu against Melle, where the Káíd Kám Fati Kalliyen seems to have exercised at the time supreme power; but 'Omár not feeling himself strong enough to take the town of Zillen or Zalna, where the court of Melle seems to have been, he sent for the king himself, encamping meanwhile in a place called Tánfaren, a little to the east from Zillen. Háj Mohammed A'skíá then came in person, vanquished the káíd, destroyed the town, together with the palace of the King of Melle, and sold the inhabitants into slavery.

A.D. 1501. A.H. 907.

the town of Zágha, we can not decide: but there is no doubt that he must be distinguished from the other brother of the same name, else A'hmed Bábá would be guilty of an absurdity. We never find that a governor of the important province of Kúrmina was at the same time Túmbutu-koy; and the difference of the two individuals is quite evident, for 'Omár Kumzághu died 926, and 'Omár son of Bú Bakr—that is to say, his other brother—the Túmbutu-koy, 928. See farther down.

* De Barros, i., 1 iii., c. 12, p. 257, dizendo (the later Mansa, in Manuel's time) que havia em boa ventura ser lhe enviado este mensajeiro, porque a seu avô que tinha a seu proprio nome fora, enviado otro mensajeiro do otro Rey D. João de Portugal.

† Tukalna, as the name is given by Ralfs, is wrong.

‡ In the Gibla, the southwestern district of the great desert, there is a tribe of the name Welád Abéri.

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According to Leo,* A'skiá made the whole of Melle tributary, laying such a heavy tribute upon that ruler that he entirely tied his hands. Nevertheless the capital of Melle still at that time was a flourishing place, and the largest town in Negroland, containing about 6000 dwellings. Perhaps this is the town called Zillen or Zalna by A'hmed Bábá.

In the same year Háj Mohammed A'skiá sent an expedition against Bargú, or, as it is more justly called, Barbú,† the country inclosed between Gurma, Yóruba, and the great river. The inhabitants of this country being a very warlike set of people, the struggle appears to have been very violent; and although A'hmed Bábá does not seem to intimate the whole of the result, yet it is clear, from the fact that the Songhay king was occupied with Bargú for the next four or five years, that he met with great resistance; this is also clearly indicated by traditions still extant in that country, the name Bargú being generally derived from the Songhay words five (go), horses (beri), "five horses" being the only remnant of an army led into the country by the Songhay king. Such a state of things is also clearly indicated by another document.‡

'Alí Ghajídéni, the powerful king of Bórnu (see vol. ii., p. 589), about this time probably undertook his expedition to the south-western frontier of his large empire, beyond the Kwára, in order to protect it against the encroachments of his powerful contemporary the Songhay king.

The Songhay king made an expedition against Kelinbút. The following years no expedition seems to have been undertaken, the A'skiá being busy with the internal affairs of his extensive empire, which extended from Kebbi in the east as far as the present country of Kaarta, and from Bennendúgu as far as Tegháza. It appears that he staid the greater part of this period near Timbúktu, where he was evidently *when Leo visited* this part of Africa, who thought Timbúktu to be his usual residence, but nevertheless was fully aware, although he did not clearly express it, that Gágho was his other residence: "Questo signor fu preso dal detto Izchia e tenuto in *Gágo* fino alla morte," l. vii., c. 3, at the end. The A'skiá staid in Kábara, "the well-known harbor," when he heard of the learned man, the Fákih Mahmúd, having come to Gágho, and he immediately embarked and went there by water, for almost all the intercourse between Timbúktu and the whole western quarter, on the one side, and the centre of the Songhay empire with its capital, on the other, was along the river. A.D. 1506. A.H. 912.

Háj Mohammed sends the B'akukurakoy 'Alí Fulánu and Belgha Mohammed Kirí against M'a Futa§ Kaitál, the Fereng of Bághena, who had revolted. A.D. 1511. A.H. 917.

Háj Mohammed, always extending his empire farther westward, marched against a powerful chieftain, All'aín‖ Almatní Tíndhar, and slew him in Zárú. This is a highly interesting expedition, A.D. 1512. A.H. 918.

* This is probably the meaning of the words of Leo, l. vii., c. 4.

† This true native form of the name of that country A'hmed Bábá gives himself. At the time when I made the excerpts I did not identify the name, having misspelled it Barka; but the form Barbú is quite decisive.

‡ Appendix to Clapperton's Second Expedition, p. 338. "And it is recorded that, when the equitable Prince Hadgi Mohammed Allah-kaja (A'skiá) ruled over this province, he could gain no advantage over them."

§ ماغن فرن مع نت، كيتال. The name is remarkable; "m'a," a Mandingo word; it may belong to the title "fereng," as a sort of tautology.

‖ اللعين المشى تينصر. It is not improbable that the name All'ain expresses the national term Dhelian or Dhelianke, to whom this founder of the new dynasty in Fúta Tóro belonged.

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as the results of it exercised a powerful influence as far as the coast, where the enterprising Portuguese were at that time establishing their power. For it happened just at the time that Kolli, All'aín's eldest son, was absent on an expedition, and when he heard of the fate of his father he fled with his army to Fúta, which at that time belonged to the King of Jolof, and endeavored to assume the sovereign power, in which attempt he succeeded by the slaughter of the King of Jolof. The country of Jolof thus became divided between Kolli (Kolli Salti [Sáttigi?] Tíndhar) and Dúmala (Dámil, a common title, the Temala of the Portuguese), the most powerful of the governors of the former king of Jolof.		The Portuguese in the Senegal quite surprised at the great flame of war (incendo di guerra) which at that time ravaged all the countries from east to west.*
At the end of this year, the Songhay king marched against Kátsena, and returned from thence in the first Rebí of the following year. This is an extraordinary short time for so distant an expedition, even if he had been residing in the easternmost part of his empire at the time when he undertook it. Nevertheless, if we can believe Leo, the A'skíá conquered not only Kátsena, but also Góber (which already at that time had a very large capital and a good trade, and considerable industry, especially in leather work), Zánfara, Zegzeg, Kanó, and almost the whole of Háusa;† but it would almost appear to me as if Leo in this case had confounded A'skíá with Kanta, the ruler of Kebbi.	A.D. 1513. A.H. 919.	Kolli founded a powerful Negro dynasty, and was succeeded by his son Yuríma, to whom succeeded Kalábi (Kolli Labbe) Batára, a most excellent prince, celebrated on account of his piety and justice; then followed Kata, son of Yuríma. The Portuguese, under D'Ataide, take possession of Azemmúr.
About the end of this year the A'skíá marched against Al-'Adálct, the King of A'gades, and returned from thence the	A.D. 1514. A.H. 920. A.D. 1515. A.H. 921.	The Háusa States become important—Korórofa. The Portuguese occupy Tednest.

* The following is the highly interesting account which we have received from De Barros (*Asia*, i., l. 3, c. 12, p. 258) of this great commotion: "E não somente per estes e per Pero d' Evora, mas ainda per hum Mem Royz escudeiro de sua casa e per Pero de Astuniga seu moço d' esporas que elle levava por companheiro, mandou El Rey algunas vezes recados a El Rey de Tungubutu e ao mesmo *Temalá* (Damil) que se chiamava Rey dos Fullos. O qual Temalá nestes tiempos foi nas quellas partes *hum incendio de guerra* levantandose da parte do Sol ex huma Comarca chamada Futa con tanto numero de gente que seccavam hum rio quando a elle chegavam; e assiera esquivo e barbaro este açoute d' aquella gente pagã que assolava quanto se lhe punha diante. E como con vesta ferocidade tinha feito grande damno emos amigos e servidores del Rey, principalmente a el Rey de Tungubutu, Mandi Mansa, Uli Mansa mandou lhe per algunas vezes seus recados de amizade, e outros de rogo sobre os negocios da guerra que tinha com estes." It is highly interesting to see how the course of affairs in this quarter confirms all that we know from other sources. Thus M. le Colonel Faidherbe, at present governor of the Senegal, in opposition to common tradition, which would have carried back the foundation of the new dynasty in Fúta, which he well understood proceeded from the east, to the middle of the fourteenth century, arrives at the conclusion that it must have been established about the year 1500.—*Bulletin de la Soc. Géogr.*, iv., p. 281.

† Leo heard this report evidently from merchants, and in a very exaggerated manner, for A'hmed Bábá would be guilty of inaccuracy beyond measure, if he had forgotten to mention a second expedition which Háj Mohammed, according to Leo's account, undertook three years after the first; nay, such an expedition is totally impossible, on account of the hostility of Kanta, the ruler of Kebbi, who made himself independent of Songhay the second year after the expedition to Kátsena, and there was no road from Songhay to Kanó except through Kebbi.

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following year, having driven out, as we know from other sources,* the Berber tribes, and transplanted there a good many of his own people, although the Songhay language may have been spoken there before this period. However, it is evident from Leo's account,† who seems to know nothing of this expedition, that the King of A'gades paid tribute to A'skíá already before this time. At all events, this was the highest pitch of power to which not only Háj Mohammed himself, but the A'skiás in general attained; for, on his return from this expedition, Kanta, the Governor of Léka, in the province of Kebbi, who owed him allegiance, and who had accompanied him in this war, demanded his share in the booty, which probably was very great, and not being satisfied, rose against him, and vanquished him in a great battle, after which he made himself independent of Songhay, and was successful, A'skíá, who marched against him the following year, being obliged to retrace his steps without having obtained the slightest success. It is therefore next to impossible that A'skíá achieved the conquest of the Háusa provinces, as described by Leo.

A.D. 1516. A.H. 922. Kanta founds an independent kingdom in Kebbi. Starting from Birni-n-Duggul, in the province of Kátsena, he took up his residence first in Gungu, then in Suráme, and finally in Léka.

A.D. 1517. A.H. 923. Kanta vindicates his independence of Songhay.

Háj Mohammed again visited the western part of his empire, and on the 15th Ramadhán staid in Timbúktu. A.D. 1518. A.H. 924.

The name Songhay, not mentioned by former authors, becomes conspicuous, being employed as well by Leo as by De Barros.

The king resided again in Songhay Proper, and was in Sankar, a place beyond Kúkíá, when he learned the death of his beloved brother 'Omár Kumzághu, to whom he was so much indebted for the stability of his rule. He then invested another brother, named Yáhia, with the governor- or ferengship of Kúrmina, which certainly was the most important province of the empire. A.D. 1520. A.H. 926.

Háj Mohammed lost another brother, 'Omár the Túmbutu-koy (see p. 667), and thus having been deprived of his most faithful servants, and having passed the prime of life, became the plaything of his overbearing sons, the intrigues taking a more open turn after some affair in Banku or Bango, the character of which is not quite clear. A.D. 1521–2. A.H. 928. A.D. 1524–5. A.H. 931.

At length affairs assumed such a serious character that the heir-apparent, or Feréngmangha Háj Músa, the eldest son of the king, who had accompanied him on his pilgrimage, threatened to kill him; so that the aged Mohammed fled to Tindírma, and placed himself under the protection of his brother Yáhia. The latter then seems to have brought about some understanding among the members of the royal family; for in the following year we find the old king again in Gágho, when Músa revolted openly against his father, and went with some of his brothers to Kúkíá. Yáhia, the Feréng of Kúrmina, being again requested by his brother to interfere between him and his sons, came to Gágho, and was sent by the latter to Kúkíá, but was openly attacked by the mutinous children and murdered. Músa then, seeing that his father was powerless, returned to Gágho, and toward the end of the year, on the great holiday, forced him to abdicate, after a reign of thirty-six years and six months. Nevertheless, he left him in his palace, while he himself staid in his own house. Háj Mohammed A'skíá, as A'hmed Bábá says, was too great (or too mild) to rule a (turbulent) country like Songhay. A.D. 1527–8. A.H. 934. A.D. 1528–9. A.H. 935.

* See vol. i., p. 363, seq.

† Leo, l. vii., c. 9.

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That the extent of the empire in its prime, was not exaggerated by the author of the History of Songhay is clear from the account of Múláy A'hmed's expedition.		
A'skiá Músa began his bloody and restless reign by endeavoring to murder all his brothers, and pursued them to Kúrmina, where they had taken refuge under the protection of the governor of that province, 'Othmán Jubábu, another son of Háj Mohammed; but he forced them all to decamp, together with the governor of the province himself, as well as the Governor of Banku or Bango, and other great men. The aged 'Alí Fulánu, who had accompanied El Háj Mohammed on his pilgrimage, fled to Kanó.*	A.D. 1529. A.H. 935.	
Músa, having returned to Gágho, continued the attempt to murder his remaining brothers, as far as he was able to lay his hands on them, while they, on their part, endeavored to rid themselves of their tormentor, so that he had not a moment's rest.	A.D. 1533. A.H. 940.	'Abd el Kerím ben Maghíli, from Bú 'Alí, in Tawát, the great apostle of Middle Negroland, where he is stated to have transplanted the power formerly grafted upon Songhay, is said to have died this year. If this be really the case, as it would seem to be, a former passage in my work about this distinguished man (vol. i., p. 476) has to be altered a little.
At this period the Portuguese sent presents to the King of Melle, who was reduced to the western provinces of his empire, and therefore is now styled Mandi Mansa, and who then waged war with Temalá (the Dámil, rey dos Fullos; see above). The Portuguese endeavored also to open communication with the King of Mósi (el rey dos Moses), of whose power they had received reports, but from the wrong side, namely, from Benín. The King of Mósi was then waging war with the Mandi Mansa.		
In this sanguinary reign, it is cheering to find that the Portuguese sent an embassy, among the other princes in the interior, also to a nephew of this Músa, King of Songhay,† from the side of Mina, or Elmina, their colony on the Gold Coast.	A.D. 1534. A.H. 941.	
Músa died. Mohammed Bánkoré, son of 'Omár Kumzághu, was made A'skíá in a place called Mansúr. This cruel prince drove the old Háj Mohammed from the royal palace, where even Músa had left him, and imprisoned him in a place called Kankáka. Mohammed Bánkoré was a warlike prince, but he was not successful in his career, nor was he a favorite with the people. He marched against Kanta, but was totally routed at a place called Wentermása (a Berber name), and fled most ingloriously, having a	A.D. 1535–6. A.H. 942.	The power of the kingdom of Kebbi more firmly established. But after the death of the first Kanta, the founder of the dynasty, his two sons, Kanna and Himáddu, fight for the royal power, when Himáddu is said to have driven

* In this instance also it is not certain whether the town of Kanó be meant, or whether that name at the time attached only to the whole province.

† "Tamben per via da fortaleza da Mina mandarão a Mohamed bem Manzugue e neto de Mussa Rey de Songo, que de huma Cidade das mais populosas daquella grao Provincia a que nos communemente chamamos Mandinga, a qual Cidade jaz no parallelo do Cabo das palmas, mettida dentro no sertão per distancia de cento e quarenta leguas, segundo a sctuaçao das taboas da nossa Geografia." —De Barros, *Asia*, l. c., p. 259. That nephew of Músa, therefore, was evidently governor of the former principal province of the kingdom of Melle. "The king," says De Barros farther on, "was not a little surprised at the King of Portugal sending him presents." It is very probable that among these presents were the articles of Portuguese workmanship mentioned by the author of the memoir to Philip II., on the power of Múláy e' Dhchebi, as found by the Maroccains among the spoil of Gágho. See lower down.

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very narrow escape through the waters of the Niger.

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back the former with the aid of the Fúlbe.

He then marched against Gurma, and sent Mári Tamiza, the Feréng of Dendi, against the enemy. But the latter, having laid in chains all the leading men in the army, deposed the king, 2d Dhu el K'ada (12th April), and installed Ismá'aíl, a son of Háj Mohammed, on the throne as A'skíá. A.D. 1536. A.H. 943.

Ismá'aíl brought his aged father from Kankáka back to Gágho, where he died in the night preceding the 'Aíd el Fotr, and was buried in the great mosque. In the same year Ismá'aíl went to Dire.* A.D. 1537. A.H. 944.

A'skíá Ismá'aíl then marched against the Bakabóki (the chief of Bojjo?), in Gurma, and killed and carried into slavery a great many people, so that a slave in Gágho fetched not more than 300 shells. A.H. 945.

A'skíá Ismá'aíl, a very energetic and much-respected king, unfortunately reigned too short a period, and died after a reign of not more than two years, nine months, six days, in the month of Rejeb (October or November). A.D. 1539. A.H. 946.

The army, which had just marched out upon an expedition, made I's-hák, another son of Háj Mohammed, A'skíá, on the 16th Sh'abán. The new king proved a very stern master, the severest king who ruled over Songhay; but he made himself also respected by his enemies, even in the most distant quarter. Thus, in the third year of his reign, he marched against Yaghaba (not Baghaba), the most distant place of the sultans of Banduk, or Bennendúgu, on the remotest southwesterly branch of the Niger; and two years later he waged war on the opposite side of his vast dominions against Kúkurkáb (Kokoy-Kábi?),† in the territory of Dendi. A.D. 1542. A.H. 949. A.D. 1544. A.H. 951.

About this time Mohammed, the ruler of Bórnu, fought a celebrated and sanguinary battle with the King of Kebbi, probably Tómo, who founded here a new and large capital, Birní-n-Kebbi. (See vol. ii., p. 590.)

In the course of this year I's-hák sent his brother Dáúd, the Feréng of Kúrmina, against Melle. A.D. 1545. A.H. 952.

The Sultan (Mansa) of Melle, who, having been reduced to the position of a tributary chief by the great Háj Mohammed, seems to have conceived the hope of making himself again independent under his successors, left his palace and fled, and Dáúd remained for seven days in the capital, defiling the honor of the royal palace in the grossest manner.

At the same time, this energetic Songhay king showed his power to Múláy A'hmed, the powerful ruler of Morocco, who, looking about for a fresh source of strength, cast a longing eye on Negroland, and requested the A'skíá to deliver up to him the salt mines of Tegháza; whereupon I's-hák sent an army of 2000 Tawárek to Dar'a, who plundered the market of the Benú A'saj without shedding any blood. But the Songhay king was destined soon to succumb; and, having fallen sick, died in Kúkíá, where he had gone in the beginning of that year, on the 24th Safar (24th March), after a reign of nine years and six months, having named as his successor Dáúd, then governor of Kúrmina, who was fortunate enough to arrive before I's-hák's death. A.D. 1549. A.H. 956.

Dáúd having ascended the throne in Kúkíá one day before the death of I's-hák, returned to Gágho on the 1st Rebí I. Dáúd was a very

* This phrase, و فيها ذهب الى بر has not been translated by Mr. Ralfs.

† There seems little doubt that the name Kábi is here implied, although A'hmed Bábá himself uses the form Kebbi, and he adds that it was the name of a locality, "makán;" but the author had very little knowledge of these easterly regions, and probably did not know the relation of Kebbi—which he generally designates as the territory of Kanta—to Dendi, the name commonly given to this province east of the Niger.

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peaceable king, and undertook no expedition at all. He resided toward the end of his life a long time in Tindírma, the capital of the province of Kúrmina, where he had a palace, and kept a large establishment. A'skiá Dáúd, who is said by the Imám e' Tekrúri, as cited by De Slane,* to have imitated the example of his father, Háj Mohammed, died after a reign of nearly thirty-four (lunar) years.	A.D. 1553. A.H. 960.	Sídi 'Omár e' Sheikh, the great ancestor of the family of El Bakáy, died in the district Gídi or Igídi.
El Háj, or El Háj Mohammed, then ascended the throne, being the eldest son of Dáúd, and named after his grandfather, whom he is said to have equaled in the qualities of bravery and patient endurance, although he remained far behind in success, and was plunged from the beginning of his reign in civil war, which began to rage the very day of his accession to the throne, the Feréng Mohammed Bánkoré preparing to oppose him; but, fortunately, the latter was induced by the Fáki Mohammed, the Kádhi of Timbúktu, to give up his pretensions, in order to apply himself to study. He was then arrested and lodged in the state prison in Kantú.	A.D. 1582. A.H. 990.	
Then El Hádi, son of A'skiá Dáúd, and brother of El Háj, whom, as the most faithful, the king had intrusted with the government of Kúrmina, revolted, left Tindírma, and marched against the capital, Gágho. He even succeeded in entering the town in the night before the 4th Rebi-el-awel, clad in a coat of mail, and preceded by a trumpet, drum, and other insignia of royal power, while the A'skiá, who at the time was very weak and sick, was seized with fear of losing his throne; but through the aid of Híki, the governor of the powerful province of Dendi, the revolt was overcome. El Hádi was thrown into the state prison at Kantú, and all his adherents were severely punished.	A.D. 1584. Safer, A.H. 992.	
While the empire was thus undermined by intestine civil wars, the great enemy who was to crush it from without approached from the north; but this time the danger passed by. Múláy Hámed, or A'hmed, in order to learn the real state of affairs in Tekrúr, and especially in Songhay, whose power could not fail to attract his attention, sent an embassy with costly presents; but the A'skiá received the messengers kindly, and sent a more valuable present in return, among other articles 80 eunuchs. But shortly after the departure of this embassy the rumor spread of Múláy Hámed having sent a large army, and this report was soon confirmed. The Emperor of Morocco sent a very numerous host, said to be 20,000† strong, in the direction of Wadán, at that time the general caravan road, with the order to conquer all the places along the river (the Senegal and Niger, probably, regarded together),‡ and thus to proceed toward Timbúktu, an order which clearly shows the immense extent of the Songhay empire even at that time; and the Imám e' Tekrúri§ distinctly states that, even at the time of its downfall, it comprised a region of six months in extent. But this time also		Together with Móshi, the ruler of Búsa, on the Niger, is mentioned by A'hmed Bábá under this reign as a powerful king. The power of Kebbi, therefore, probably had begun to decline.

* De Slane, in "La Revue Africaine," i., p. 291.

† The number may not be much exaggerated. It was probably this example which taught Múláy Hámed that a small, well-disciplined army was by far more useful for such a purpose than an undisciplined host.

‡ Most probably the people in Morocco had a very confused idea of the relation of the two great rivers of that region, the Senegal and Niger, with the ocean, and both rivers are here meant when Múláy Hámed ordered the army باخذ ما هناك من البلدان على شاطى البحر و امرهم.

§ Revue Africaine, i., 291.

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the danger passed by, the numbers of the army themselves causing its ruin in consequence of hunger and thirst. In order to take at least a slight revenge, the Sultan of Morocco then sent an officer with a small troop of musketeers to take possession of the salt mines of Tegháza, which at that time supplied the whole of Western Negroland with that necessary article,* and thus to deprive the inhabitants of Songhay of it.† It was in the month of Shawál (September) that the news reached Gágho that all intercourse with those salt mines had been cut off. It was then that people went and dug salt in Taödénni and other places.‡

While the danger was gathering from without, a new intestine war broke out, which does not appear to testify to the great courage and energy for which A'hmed Bábá praises this A'skíá. A.D. 1586. A.H. 994. The salt mines of Tegháza shut, and those of Taödénni opened on this occasion.§

For, in the last month of this year, the brothers of El Háj A'skíá revolted, and brought Mohammed Bána, another of the numerous sons of Dáúd, with them from Karé (كرى?) to Gágho, and, deposing El Háj, installed the former in his place as A'skíá, on the 4th Moharrem. El Háj, probably, notwithstanding his original bravery and energy, was suffering from disease all the time of his reign. He died (a natural death apparently) a few days after his deposition, having reigned four years and five months. A.D. 1587. A.H. 995.

Immediately after the accession of Mohammed Bána to the throne, a new conspiracy was formed, issuing from the state prisoners in Kantú, especially the two pretenders, El Hádi and Mohammed Bánkoré, and aiming at the installation of Núh, another son of Dáúd, the Farma of Bantal; but the rebellion was successfully suppressed, most of the conspirators killed, and Núh, together with his brother Mústapha, whom El Háj had designated as his successor (Feréngmangha), laid in chains, and imprisoned in the province of Dendi.

The Balm'a, Mohammed e' Sádik, son of A'skíá Dáúd, having punished the oppressive governor of Kábara, and vanquished his own brother Sáleh, the Feréng of Kúrmina (24 Rebí II.), and being joined by the troops of the latter, and by many other bodies of the great army of the West, the Feréng of Bághena, Mansa, the Hómborikoy, and others, left Kábara on the 1st Jumáda. A'skíá Mohammed Bána marched out of Gágho on the 12th, in order to meet the rebel, but died the same day, either from the effects of wrath, or in consequence of the heat of the weather and his own corpulency. He reigned one year, four months, and eight days. A.D. 1588. A.H. 996.

The day following the death of Mohammed Bána, the army having re-entered the town of Gágho, I's-hák, another son of Dáúd, ascended the throne as A'skíá. But the Pretender, having been

* The place Tagháza seems to have had a considerable population at that time, which shows the importance of this traffic. See Caillié, ii., p. 128.

† We see from this report the remarkable fact that the whole of Songhay at that time was provided from Tegháza, while we have seen from El Bekrí's account that in the eleventh century Songhay Proper was supplied from the mines of Tautek. The words of Bábá A'hmed, الصبر عن الملح, not translated by Mr. Ralfs, can be only understood by him who has traveled in Negroland, and who knows what a precious article salt is in many regions, and what it is "to be deprived of salt."

‡ The translation of this passage by Mr. Ralfs (p. 543) is rather defective.

§ Bábá A'hmed is here very distinct, stating expressly, apparently in order to contradict current reports, "and they dug (began to dig) here in Taödénni the salt at this period" (بهذا التاريخ *and they gave up [the salt mines of] Tegháza this time, or on this occasion*). The latter words have not been translated by Mr. Ralfs at all.

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raised by his troops on his way to Gágho to the dignity of A'skíá, pursued his march, while A'skíá I's-hák left his capital, when both armies met at a place called Kamba-Kíri, evidently only four days'* march from Gágho, where, after a violent struggle which lasted the whole day, the army of the Pretender was beaten, and he escaped toward Timbúktu. Great was the disappointment of the inhabitants of this town. They had celebrated the accession to power of their favorite, Mohammed e' Sádik, with the greatest manifestations of joy, and had even imprisoned, on the 21st, at his request, the messenger who had announced the accession of I's-hák. On the 28th, there arrived the favorite as a fugitive, who brought them the account of the unfortunate battle, and, having plunged them into deep sorrow, continued his flight, in company with the Hómborikoy, the Barakoy, by way of Tindírma, across the river to the other side. He was, however, overtaken, and confined in the state prison at Kantú, where he was killed, together with the Barakoy, as were also the Túmbutu-koy and the I'móshaghenkoy. Of course the inhabitants of Timbúktu, having so openly favored the proceedings of the Pretender, were severely punished, and a new Túmbutu-koy, Al Hasan, the last during the Songhay period, and a new I'móshaghenkoy were installed. A'skíá I's-hák likewise installed new governors of Banku, Bal, and Kúrmina, and confirmed others in their provinces.

Having recovered from the severe shock inflicted upon the empire by this rebellion, A'skíá I's-hák undertook an expedition against Namandúgu, evidently the place touched at by myself on my road to Timbúktu, inhabited by pagans of the Gurma tribe, and the following year he undertook an expedition against some other part of Gurma,† namely, Tínfiri. Having thus had some respite, and consolidated his empire, he planned an expedition against Kala, the province to the north of Jinni, which, it would seem, had been subjected to the former A'skíá; but when about to undertake this expedition into the farthest parts of his empire, he heard of the arrival‡ of the Mahalla of the Bashá Jódar, a valiant eunuch of Múláy Hámed, the Emperor of Morocco, with an army of 3600 musketeers, in 174 divisions of 20 each besides the officers;§ and he met him on the battle-field on the 18th Jumád II., but fled before him. A.D. 1588–9. A.H. 997. A.H. 998–9.

Jódar remained only seventeen days in Gágho, when the Khatíb Mahmúd behaved in a very hostile manner toward the strangers. On visiting the palace of the A'skíá, in the presence of witnesses, he found it not equal to his expectation, and accepted the conditions of I's-hák, who offered to give him 1000 slaves and 100,000 mithkál of gold, if he gave up the conquered country. The Bashá, although he was not authorized to agree upon these conditions himself, consented to write an account of them to his liege lord, and return meanwhile to Timbúktu. He therefore wrote to Múláy Hámed, in conjunction with the Káíd A'hmed ben el Haddád, adding at the same time, in order to show his master that the conquered country was not worth a great deal, that the dwelling of Sheikh el Harám (a very inferior personage) in Morocco excelled by far the palace of the A'skíá. But the ambitious Múláy Hámed, the friend of Philip II., who, in following the example of his friend the mighty prince of Europe, contemplated the conquest of new regions, was filled with wrath at the receipt of the dispatches of his officer Jódar, deposed him on the spot, and sent the Bashá Mahmúd ben Zarkúb, accompanied by 80 musketeers, with instructions to under-

* Eighteen days' march with an army from Timbúktu, nine days for a single horseman on flight.

† The name Gurma seems to be employed here quite in a general sense.

‡ It is remarkable that Bábá A'hmed does not intimate at all by what road the Bashá arrived.

§ That Jódar was a eunuch, and a native of Almeria, we learn from a Spanish source, a paper written the 16th of October, 1643, by an unknown author, in "Papeles Curiosas," of the Egerton Collection, n. 10,262, p. 235: "Aquel valeroso Eunuco renegado natural de Almeria;" and farther on, "Esta conquista hizó el famoso Jaudar, que fué celebre en Berberia como uno de los de la fama."

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take the command of the army, and drive A'skíá I's-hák out of Sudán.

Meanwhile Jódar having arrived at Móse- or Bóse-Bango (the same creek of the great river where I was encamped for some time) on the last day of Jumáda II., remained encamped for thirty-five days, from the first Rejeb till the 6th Sh'abán, outside the town of Timbúktu,* when, the term fixed for the return of his courier from Morocco having elapsed, he well saw that all was not right, and that his master was not content with his proceedings. He therefore entered the town with his soldiers, chose for himself the quarter of the Ghadámsíyín, between the gate leading to Kábara and the market, as the most densely inhabited quarter, and as containing the largest houses, for the purpose of erecting there a kasbah, driving the inhabitants out of their dwellings by force. It also seems, from another passage of A'hmed Bábá, that the Rumá shut all the gates of the town with the exception of the gate leading to Kábara, the consequence of which was that all the people, in order to enter the town or to go out of it, had to pass through or under the kasbah, so that the whole traffic and all the intercourse could easily be overawed by a limited garrison.

On Friday, the 26th Shawál, the new Bashá Mahmúd arrived in Timbúktu, accompanied by the two káíd's, 'Abd el 'Aálí and Ham Baraka, and deposed Jódar, reproaching him bitterly for not having pursued the King I's-hák; but Jódar excused himself by pleading that he had no boats at his disposition. The first thing therefore which the Bashá Mahmúd had to do was to procure boats, the inspector of the harbor having fled with the whole fleet in the direction of Banku or Bengu. It was on this occasion that all the trees in the town were cut down.

On the 20th Dhú 'l Káda, the Bashá Mahmúd left Timbúktu with the whole of his army, taking the ex-bashá Jódar with him, and installing in the government of the town the Káíd El Mustapha and the Emír Ham from Wádí Dar'a. Having kept the great festival near the town in a place called Síhank (?), he marched against I's-hák, who approached with his army to make a last struggle for his kingdom and the independence of his country. But although the A'skíá seems to have been not totally devoid of energy, he could not contend against that terrible weapon which spread devastation from a great distance, for the Songhay do not seem to have possessed a single musket; and it is not impossible that the Moroccains had some small field-pieces,† while the Songhay did not even know how to use the one small cannon which the Portuguese had once made them a present of, and which the Bashá afterward found in Gágho. The consequence was that in the battle which ensued, on Monday the 25th Dhú-el Hijje, I's-hák and the Songhay were beaten, and the king fled on the road to Dendi, making a short stay in Kira-Kurma, and leaving behind him some officers, whom he ordered to make a stand in certain stations, especially the Balm'a Mohammed Kágho, who had been wounded by a ball, and the Barakoy Buttu. To the latter he gave orders at the same time to make forays against the *Fullán*, a fact of the highest importance, and which, combined with another fact, which I shall soon bring forward, shows how this remarkable tribe, which we have seen stirring in these regions al-

A.D. 1591.
A.H. 860.

The Fúlbe or Fullán begin to play a prominent part in the history of this region.

* Journ. Leip. Oriental Soc., ix., p. 549.

† This is not certain, although farther on A'hmed Bábá mentions مدافع, which Mr. Ralfs translates (p. 554) by "Geschütz;" but the common musket being called مدفع by the Arabs in and near Timbúktu, it is not quite certain whether the author means field-pieces or matchlocks.

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ready several years previously, as soon as they saw the established government endangered, broke out in order to make use of circumstances for establishing themselves firmly in the country.

A'skíá I's-hák wanted the Barakoy to imprison the royal princes who were in his company at the time, in order to prevent their joining the enemy, but they escaped; and he also endeavored in vain to cause a diversion in his rear by raising a revolt in Timbúktu, but his messenger was killed. The Bashá Mahmúd ben Zarkúb pursued the king, and did not halt till he reached Kúkiá, having with him, according to A'hmed Bábá, 174 divisions of musketeers, each of twenty men,* so that, if the ranks were all filled, he had 3480 men, or, including the officers, about 3600; and these being all armed with matchlocks, there was certainly no army in Negroland able to resist them.† Seeing that a numerous undisciplined army against a well-disciplined and compact band, armed with such a destructive weapon, was only a burden, the Songhay king seems to have thought that a band of choice men, even if small in numbers, was preferable, and he therefore sent Híki Serkía, an officer of acknowledged bravery, with a body of 1200 of the best horsemen of his army, who had never fled before an enemy, to attack the Bashá. But the fate of Songhay was decided; treachery and disunion still further impaired the power which, even if well kept together, would still have had great difficulty in resisting such an enemy. When therefore that very body of cavalry rendered homage to the Balm'a Mohammed Kágho, in the beginning of the last year of the tenth century of the Hejra, and made him A'skíá, I's-hák, seeing that all was lost (from Dendi, where he staid at the time?), took the direction of Kebbi.‡ He was, however, obliged to retrace his steps, as the Kanta, the ruler of that kingdom, which at that period was still enjoying very great power, afraid probably of drawing upon himself the revenge of the dreaded foreign foe, who with the thunder of his musketry was disturbing the repose of Negroland, or moved by that ancient hatred which since the expedition to A'gades existed between the Songhay and the inhabitants of Kebbi, refused him admission into his dominions. I's-hák therefore recrossed the river, and went to Téra,§ where his last friends took leave of him. Even the inhabitants of this very place, who have preserved their independence till the present day, were not able, or were not inclined to to defend their liege lord. "There they separated and bade each other farewell. The king wept, and they (the courtiers) wept, and it was the last time that they saw each other." There was certainly a strong reason for weeping over the fate of Songhay. That splendid empire, which a few years back had extended from the the middle of Háusa as far as the ocean, and from Mósi as far as Tawát, was gone, its king an exile and fugitive from his native land,

A.D. 1591–1592. A.H. 1000. The tribe of the Erhámena becomes powerful in the west. The Zoghorán or Jawámbe conquer great portions of the former Songhay country.

* In order to make out the whole numbers of the army of the Bashá, we must add the garrison of Timbúktu, which could certainly not be less than a couple of hundred men.

† It would be highly absurd to conclude, from what A'hmed Bábá says of the strength of this army, that its numbers made it so, for in numbers it was certainly a very small army for Negroland, where armies of from 30,000 to 50,000 men are of common occurrence, and the Imám e' Tekrúri says that the Songhay king had an army of 140,000 men. Revue Africaine, l. c.

‡ Bábá A'hmed writes this name exactly as it is pronounced, كَبِّ, while the name Kábi is never used, but must have been formerly used, as is evident from the form Kábáwa. See page 146.

§ تارا (p. 553), not Tara. There is no doubt that the well-known Songhay town of that name (vol. iii., Ap. V.) is meant.

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deserted by his friends and nearest relations, had to seek refuge with his very enemies. Driven back from the Mohammedans in Kebbi, he now turned toward the pagans of Gurma and those very inhabitants of Tínfiri upon whom he had made war two years before; and indeed the pagans were more merciful than the Mohammedans, and forgot their recent wrong sooner than the latter their old one; but probably the ex-king excited their fear, and after having resided there some time he was slain, together with his son and all his followers, in the month of Jumáda the second.

Meanwhile there seemed to be still a slight prospect for the pretender Mohammed Kágho to save at least part of the empire, as all that remained of wealth and authority in Songhay gathered round him to do him homage; but even now the ancient family discord prevailed, and while he strengthened himself by some of his brothers, whom he liberated from prison, especially Núh, the former governor of Bantal, others among his brothers, sons of Dáúd, fled to the enemy, and, being well received, dragged after them a great many of the most influential men of the army. After this Mohammed Kágho was induced by treachery to throw himself upon the mercy of the Bashá, from whom he received the assurance that he had nothing to fear; but he was laid in chains, and soon after executed.

The Bashá Mahmúd, although he evidently governed the country with a strong hand, nevertheless, in the beginning at least, thought it more prudent to keep up a certain national form, and conferred the dignity of A'skíá upon the Barakoy Bultu; but the latter soon found it better to provide for his own safety by a speedy flight, and the Bashá then gave the hollow title of A'skíá to Slímán ben A'skíá Dáúd, who had been the first to put himself under his protection.

The Bashá then went to pursue Núh, formerly Governor of Bantal, who, having been liberated from his prison by Mohammed Kágho, returned to Dendi, that outlying and important province of Songhay, as soon as he saw his protector fail, and declared himself A'skíá in Dendi; but even beyond the Niger he seemed not to be safe; such was the remarkable vigor of this small Moroccain army and the energy of its leader, under the auspices of that aspiring genius Múláy Hámed. On the frontier of Dendi the Moroccain musketeers, within hearing of the subjects of Kanta, fought a battle with this last germ of Songhay independence, and vanquished A'skíá Núh even there; and the Bashá pursued the fugitive prince without relaxation from place to place for full two years, fighting repeated battles with him. Nay, he even built a fortress or kasbah in Kalna (?*), and placed there a garrison of 200 musketeers under the Káíd 'Omár, as if he intended to hold possession forever of this distant province for his master in Morocco. This is a highly interesting fact. But a small spark of native independence nevertheless remained behind in this province, from whence the Moroccains, after the first energetic impulse was gone, were forced to fall back.

While the Bashá himself was thus waging relentless war against the nucleus and eastern part of the Songhay empire, the conquest and destruction of national independence was going on no less in the west. The great centre of national feeling and of independent spirit in that quarter was Timbúktu, a town almost enjoying the rank of a second capital, on account of the greater amount of Mohammedan learning therein concentrated. It was on account of

* بلد كلن. According to the writer whose interesting account Macguckin de Slane has published in the "Revue Africaine," i., n. 4, p. 296, the authority of Mansúr extended as far as Kanó; nay, even the ruler of Bórnu is said to have made his subjection; but the latter assertion is very improbable, the then ruler of Bórnu being none else than the warlike and energetic Edris A'lawóma. It is remarkable, however, that that author mentions Kanó without saying any thing about Kebbi, which was the neighboring kingdom, interveniug between Songhay and Kanó, and at that time very powerful.

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this feeling of independence, probably, that the inhabitants would not bear the encroachments of the Káíd el Mústapha upon their liberty, especially as he wanted to fill from his own choice, after the death of Yáhia, the place of the Túmbutu-koy, or Túmbutu-mangha, as he is here called, the office of the native governor. Thus a bloody tumult arose in the town, when the Tárki chief Ausamba came to the assistance of the distressed Káíd, probably from motives of plunder, and thus the whole town was consumed by flames, it being a dreadful day for the inhabitants. Nay, the enraged Káíd, who had now got the upper hand, wanted to slaughter them all; but the Káíd Mámi succeeded in re-establishing peace between the inhabitants and El Mústapha, and quiet and comfort began to return, so that even those who had emigrated again returned to their native homes. Even the inspector of the harbor, who had retired to the province of Banku or Bengu, came back with the fleet. The communication therefore with Jinni and the region on the upper course of the river was re-opened.

Having then made a successful expedition against the Zoghorán, who devastated the districts of Bara and Dirma, and inflicted upon them a most severe punishment, the Káíd Mámi went himself to Jinni, which had suffered a great deal from the devastating incursions of the pagan Bámbara, and took up his residence for a time in the palace of the Jinnikoy. Having then installed 'Abd-Allah ben 'Othmán as Governor of Jinni, and arranged matters in that distant place, he returned to Timbúktu. Samba Lámido ("lámido" means "governor"), evidently a Púllo, in Danka or Denga, devastated many of the places on the Rás el má, and committed great havoc and bloodshed.

The Bámbara appear as a conquering race.

Thus the Moroccains had conquered almost the whole of this extensive empire, from Dendi as far as and even beyond Jinni, for they even took possession of part of Bághena, and conquered the whole province of Hómbori, or, as it is called, from its rocky character, Tóndi or El Hajri, to the south of the river. Nay, they even conquered part of Tombo, the strong native kingdom inclosed between Hómbori, Mósi, Jinni, and Jimballa. They had their chief garrisons in Jinni, Timbúktu, Bámba, which on this account received the name Kasbah, in Gágho, and Kalna in Dendi, and their chief strength consisted in intermarrying with the natives, and thus producing a distinct class of people, who, as Ermá or Rumá, are distinguished to this very day, while the peculiar dialect of Songhay, which they speak, has been produced lately as a distinct language by M. Raffenel.* But these half-castes soon found all their interest in their new abode, and cared very little for Morocco, so that the advantage which the latter country drew from this conquest was only of a very transitory character. Certainly, there was some sort of order established, but there was no new organization, as it seems, the old forms being preserved, and soon becoming effete. On the whole, we can not but admire the correctness of the following passage of Bábá A'hmed, who says, "Thus this Mahalla at that period found in Sudán (Songhay) one of those countries of the earth which are most favored with comfort, plenty, peace, and prosperity every where; such was the working of the government of the Emír el Múmenín, A'skíá el Háj Mohammed ben A'bú Bakr, in consequence of his justice and the power of his royal command, which took full and peremptory effect, not only in his capital, but in all the districts of his whole empire, from the province of Dendi to the frontiers of Morocco, and from the territory of Bennendúgu (to the south of Jinni) as far as Tegháza and Tawát. But in a moment all was

* See p. 297.

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changed, and peaceful repose was succeeded by a constant state of fear, comfort and security by trouble and suffering; ruin and misfortune took the place of prosperity, and people began every where to fight against each other, and property became exposed to constant danger; and this ruin began, spread, increased, and at length prevailed throughout the whole region."

Thus wrote old Bábá A'hmed, who had himself lost every thing in consequence of that paramount calamity which had befallen his native land, and who had been carried a prisoner to the country of the conqueror, till, owing to the unbounded respect which the enemy himself felt for the learning and sanctity of the prisoner, he was released, and allowed to return to Songhay, where he seems to have finished his days by endeavoring to console himself for the loss of all that was dear to him with science, and in writing the history of his unfortunate native country.

The kingdoms of Asianti and Dahóme begin to become powerful.

Múláy Hámed el Mansúr, the conqueror of Songhay, died. A.D. 1603. A.H. 1012.

Zédán his youngest son, is proclaimed sultan, but has to sustain a long struggle against his brothers 'Abd-Allah and Sheikh, and after an unfortunate battle on the 8th December, is driven beyond the limits of Morocco, when *Sheikh* is recognized for a limited period. A.D. 1607. A.H. 1016.

All these changes could not fail to exercise an immediate influence upon the government of Songhay, which had now become a province of Morocco.*

Múláy Zédán died. A.D. 1630. A.H. 1040.

Múláy 'Abd el Melek succeeds him: is assassinated.

Múláy Wálid succeeds him. A.D. 1635. A.H. 1045–6.

A.D. 1637. A.H. 1048. The French make a settlement on the Senegal.

The History of Songhay composed by A'hmed Bábá. A.D. 1640. A.H. 1050.

The Tademékket are driven out of their former seats and deprived of their supremacy by the Awelímmid or A'welímmiden (the Lamta), who formerly had been settled in Igídi with the Welád Delém, with whom they were allied. Karidénne, the son of Shwásh and of a wife from the tribe of the Tademékket, murdered the chief of the latter tribe, and drove them out of A'derár, when they went westward and implored the protection of the Bashá, who assigned them new seats round about the backwaters between Timbúktu and Gúndam.

Great inundation in Timbúktu, in consequence of the high level attained by the river.

Múláy A'hmed Sheikh succeeds to Múláy Wálid, but is soon after killed in a revolt. A.D. 1647. A.H. 1057.

Króm el Háji usurps the throne: is soon after assassinated. A.D. 1654–5. A.H. 1065.

Múláy Mohammed, son of Múláy 'Alí, the founder of the Filáli dynasty, dethroned by his brother E' Rashíd: E' Rashíd takes possession of the town of Morocco. A.D. 1664. A.H. 1075–8.

* I had no time to excerpt this latter part of Bábá A'hmed's history, but it is full of information with regard to this turbulent period.

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Sídi 'Alí, Governor of Sús, takes refuge in Songhay*—a proof that the garrison stationed there had made themselves quite independent of Morocco at that time, notwithstanding the energetic rule of E' Rashíd, who died	A.D. 1667. A.H. 1078–1079.	About this time the Welád Bille, in Tishít, possessed great power.
	A.D. 1672. A.H. 1083.	
Múláy Ismá'aíl succeeds him, but without being able to establish his power over all parts of the empire. It is very remarkable that this king formed a standing army of Negroes, especially Songhay, whom he married to Moroccain women, in order to rule his own subjects, just in the same manner as a body of Moroccain soldiers intermarrying with Negro women dominated Songhay. These were the "'abíd mt'a Sídi Bokhári."†	A.D. 1672. A.H. 1083.	Hennún, the son of Bóhedal, chief of the Welád Mebárek, received the investiture as ruler of Bághena from Ismá'aíl.
Múláy A'hmed, the nephew of Múláy Ismá'aíl, Governor of Dar'a and Sús, undertook an expedition into Súdán, with a large body of troops, and although he lost 1500 men in crossing the desert, brought back a rich spoil in gold and slaves, principally from a place called *Tagaret*, which it is not easy to identify, especially as it is said that he found there a king of Súdán. It is probably a place in Taganet, most likely Tejígja. There is no mention of a garrison dependent upon Morocco. In this same year Timbúktu is said to have been conquered by the Mandingoes (Bámbara?).	A.D. 1680. A.H. 1091.	About this time Sóba, the mighty king of Góber, residing in Mághale, one day west of Chéberi, makes warlike expeditions beyond the Kwára.
Múláy A'hmed el Dhéhebi succeeds to the aged Ismá'aíl. Although his reign lasted only two years, and he was constantly engaged in civil war, he is said to have made an expedition into Súdán, from whence he brought back great treasures.‡ But this is evidently a confused statement, and probably refers to the deeds of his elder namesake, Múláy A'hmed el Dhéhebi.	March 22, A.D. 1727. A.H. 1140–1.	
Múláy 'Abd-Alla succeeds to the throne. Constant civil war in the beginning of his reign.	A.D. 1729. A.H. 1142–3.	
	A.D. 1740. A.H. 1153.	About this time the Kél-owi take possession of A'ír or A'sben.
Sídi Mohammed built Swéra or Mogadór.	A.D. 1757. A.H. 1171–2.	Babári, powerful king in Góber.
	A.D. 1770. A.H. 1184.	'Abd el Káder produces a religious revolution in Fúta, combined perhaps with a reaction of the Wolof against the conquerors,§ or rather of the race of the Toróde—the Wolof intermixed with the Fúlbe—against the element Málinke and Púllo. Sáttigi
About this time Gógó, which had hitherto been ruled by the Rumá,		

* Here again Jackson (*Account of Morocco*, p. 295) has made a most erroneous statement, saying that Sídi 'Alí escaped into Súdán, where the King of Bámbara received him hospitably, so that 'Alí was enabled to collect 8000 black warriors, with whom he marched against Morocco; and that these blacks were the means by which Ismá'aíl obtained influence in Timbúktu.

† There is great confusion in an article concerning this subject in a letter addressed by Jackson to Sir James Bankes, in the Proceedings of the African Association, vol. i., p. 366. Here the annual tribute which Timbúktu paid to this king is estimated at 5,000,000 dollars. The same sort of exaggeration we find in all Jackson's statements.

‡ Even the very meritorious Gråberg de Hemsö, in his *Specchio di Marocco*, p. 269, repeats this statement.

§ See M. le Colonel Faidherbe, in *Bulletin de la Soc. Géogr.*, 1850.

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was conquered by the Tawárek tribe of the Awelimmiden.		Sambalámu, the last of the Sóltana Deniankóbe. The order of the succession is as follows: Chéro Solimán Bal, Almáme 'Abdu, Almáme Mukhtár, Almáme Bú-bakr, Almáme Shíray, Almáme Yúsuf, Almáme Birán, Almáme Hammád, Almáme Makhmúdo, Almáme Mohammed el Amín, son of Mohammed Birán.
Probably in consequence of this event A'gades, having been deprived of its commercial resources, begins to decline.		
The chief Káwa, who rules seventy years over the Awelímmiden, establishes a powerful dominion on the north bank of the Niger (A'usa).	A.D. 1780. A.H. 1195.	Venture collects his information from two Moroccain merchants. Tombo very powerful. Marka, the Aswánek, in Bághena. Kawár, the Fúlbe, in Másina.
Timbúktu, according to the very doubtful statement of Shabíni,* under the supremacy of Háusa. If this were true, it would be a very important fact; but it is evidently a mistake, A'usa being meant.	A.D. 1787. A.H. 1202–1203.	About this period falls the quarrel between the Sheikh el Mukhtár el kebír and the Welád Bille, the former overthrowing the latter, with the assistance of the Méshedúf and the A'hel Zenághi.
Timbúktu, under the sovereignty of Mansong, at that time King of Bámbara [very questionable].† Professor Ritter‡ supposes the Moors to have been ejected at that time, so that Timbúktu became an independent Negro town.	A.D. 1803–1804. A.H. 1218.	El Mukhtár opens friendship with 'Othmán dan Fódie, the Jihádi, who this year entered into open hostility against Bawa, the King of Góber, and brought about that immense revolution in the whole centre of Negroland.
		About this period a great struggle between the Awelímmiden and the Tademékket.
	A.D. 1804. A.H. 1219.	The Fúlbe make Gando, in Kebbi, the seat of their operations.
Mungo Park navigates the Niger.	A.D. 1805–6. A.H. 1220–1.	The Rumá, still powerful between Sébi and Timbúktu, dominate the passage of the Niger.
	A.D. 1811. A.H. 1226.	Sídi Mukhtár dies.
Mohammed or A'hmed Lebbo brings the religious banner from Gando, and gradually acquires the supremacy in Másina over the native chiefs.	A.D. 1816. A.H. 1232–1233.	Great and sanguinary battle between the Songhay, Rumá, and Berabísh on the one side, and the Awelímmiden on the other, near the island Kúrkozay.
	A.D. 1817. A.H. 1233.	Sheikh 'Othmán dan Fódie before his death divides his extensive dominions between his brother 'Abd-Alláhi and his son Bello, the former receiving all the western provinces along the Niger, with Gando as his capital, the latter the southeasterly provinces, with Sókoto.
Lebbo commences hostilities with Mohammed Galáijo, the chief of Konári, vanquishes him, and forces him to retreat eastward.	A.D. 1820. A.H. 1236–1237.	Constant war between Másina and Bámbara.

* Shabíni, p. 12. † Proceedings of the African Association, ii., p. 322.
‡ Ritter, Erdkunde von Afrika, p. 446 seq., especially from Sídi Hámed's statement (p. 363).

Songhay.		Neighboring Kingdoms.
The Fúlbe of Másina occupy Timbúktu in the beginning of the year.	A.D. 1826.	
Major Laing left 'En-Sálah on the 10th of January; was attacked, and almost slain, in Wádi Ahennet, on the 27th (?), by a party of Tawárek; was received very kindly by Sídi Mohammed, the son of Sídi Mukhtár, in the hillet e' Sheikh Sídi Mukhtár, in A'zawád. Sídi Mohammed died in consequence of a contagious fever. Laing left this place about August 12th; arrived at Timbúktu August 18th; being ordered out of the town by the Fúlbe, he left that place on September 22d, under the protection of A'hmed Weled 'Abéda, and was murdered by him and Hámed Weled Habíb, probably on the 24th.	A.H. 1242–3.	
The Sheikh el Mukhtár, the son and successor of Sídi Mohammed settles in Timbúktu.	A.D. 1827. A.H. 1243.	'Abd-Alláhi, the ruler of Gando, dies. Is succeeded by his son Mohammed Wáni.
Caillié stays in Timbúktu from the 20th April till the 3d May.	A.D. 1828. A.H. 1244.	
The Fúlbe enter Timbúktu with a stronger force.	A.D. 1831. A.H. 1247.	
	A.D. 1836. A.H. 1250.	Khalílu succeeds to the empire of Gando.
The Tawárek conquer the Fúlbe.	A.D. 1844.	
The Fúlbe, under 'Abd-Alláhi, make a great expedition along the Niger as far as Burrum.	A.H. 1260.	
Lebbo dies. His son A'hmedu succeeds him.	A.D. 1846. A.H. 1262.	
Sheikh el Mukhtár dies in the month Rebí el áwel; El Bakáy succeeds him.	A.D. 1848. A.H. 1264.	
	A.D. 1851. A.H. 1268–1269.	The Kél-gerés kill E' Nábegha, the chief of the Awelímmiden, at Tintaláit.
The young A'hmedu succeeds his father A'hmedu.	A.D. 1852–3. A.H. 1269.	
The Fúlbe make a great expedition against Timbúktu.	A.D. 1855. A.H. 1272–3.	The Igwádaren opposed to the Awelímmiden.

APPENDIX X.

COLLECTION OF ITINERARIES ILLUSTRATING THE WESTERN HALF OF THE DESERT, ITS DISTRICTS, AND ITS INHABITANTS, AND THE COURSE OF THE UPPER NIGER.

A. *Eastern Route from Tawát to Mabrúk, and thence to Timbúktu.*

N.B.—The route proceeds from Aúlef in Tidíkelt, which is situated one short day from A'kabli (this is the right accent), and three days from I'nsala or 'Aín Sálah, the distance between A'kabli and the latter place being about the same.

Day.

2d. Terísumín, a well.

4th. Derím.

7th. I'nzíze, a well. As far as this point the route follows a course a little E. of S. (evidently in the direction of Gógó), but from this point onward S.W. The syllable "i'n," or "'in," seems to be the old Berber-Semitic form for "'aín."

14th. I'ndenán, a well, having crossed the desert tract called Tanezrúfet.

17th. I'n-tabórak; the last stage is only half a day's march.

19th. Moila.

22d. Taunant; the last stage is half a day's march.

24th. Mabrúk.

The ordinary and general road from Mabrúk to Timbúktu leads by A'arwán:

2 days. M'amún. } I shall speak about these places in the general account of
2 " Bú-Jebéha. } A'zawád.
2 " A'rawán. }
4 " Tenég el haye, or Tenég el háj.
1½ " Timbúktu.

Between Tenég el háj and the town there are the following localities: El A'riye, El Ghába, El Meréra, A'thelet el Megíl, E'llib el A'ghebe, Tiyáre el Jefál, Tiyáret el Wása.

Route from the hillet e' Sheikh el Mukhtár, generally called "el hilleh" (see the itinerary from Timbúktu to the hilleh, vol. iii., p. 310), to Tósaye, in long days' marches; direction, as my informant supposes, exactly S.:

Day.
1st. Núr, a mountain without water.
2d. A locality on this side of a place called Dergel.
3d. Kazúft, a large pond of water in the rainy season.
5th. Tósaye or Tósé, the great narrowing of the river (see the journal).

From the hilleh to Gógó is reckoned a distance of eight days.

B. *Route from I'nzize to Gógó.*

Day.
4th. Tímmísau (hasi Músa? I think it can not be the well of that name on the direct road from Tawát to Mabrúk, which would give this whole route a far more westerly direction). Near the well is a rocky eminence like a castle, and famous on account of the tale of the footprint of Moses' horse, a story also attaching to the other well which I mentioned. It appears, from this route, that the arid desert, the Tanezrúfet, becomes narrower and more contracted toward the east.
7th. I'n-azál; the last march but half a day.
9th. Súk or "E' Súk" (Essúk), the ancient dwelling-place of the Kél e' Súk, now without settled inhabitants, situated between two "kódia" or hilly eminences, one lying toward the E. and the other toward the W., just as the ancient city of Tademékka is described, with which it was evidently identical (see the journal). The town was destroyed by the Songhay conqueror, Sonni 'Alí, in the latter half of the fifteenth century. The vale is said to be rich in trees.
11th. Gúnhan, another site of an ancient dwelling-place, and once the residence of the Kel-gúnhan, with a hilly eminence.
13th. Takerénnat, another site.
14th. Tel-ákkevín (or Tin-ákkevín), a well.
16th. Tin-óker; the last stage half a day's march.
18th. Gógó or Gágho, the last day again a short one.

C. *Western Road from Aúlef to Mabrúk.*

1st. Dháhar el hamár, a hilly chain called the ass's back-bone.
3d. El Immerághen.
5th. Wallen, a well.
12th. 'A'm-rannán, a well, two days W. from I'n-denán, having crossed the arid desert Tanezrúfet. In summer you travel here by night. In winter, traveling night and day, with only short halts, you may accomplish this march in four days.
17th. I'n-asserér, perhaps "the well of the stony tract," or hammáda, "serír" being the proper term for such a region.
20th. Tin-hekíkan, a well, in former times the common settlement of the tribe, which thence has received the name Kel-hekíkan. It is W. or S.W. of the well called Taunant (see preceding page).
22d. Mabrúk; the last day's march a short one.

D. *A few particulars with regard to the region called A'zawád and the adjoining districts.*

The name A'zawád is a corruption due to the Arabs of the Berber name A'zawágh (pronounced A'zawár), which is common to many desert tracts. But the district which has become known to the Europeans under the name A'zawád comprises an extensive tract of country to the N. of Timbúktu, stretching northwestward as far

as "El Jûf," the great sink or "belly" of the desert, full of rock-salt, and to the N.N.E. a little to the N. of Mabrúk, while its southern part, extending from the distance of one day's march from Timbúktu to about three days northward, is more properly called *Tagánet*. I will only add that Caillié mistook the name A'zawád, which he writes Zawát, for that of a tribe (vol. ii., p. 97, and elsewhere).

The tract of A'zawád, although appearing to us a most sterile tract of country, and thus characterized already by Arab travelers from the N., as E'bn Batúta and Leo Africanus, is a sort of Paradise to the wandering Moorish Arab born in these climes. For in the more favored localities of this district he finds plenty of food for his camels, and even for a few heads of cattle, while the transport of the salt of Taödénni to A'rawán and Timbúktu affords him the means of obtaining corn and any thing else he may be in want of. There are four small towns in A'zawád, the most considerable of which is A'rawán, a town small in extent, such as described by Caillié,* the number of its inhabitants scarcely exceeding 1500, but a very important place for this part of the world, and where a great deal of business is transacted, principally in gold, as I have described on a former occasion (p. 360, *et seq.*). On account of this trade several Ghadámsíye merchants are established here. It is a fact which was unknown before, but which is indisputable, that the original inhabitants of this place, as well as of the whole of A'zawád, belong to the Songhay nation, the Songhay-kiní, even at the present day, being the favored idiom of which all the inhabitants, including the Arab residents, make use. The present chief or head man of the town is Sídi Mohammed, a younger son of the notorious chief El Habíb Weled Sídi A'hmed Agáde, who died the year previous to my arrival in Timbúktu. The younger son gained the precedence over his elder brother O'ba, who has performed a pilgrimage to Mekka solely on account of his mother being the sister of Hámed Weled 'Abéda Weled Rehál, the chief of the Bérabísh, and the murderer of Major Laing. The family of El Habíb belongs to the I'gelád, forming at present a small section of the large group of the A'welímmiden. They are now only distinguished by their learning, but formerly they were very powerful, and, together with the Imedídderen, were the most ancient inhabitants of the locality of Timbúktu. The inhabitants of A'rawán pay an annual tribute of sixty mithkál of gold to the Hogár, in order not to be molested by their continual predatory incursions.

The three other small towns or permanent dwelling-places in A'zawád, viz., Bú-Jebéha, M'amún, and Mabrúk, all lying in a line N.N.E. from A'rawán, almost at the equal distance from each other of two days' easy traveling with camels, are much smaller and less considerable than A'rawán. Of rather more importance at present than the two others is Bú-Jebéha, which is principally inhabited by Kél e' Súk, and has a little commerce; but Mabrúk seems to have been of great importance in former times, when it was inhabited by Songhay people, had a Songhay name—Mabrúk being a comparatively modern name given to it by the Arabs—and was the market of Walláta. In some respects this place might seem to have a right to be identified with the ancient Aúdaghost; and there are certainly the sites of some former dwelling-places in the neighborhood, especially Tel-Aröást, two days N.E. either from Mabrúk or from the hilleh; but in another place I have explained (vol. iii., p. 658) why we have to seek the site of Aúdaghost in quite a different locality. There are some valleys clad with palm-trees to the east of Mabrúk (see vol. i., Appendix, p. 607), especially the valley called Tesillíte, which produces two different kinds of dates, viz., the tíssagín and the tin-áser. The names of the respective chiefs of the three places are Mohammed Weled Sídi 'Omár, the chief of the tribe of the Ergágeda in M'amún; Najíb Weled el Mústapha el Kél e' Súki (the same who signed the letter of A'wáb, the chief of the Tademékket, giving a complete imána to the English in the territory comprised between Gúndam, Bamba, Timbúktu, A'rawán, and Bú-Jebéha), together with 'Azízi in Bú-Jebéha, and Méni Weled Sídi 'Omár in Mabrúk.†

There was formerly in A'zawád another place with a permanent settlement, called "El Hilleh," or "Hillet e' Sheikh Sídi Mukhtár," which I have mentioned in a former place (vol. i., p. 602, and vol. iii., p. 310), two days east of M'amún,‡ and

* Caillié's Travels to Timbuctoo, vol. ii., p. 99, *et seq.* According to my information, A'rawán seems to lie from Timbúktu about 15° W. from N.

† No merchant from the north can pass Bú-Jebéha, and certainly not A'rawán, unless he be escorted by some well-known person belonging to the tribe of the Tademékket.

‡ The position which I have assigned to these places in the map which I sent home from Timbúktu is slightly erroneous.

about the same distance from Mabrúk, but this place was deserted a few years ago, on account of the well Bú-Lanwar, which is stated to have had a depth of forty fathoms, having fallen to ruins. The hilleh was situated in the "batn" or valley at the northern foot of a black rocky chain of hills called "Ellib el Hejar." To the north is another chain or ellib east of the hilleh; but on this side, still in the batn, is a locality called "El Mádher," with good pasturage for horses. Other well-known localities thereabout are Shirshe el Kebíra and Shirshe e' Seghíra.

Of the wells of A'zawád, the following are the most notorious: first, in the southern part of the district, toward Tagánet, M'amún, different from the place of the same name; E'nnefís, a copious well, two hours S.W. from M'amún, and situated in a hilly district, thickly clad with underwood, and containing quarries of a beautiful black limestone, from which the Tawárek manufacture their heavy arm-rings or áshebe; Meréta, Makhmúd, Shíker, Gír, Kartál, a very copious well, 'En-filfil, and others. Farther to the N. and N.W. are the wells Halúl, El Hóde, Shébi, Temandórit, Tékarát, Aníshay, A'shorát, a well where the Sheikh A'hmed el Bakáy, in the early part of his life, resided for a long time, A'nnazau, to the north of Mabrúk; Alibáda ('Alí Bábá?), Bú el Mehán or Bel Mehán, the well mentioned in the itinerary (vol. iii., p. 310) as distant about ten miles from the hilleh, Belbót, S. of Bel Mehán; I'rakshíwen; Merzáhe, S. of the latter; Megágelát, two days S. of the hilleh, and others.

The most famous wells in the district called Tagánet are Wén-alshín, situated at the distance of four days from Timbúktu and three from the hilleh, where Mohammed e' Seghír, El Bakáy's elder brother, usually encamps part of the year; Tin-tatís, half a day S.W. from the former; 'En-óshif, I'mmilásh, 'En-gíbe, 'En-séek, 'En-odéke, a well where Bábá, a younger brother of El Bakáy, has his encampment, three days south from M'amún, four days N.E. from Timbúktu; A'menshór, A'rrazaf, 'Arúk, El Makhmúd, different from the well of the same name mentioned above; Igárre, Mérizík, Twíl, Waruzíl.

Toward the north, the district of A'zawád is separated from the dreary and waterless desert known by the general Berber name of Tanezrúfet (meaning "arid hammáda") by the two small districts called "*Afèlèle*" (meaning the little desert, or "afélle"), and north of it A'hrér. Afeléle is a highly favored region for the breeding of camels, and contains some famous valleys, or "wádián," such as Tekhatímit or Teshatímit, Afúd-énakán or Afúd-n-akán, Tadulílit, 'Abatól, Shánisín, Agár, and others. *A'herér*, likewise, is considered by the Arabs as a fine country, diversified by hill and dale, with plenty of wells, and even temporary torrents. This is the district in one of the valleys of which, "Wádí A'herér," Major Laing was attacked and almost killed by the Tawárek.

Toward the east, the districts of A'zawad and Tagánet are limited by several smaller ones, where the Arab population is greatly mixed with the Berber or Tawárek element, especially the Ifoghas. At the same time these districts separate A'zawád from A'derár, the fine hilly country of the Awelímmiden, which is excellent not only for the breed of camels, but also for that of cattle. These intermediate districts are *I'm-eggelála*, a district of about two days' extent in every direction, consisting of black soil, and furnished with shallow wells; E. and E.N.E. of Tagánet is *Tilímsi*, a district rich in food for the camel; E.N.E. of the hillet e' Sheikh el Mukhtár is another district called *Timitrén*, with many wells and a few villages; and E.N.E. of the latter, the district called Tirésht, or *Tighésht*, bordering on A'derár.

Of Arab tribes in A'zawád and the adjoining districts I have first to mention several sections of the great tribe of the *Kunta*, who are distinguished by their purer blood and by their learning above almost all the tribes of the desert.

The Kunta are divided into the following sections:

The Ergágeda, who were formerly regarded as the Welaye, or the holy tribe.

The Welád el Wáfi, at present the Welaye, with the Sheikh A'hmed el Bakáy as Welí, while his elder brother, Sídi Mohammed, exercises great authority over the whole of A'zawád. The Welád el Wáfi cultivate the friendship of the Hogár, while the Welád Sídi Mukhtár are the deadly enemies of the latter. They are subdivided into three divisions, called

El Mesádhcfa, Welád ben Haiballa, and Welád ben 'Abd e' Rahmán.

The Welád Sídi Mukhtár.

El Hemmál.

The Togát also are said to belong to the Kunta.

The *Berabísh* (singl. Berbúshi), a tribe less numerous than the Kunta, mustering about 260 men armed with muskets, and 180 horsemen, and not spreading over so wide a tract, being concentrated in the district between A'rawán and Bú-Jebéha. They pay a tribute of 40 mithkál of gold to the Hogár, and are molested by continual incursions of the Welád 'Alúsh. The Berabísh, who probably are identical with the *Perorsi* of the ancient geographers, have migrated southward since that time, and are of very mixed blood. They lived formerly in El Hódh, and are mentioned by Marmol Carvajal, who wrote in the seventeenth century, as visiting the market of Ségo; in the beginning of the sixteenth century they lived still farther to the west, and visited especially the market of Jinni.* The Berabísh are divided into two groups, the principal of which is ruled by the chief Hámed Weled 'Abéda Weled Rehál, and consists of the following sections:

The Welád Slimán, the Shiúkh, that is to say, the tribe to whom the sheikh belongs, and who have based their power and wealth upon the ruin and spoil of the Welád Ghánem. The Welád 'Esh. The Welád Bú-Hinde. El Gwanín el kohol. El Gwanín el bédh. Welád A'hmed.

These are the free tribes of this group; the following are the degraded and servile tribes, the "lahme" or "khoddemán:" the Yadás, the Ládim, or rather only a small portion of that tribe, the A'rakán, the A'hel 'Aísa Tajáwa, El U'ssera.

The second group of the Berabísh as a whole, bears the remarkable name of "Botn el jemel," on account of its being composed of heterogeneous elements, brought together by chance, just as is the case with various kinds of food in the "stomach of the camel." It is ruled by a chief of the name of Hamma, and consists of the following tribes: Welád Relán; Welád Derís, originating from Tafilélet; Welád Bú-Khasíb; Welad Ghánem; and the Turmus, the latter being the tribe of which I have spoken on a former occasion.

E. *Route from Bóne or from Hómbori, by way of Konna, to Hamda-Alláhi.*

Dalla, the chief place of the province of the same name, is of considerable size, and the residence of a governor. Módi Búle, who was a man of some note, died a short time before the period of my journey. The place is mostly inhabited by Tombo, only a small portion of the inhabitants being Songhay. The mountains are inhabited by the Sána, probably a section of the Tombo who have still preserved their independence. The town of Dalla is two good days' journey from Hómbori, and one from Bóne.

1 day. Dwentsa, a considerable place, said to be as large as Kúkawa, and important as a market-place. The road traverses a mountainous region, described as being supplied with running streams (in the rainy season?), and to be richly clad with trees.
1 day. Dúmbará, large place, seat of a governor, but destitute of any handicraft. Country mountainous.
1 day. Nyimi-nyába, a middle-sized place. Country a little mountainous.
1 day. Boré, a large town, seat of a governor. Country mountainous, intersected by channels for irrigating the kitchen gardens. Cotton, rice, and corn are cultivated. All these appear to be very long days' marches.
2 days. Timme, a large town, seat of a governor. On the road you see the Dhiúliba, or rather its floods, on your right, at least during part of the year. Cultivation of rice exclusively.
2 days. Karí or Konna (as the Songhay call it), seat of a governor, and important as a market-place. All the black inhabitants of the town speak the Songhay language. The town is also called Benne-n-dúgu or Bana-n-dugu, the tribe of that name, the Benni, having probably extended much farther to the north in former times. See Caillié, ii., p. 16.
2 days. Niakóngo, seat of a governor of the name of Háj Módi, brother of Háj 'Omár. After the rainy season the floods of the river closely approach the town.
1 day. Hamda-Alláhi.

F. *From Timbúktu by Gúndam to Yówaru, and from Yówaru to Hamda-Alláhi.*

Day.
3d. Gúndam. There are no settled halting-places between Timbúktu and Gún-

* De Barros, i., iii., c. viii., p. 220, Genná. "Concorriam a ella os póvos que lhe sao mais vizinhos: assi com os Caragolees, Fullos, Jalofos, Azaneges, *Brabaxijs*, Tigurarijs, Luddayas." See the chronological tables at the end of this vol., p. 670.

Day.

dam. People generally perform the distance in two days and a half. The following is a list of the names of localities between these two places: Téshak, Finderíye, El Hándema, Aristoremék, Egéti, Tin-getán, Tin-réro, Timbarágeri, two villages of the name El Meshra, Takémbant, Tenkeríye, Naudis, Gámmatór. Gúndam is a walled town (ksar or koira), the chief place of the district Aússa, and of considerable size, its population consisting of Songhay, Rumá, and Fúlbe or Fullán. The town has a suburb on its W. side, where live the Tóki, a tribe of the Fullán, and another suburb on the water-side, where live the Erbébi. On the N. side there is a black hill, full of fernán. Also to the S. an eminence is seen presenting the same appearance. The town is situated on the N. side of a large khálij or rijl (branch of the river) coming from Dire and turning toward Rás el má, the celebrated "head of the waters," distant from here two days, either by land or by water, W. a little N. Another creek runs from Gúndam to Kábara: but during the highest level of the inundation the whole country presents almost one uninterrupted sheet of water. On the east side of Gúndam is a dry creek called Aráshaf, one day long and half an hour wide. At its eastern border, E.S.E. from Gúndam, is the place called Waye e' semen, with a creek adorned with the tree called táderes.

4th. A walled village (koira) of Imóshagh and Songhay on the trunk of the river, having passed in the morning the branch on which Gúndam is situated.

5th. Arabébe, a village inhabited by Fúlbe.

6th. Nyafúnke, a large village, inhabited in former times by Imóshagh, but at present peopled by Fúlbe.

7th. I'ketáwen. Having passed in the morning close behind Nyafúnke, a large branch of the river, halt at noon in a village called Sherífikoira.

8th. A'tará, a large village of Fúlbe, on the east side of a considerable branch of the river going to Gasí Gúmo.

9th. Fadhl-Alláhi, a Fúlbe village.

10th. Yówaru. Yówaru is one of the two chief places of Fermágha, and although consisting entirely of reed huts, is said to be little inferior in the number of its inhabitants to the town of Timbúktu. The importance of the place is clear enough from the annual amount of tribute which it pays, amounting altogether (zek'a and modhár taken together) to 4000 head of cattle. During the inundation, Yówaru lies at the border of Lake Débu, which at that season extends from S'a to Yówaru, but during the dry season it is about one mile distant from the small branch. Close to the latter lies a suburb where the Surk or Kórongoy, a degraded section of the Songhay, dwell.* In Yówaru and the neighborhood live a great number of Fúlbe or Fullán belonging to the following tribes: the Sonnábe, Yalálbe, Feroibe, Yówarunkóbe, and Jawámbe or Zoghorán or Zoromáwa.

G. *From Yówaru to Tenéngu.*

1st. Urungíye, an important place.

2d. Máyo, a village so called from a small creek, the Máyo Sórroba, on which it lies. Between Urungíye and Máyo seem to lie the villages Séri and Nyamihára, the former inhabited by Songhay, the latter by Fúlbe.

3d. Ganga.

4th. Kógi or Jógi, having passed several hamlets, one of them called Gínnewó, a hamlet of cattle breeders, with a ksar, then Dokó, Ngúdderi, Jóñeri, Sabáre, and Burlul.

5th. Kora.

6th. Konna.

7th. Tenéngu. The distance between Urungíye and Tenéngu can, however, be performed in two days' good traveling.

Between Urungíye and Móbti lie the following places: U're-Módi, Káram, a Songhay village; Rogónte, a hamlet of Fúlbe; Yerére, a hamlet inhabited by slaves of the Fúlbe; Wálo, on the Máyo Fenga; Kaya, a village inhabited by Aswánek;

* I have not been able to make even a short vocabulary of the idiom of these people. I only succeeded in making out two terms which they use, "úmbay" ("how are you?") and "éna" ("welcome").

and, finally, Sáre-méle and Sáre-béle, the river probably forming a great bend near Wónyaka, so that these latter towns are touched at in coming from both sides, either the N. or the S.

II. *From Yówaru to Hamda-Alláhi.*

Day.
1st. Dógo, on a small creek.
2d. Shay, probably meaning the place of embarkation, on the N.W. side of the river, which is very wide in this spot. Pass on the road one or two branches of stagnant water, which you must cross in a boat. Perhaps one of these branches is the same on which the village Máyo lies.
3d. Encamp on the bank of a smaller creek (Máyo dhannéo?).
4th. Niakóngo.
5th. Berber, a very short march.
6th. Síye, in the morning.
7th. Hamda-Alláhi, the capital of the kingdom of Másina.

I. *List of towns and villages situated along the bank of the chief trunk of the River I'sabére or Máyo-mangho, from Dire upward to Sansándi. This branch is the northwesterly one; the other, which Caillié navigated, is the southeasterly, and is called Bara-I'sa.*

Dire, a very important place, one of the oldest settlements of the Songhay in this quarter, situated at the point of junction of two branches which have separated from each other in the lake Débu.*

Tindírma, one of the original seats of the Songhay, by some regarded as the original seat of the whole tribe. That portion of them called Sáhena were especially settled here. It is now principally the residence of the Chóki, who formerly were settled in Gúndam. With regard to its importance in former times as the capital of the province of Kúrmina, see vol. iii., p. 290. A little distance from the bank of the river lies Gitigátta, and on the island in the river the locality called "Al Mohalla," probably from having been once the spot where part of the Mohalla, or the army of the Moroccains, remained encamped. At Tindírma the branch of Gúndam separates from the main trunk of the river.

Hamma-koira.

Nyafúnke.

Síbo. This is evidently the town Seebi where Mungo Park is said to have made some stay on his voyage from Jenni to Timbúktu. (Clapperton's Second Journey, Appendix, p. 334.)

Dháhabi-koira, called after a sheríf belonging to the family of Múláy el Dhéhebi.

Gúmmo.

A'tara.

Tongomáre.

U'ro.

Yówaru. In crossing from Yówaru the next branch, and leaving Gúram on one side, you reach Zinzo, or Jinjo, or Gíjo, as it is called, in four or five hours. This is another of the oldest seats of the Songhay, and probably the place from whence Islám spread in this quarter, there being here the sepulchre of a venerated saint called Mohammed el Káberi, belonging to the Idaw el Háj. It is not impossible that this is the place of pilgrimage to which Scott, the sailor, went as a captive by way of the Giblah, crossing the lake.† In the neighboring hamlet, Togga, also is the tomb of a holy man called Morimána Báka. There is another tradition current in Zinzo of a saint of the name of Elfa Zakkaríyá, who is said to have visited this place at a time when no village existed, nothing but a cavern being then inhabited.

S.E. of Zinzo, at some little distance from Lake Débu lies A'wi. The Débu is so

* From Dire, down the river toward Timbúktu, my informant indicated several places which neither I myself nor Caillié have mentioned on our passage down the river: *Búram*, a large village (Kóra, Danga), Semsáro (Koiretágo), Lenga, all on the south side; Segaliye, on the north side of the river; an ádabay or hamlet, belonging to Búram, E'luwa, on an island; Hendibángo.

† Edinburgh Philological Journal, vol. iv., p. 35, *et seq.* There is no such district hereabout as "El Sharray," but I have not the slightest doubt that this name is nothing but a corruption of the term "e' sherk," with which the Moors of that region indicate the south. There are some inaccuracies in Scott's account, which might cause suspicion of his sincerity; and among these is the circumstance that he mentions as living on the lake the Moorish tribes of the E'rgebát and Sekarna, both of which live in the northern districts. But it is very remarkable that he should call that tomb by the name of "Saidna Mohammed."

shallow during the dry season that the native boats can only proceed with great difficulty along the main channel, and often stick fast entirely. In the dry season the natives ford it by wading through the water. Where the main branch, called by the Fúlbe Máyo balléo, reaches the lake, at least during the rainy season, it divides into a net of smaller branches, thus increasing the difficulty of the navigation. On the contrary, the advantage of the smaller branch, the Bara-I'sa, or River of Bara, called by the Fúlbe Máyo dhannéo, consists in preserving one unbroken volume of water. This was the reason probably why the party with whom Caillié went down the Niger from Jinni followed this branch. Besides the Máyo balléo and dhannéo, the chief creeks which join the Débu are the Máyo Píru and the Máyo Jóga, not inconsiderable during the rainy season, but very small during the dry one.

The lake, besides fish, contains numbers of that curious animal called ayú (*manatus*).

From the lake upward there lie along the principal branch of the river the following places: Búri; Bánghida; Waládu; Ingárruwe; Mányata; Kossanánna; Tánnare; Bówa; Kirrínkiri; Gánde-Táma; Sarbére; Kára, an important place, after which the river is sometimes called "the River of Kára;" Ingánshi; Dággada; Kumáy, a place of some importance, distant two days from Yá-saláme,* which is about three days from the considerable market-place Tenéngu (p. 688), both west from the river; Júgi; Nyásu; Kóliñango; Sabáre; Búrruwé; Fenga, a middle-sized place, after which this whole branch of the river is also called "Máyo Fenga," about two hours E. from Tenéngu, and one good day's march from Fáfarák.

We now proceed along the southeastern shore of the Débu, and along the Máyo dhannéo.

Gúram, a considerable place, situated round a large rocky eminence, kódia, as the Arabs call it, or "haire," as it is called by the Fúlbe, who celebrate it highly as the "haire maunde Gúram." The mount is so conspicuous in the flat alluvial level that it is visible from Yówaru. Caillié saw it at the distance of three or four miles (ii., p. 18), and again farther on, where he calls it St. Charles' Island (ii., p. 20). The village is separated into three distinct groups, one of which is called Gúram Fúlbe, lying at the northern foot of the kódia; the other, Gúram Hábe, inhabited by Songhay; farther on and finally, Gúram Súrgube, inhabited by (degraded?) Tawárek or Surgu.

Méro. } Both inhabited by Kórongoy.
Bang. }
Sóba.

Sórroba, situated at the foot of another smaller rocky eminence called "haire Sórroba," lying opposite to Gúram on the S. side of the river, which seems to make here a great bend. It is mentioned by Mohammed el Másini (Appendix to Clapperton's Second Journey, p. 331). Caillié gave it the ridiculous name of "Henry Island."

Jantaye, a considerable place.
Máyo Tína, a place close to the former, inhabited by Tawárek.
Kóbi. (Compare Caillié's account, ii., p. 16.)
Nye.
Batamáne.
Sáyo, distant half a day's journey from the Batamáne, towns close to the bank of the river becoming here more rare.
Wáñaka, where the two branches unite, being joined besides by a small westerly creek, called by some Máyo Fenga.
Hombólbe, the principal seat of the Kórongoy or Surk, who constitute the chief inhabitants of the places Ngárruwe and Toy.
Karashíru.
Kara-úra.
Neménte, and not far from it inland the village called "rúgga Bóde."
Náta.

* I here add a short itinerary from Yówaru to Yá-saláme:

Day.
1st. Hasi Jollúb, with a settlement of Zuwaye Sombúnne.
2d. A well.
3d. Yá-saláme, a place of about the same size as Yówaru, on a backwater at a considerable distance from the chief river. From Basikúnnu to Yá-saláme, four days.

Kammi.

Móbti or Isáka, situated at the point of junction of the two branches of the river, which have divided at Jafarábe, a low point of land, as it seems, separated by the river into a group of six islands, where all the boats coming from Hamda-Alláhi and the lower river, and proceeding to Sansándi, are obliged to disembark their merchandise, which henceforward has to be transported on the back of donkeys to the place of its destination. Of these two branches the northwestern* one bears also the name of Máyo Jágha, from a very important place, the celebrated Zágha of the Arab geographers, which, on account of its situation out of the great commercial track, is at present not very generally known in those quarters. The original form of the name, both with Songhay and Fúlbe, seems to be Jáka or Jágha, but the letters Z and J are continually interchanged. The town is said to lie at the distance of one and a half days S.W. from Sáre-dína, "the city of the (Mohammedan) religion," and only half a day N.E. from Jafarábe,† and is still celebrated on account of its excellent "tári" or "leppi."

I here add a short list of the towns and villages between Kúna, the place where the river is ordinarily crossed in proceeding from Sofára to the island of Másina Proper, and Móbti: from Kúna, about six miles E., is Néma, situated on the E. side of the river; from Néma, Tikkétiá, on the W. side of the river; Sáre-béle, on the E., Sáre-méle, on the W. of the river, N. of Tikkétiá; Gómi, a large town on the bank of the river; Móbti, on the E. side, with large fortifications, if I have understood right, of an ancient date, where the two branches join; Nymitógo, on the E. side of the river.

The distance from Tenéngu is also a day and a half, and between them lie the following places, beginning with Tenéngu: Takanéne, Chúbe, a hamlet inhabited by slaves, Kumbel, Ingelléye, Taíkiri, Kóllima, and Waráng'ha.

From Jafarábe upward along the river are situated the places Kongunkoro ("old Kongu"), Kóno, Jóru, Síbila, Maddína, Sansándi (this is the Songhay form) or Sansánne (the Mandingo form), the well-known starting-point of Mungo Park's voyage down the river. Mr. Cooley supposes that "di" is a contraction of "ding," meaning "little."

K. *From Hamda-Alláhi to Kábara, by land, by way of S'a.*

1 day. Niyakóngo, a large town at a considerable distance from the river; much cultivation.
1 day. Denéngu (?), a place inhabited by Fúlbe and Songhay, the latter being more numerous than the former; near the bank of the river.
1 day. U'ro-Búlo, a place inhabited by Fúlbe, on the E. side of the Débu.
1 day. S'a, a large place, inhabited chiefly by Bámbara, the seat of a governor, as was also the case in former times; on the E. side of the Máyo dhannéo or Bara-I'sa. Many dúm palms, or rather deléb palms, grow in this neighborhood, from whence Timbúktu is supplied with rafters. The floods of the lake and the various branches or creeks are so considerable during the rainy season that at that period of the year a person can not reach Hamda-Alláhi in less than six days.
1 day. Kóma, a small town of Bámbara, at a considerable distance E. from the river.
1 day. Chiay, close to the bank of the Máyo dhannéo.
1 day. Sáre-feréng, a Bámbara place. The road leads all the way along the S.E. bank of the river.
1 day. Jangináre, a Bámbara place.
1 day. A'rkoja, a town partly inhabited by Bámbara, partly by Songhay, the former prevailing.
1 day. Dári, a large place of Fúlbe, who call it Dár e' Salám. No Bámbara inhabitants.
1 day. Bongesémba, a village inhabited by Fúlbe Sudúbe, close to the point of junction, called I'sofay, of the two branches of the Dhiúliba, the white (dhannéo) and the black (balléo), the quality of their waters being totally different, one being full

* On the southeastern branch up to Jenni or Jenne (this is the Aswánek form), or Zenne (Zinne, as the Songhay call it), or Jinne (the Bámbara form), lie the following towns and villages: Bólay, a ksar or koira, Sildoy, Konne, Kóme, Isáka or Móbti, Kúna, Sofára, Zinne. Sofára, which lies half way between Hamda-Alláhi and Jenni or Zinne, has a market every Wednesday and Thursday. The eastern side of Sofára is skirted by a small branch or creek of the Niger called Golónno, and on the eastern bank of the latter lies a village called Góñima.

† These particulars I obtained after having finished my manuscript map in Timbúktu.

of crocodiles, hippopotami, and fish, and the other containing nothing of the kind, just as is the case with the Tsád. The water of the black river overwhelms the white water of the dhannéo. Cross the river.

1 day. Tindírma, a large Songhay place. A long day.
1 day. Dirc, one of the oldest places of the Songhay.
1 day. Dongoy, inhabited by Songhay, no Fúlbe; on the E. side of the river.
1 day. Tóyai, a Songhay village; the Tademékket rove in this neighborhood. Country level and without trees, being temporarily flooded.
2 days. Kábara, keeping close along the river, and crossing a small rivulet or creek.

L 1. *From Hamda-Alláhi to Káñima.*

Day.
1st. Síye.
2d. Niyakóngo, having passed the heat in the hamlet called Berber.
3d. Benne-ndúgu or Konna, having passed the heat in N'amet-Alláhi (a long day's, if not two days' journey).
4th. Toy. Arrive before noon.
5th. A Songhay village or ksar.
6th. Konsa, a Fúlbe village.
7th. A village inhabited by Fúlbe, Songhay, and Bámbara.
8th. Takóti.
9th. Sambejeráhit.
10th. Ungúma.
11th. Káñima, on a branch of the river coming from Bámbara (see *ante*, p. 249), end at a day's march from the latter place.

L 2. *Another short Itinerary from Káñima to Hamda-Alláhi.*

1st. Lábo.
2d. Dóra, a rúmde, or slave hamlet.
3d. Takóti, or Jengináre, both on the Bara-I'sa, Jengináre lying a little to the S.W. of the former.
4th. Another town on the Niger, the name of which informant has forgotten, probably Sáre-feréng.
5th. Gulúmbu, on the widening of the creek Débu or Dóbu. (Another road leads from Káñima, by Labo, Langóma, Konse, and another place, to Gulúmbu).
6th. Doy or Toy, a large Songhay place.
7th. Karri, Konna, or Benne-ndúgu, all names of the same place. On your way you pass Kori-ántsa, a large Púllo village.
8th. N'amet-Alláhi, a town of the Feroibe.
9th. Fatóma, the market-place (the market being held every Saturday) of Konári, not a large place.
10th. Hamda-Alláhi, a good day's march of ten hours.

M. *List of towns in Jimbálla, Zánkara, and Aússa.*

(A.) Towns in Jimballa, the district S. of the river, W. from the district Kíso:

Ayún, Kúfa, Sáre-feréng (the town mentioned p. 689), probably the seat of government under the empire of Melle, Tési, A'rkoja, Hóre-ayé, Dangal, Bória, Ngorko or Goroñya, a considerable market-place between Zánkara and San-koré, and distant one and a half day's journey S. from Dári, Kúlesongho, Guddunga. The following places lie in the central region of Jimbálla: Tórobe, Gmoy, Gunki, Gúngare, I'chi al Hábe, Séri, Segúl, Bugo-linchére, Gnórija.

It is a very remarkable fact that three places to which the origin of the Bámbara nation is referred are said to be the oldest places in Jimbálla, viz., Kanembúgu, Jéngenabúgu, and Tsorobúgu.

The following are the tribes of the Fúlbe in Jimbálla: Fíttobe, Sangho, Uralífoná, Búsurá, Kaya, U'ro-Módi, Dugurábe, Tongábe in Séri, Zukkáre, Toródi (probably settled in the locality called Tórobe), Nar-hau, Yaffóli. There is besides a tribe of Fúlbe called Dóngo, mixed with Rumá, settled in four places of Jimbálla, viz., Kurúm on the Máyo balléo, Sébi, Wáki, and Gong. In Sébi, the place mentioned p. 689, resides a chief of the Rumá, who formerly commanded the whole communication along the river, and with whom therefore Park had some business to settle—this evidently being indicated by the words wrongly translated by Mr. Silame, "that they might cross the way of the river."

South of Jimbálla is the district Sákkeré, under the dominion of the Fúlbe, but chiefly inhabited by Zoghorán. Chief place Dóko, one day from Koisa, and not far from U'ro-Búlo.

(B.) Zánkara, the district S. of the river, inclosed between the latter and the districts of Kíso and Jimbálla:

Tomme, Chángará, Manjebúgo, A'njau, Jebár, Báko, Bánikan, Jú, Jú-kárimá, Wáki, Tondo, Jindigatta, Wabango, Kúgu, Bádi, Gom. The capital of this province is Dári, or Dár e' Salám, residence of the governor 'Abd-Alláhi, son of Sheikh A'hmed. S.E. from Dári is Gannáti, a considerable market-place.

(C.) In Aússa (the province north of the river, between Timbúktu and Fermágha):

Tomba, Mékore near Gúndam, Bankoríye, Jango, Akoire-n-éhe, Hammakoire, Kamba-dumba, Ungurúnne, Nyafúnche, Hardánia or Béllaga, Gnóro, Baba-danga, Báñaga, Tóndi-dáro, Gubbo, Dháhabi-koire, Síbo, Alwéli-koira, Gombo, Tommi, Gaudel, Kurbal, Kattáwen, Fadhl-iláhi, A'ttora, Núnu, Nyódogu, Gaude, another Mékore near Kurbal, Kábara-tanda, Duwé-kiré near Dongoy, Tásakál, Mánkalágungu between Dongoy and Kábara, Telfi, Koddisabári; Sobónne, I think, is not the name of a place, but of a section of the Fúlbe settled here.

I also think this a fit place to insert some lists of towns lying along the various routes traversing the territories of Fermágha, the province to which Yówaru belongs, and Bergu, the province bordering on the former toward the S., although I can not fully testify to the accuracy of the order in which the towns are mentioned. I will here also add that this district Bergu, as it is called by some of the natives, the original form of the name being probably Marka, and of which Yá-saláme is the chief place, is a very flat country, almost destitute of trees, and producing no crops, but, on account of its ample supply of water, affording fine pasture-grounds. Fermágha, on the contrary, is a well-timbered province. My informant is Dáúd, the brother of the Púllo chief Mohammed ben 'Abd-Alláhi, whom I have mentioned in my journal.

Between Yówaru and Yá-saláme, along the western road, are said to lie the following places, beginning with the former: Bánghita, a village of learned men or m'allemín, Sáredína. Dógo, the place touched at in going from Yówaru to Niyakóngo by way of Shay, Urúnde, Gogórla, Launyánde, Launérde, Meré-únuma, Urungíye (1st day) (Urungíye in the dry season is at half a day's distance from the river; it is still reckoned by some as belonging to Másina); Tanna, Kánguru, having crossed between these two villages a small creek, Heráwa, Bandáre, Chúki, Kalaségi, Gachi- (or Gasi-) lúmo, Nanka, Kárangére, Surángo, Kúru (2d day); Módi Masanáre, Kunába, Júre, Ikáre, Búrburankóbe, Nyóji, Diggesíre, Yá-saláme, a considerable town inhabited by Aswánek and Fúlbe (3d day).

Between Yówaru and Yá-saláme, along the western road by Urungíye. After having passed Urungíye: Alamáye, Ucha-malángo, Ukánnu, Jowengéña, a village called Almáme, another called Fíttobe, Doroy, Sáre-yáru, Diggesíre, Yá-saláme.

Between Yá-saláme and Saredína, a journey of three days: Kóra, Túguri, Jappéje, Sendekúbi, a hamlet inhabited by slaves of the Fúlbe and Jáka, Sende-kórobe, Chúbe, Bú-deráje, Gánda, Gauye, Nomárde, Saredína. This road probably passes at no great distance W. of Tenéngu.

Between Yá-saláme and Konári, a journey of three days: Burtupédde, Geléji, Dóko, not the one mentiond above, Jónyori (1st day); Kóle, Wandebúte, Kollekómbe, Salsálbe (2d day); U'nguremáji, Konári.

Between Basikúnnu and Yá-saláme: Kussumáre, Jáfera, Jerri-Jáfera, a village inhabited by slaves (1st day, short march); Bínyamús, a place inhabited by Arabs, Terebékko, Sorbára, Kóllima, Túgguri (2d day); Túre-sangha, a place at present inhabited by Arabs (formerly by Songhay? túri=Mohammedan Máleki?), Kójole, Páche, Batáwa, a place inhabited by hárratín, Káre (residence of?) Búgoné, chief of the Bowár, Búburankóbe, Um-muswéle, Yá-saláme.

Between Basikúnnu and Yówaru, a journey of five and a half days: Barkánne or Barkánnu (1st day); another road goes by Jéppata; Shám, Lére (2d day); Nimmer, a creek called by the Arabs "el má hammer," "the red water," where you pass the heat, Dogoméra, Nyenche, Báya (3d day); Karúnna, Gungu, Saléngurú, Chíllunga, Gasi-lúmo (leaving Gasi-Jerma toward the N.) (4th day); Kalasége, Chúki (5th day); Yówaru.

Between Ikánnu, a town lying one day W. of Urungíye, and the town of Gúndam: Séda, Bundúre, Sabére-lóde, Tánuma, Jamwéli, Tómoró (both of these villages in-

habited by Songhay and Aswánek conjointly), Surángo, Jábatá, Lére, Gasi-Jerma, Nósi, Káti, Kábara, situated to the east of a large pond or dhaye, Kokóuta, a Songhay village, Kat'awó, Sumpi, Tákají, Nyódogó, Hóro, Télc, Gundó or Gúndam.

N. *Route from Timbúktu to Sansándi by way of Basikúnnu, from the information of Shékho Weled A'mmer Waláti.*

2d day. Gúndam, having passed by Kábera (not necessary, but most people do so); Tásakant or Tásakalt, another village or ádabay, a village called Duwékiré, and Dunge, a village inhabited by Rumá.

3d. Télc, a creek or rijl, with many villages.

4th. Térijít, a village on a creek of the river.

5th. Kat'awó, another village inhabited originally by Tawárek.

6th. Kábara, or, to distinguish it from the other village of the same name, Kábara Tanda, inhabited by Songhay.

7th. Janga, a place inhabited by Aswánek.

8th. Lére.

9th. Barkánni, a well, frequented by Arabs; a long day's march.

10th. Basikúnnu, a middle-sized place or ksar, inhabited by Arabs, especially the Welád 'Alúsh, a very warlike tribe, mustering about 700 armed people; but the chief part of the inhabitants consists of the slaves of the latter. Basikúnnu lies in the district called Eríggi, and is distant nine or ten days from Kasambára.

14th. Kíri, a well not far from the town of Kála, which informant intended to avoid, the direct road passing close along the western wall of that town.

15th. Saradóbi, a deserted place.

16th. Falambúgu, a place inhabited by Bámbara.

17th. Swéra, a considerable place.

18th. Sansándi.

O. *Route from Sansándi to Timbúktu, deviating a little from the general track for fear of the Fullán. Informant Sídi A'hmed el Mazúki el Bágheni.*

1st day. Asér (probably identical with Swéra, the latter being the diminutive form), a village inhabited by Bámbara. You arrive a little after sunset, having started from Sansándi in the afternoon.

2d. A place with a dhaye or tank. Pass the heat of the day in a deserted place, leaving Karadúgu a little to the E. This whole country is pillaged and laid waste by continual forays, owing to the feud between the Benáber or Bámbara and the Fullán.

3d. Akór, a deserted place or ksar.

4th. Encamp in a spot in the wilderness, having passed the heat of the day in a place called by the Arabs Akúmbu jemel; leave the considerable place Kála, inhabited by Bámbara, to the W.

5th. Encamp in the wilderness.

6th. Sáre-bála, a place formerly inhabited by the Welád 'Alúsh and the Idélebó, but at present deserted.

7th. Gello, a village in the neighborhood of a large "dhaye" or pond, two days from Yówaru, at present inhabited by the Teghdaust.

8th. Bír el Háj 'Omár, a well with an occasional encampment of the Zuwaye. The road, which in the first part of the journey was almost from S. to N., here turns more to the E.

9th. Lére, a village or ksar of the Welád Zayem, an Arab tribe dependent on the Fullán. A branch of the river skirts its east and south side. Even in the dry season, immense sheets of water are here collected, as is the case with the whole of Fermágha. The latter, which comprises this whole tract of country, is a larger province and better inhabited than Aússa.

10th. Gasi e' Sáhcli or Gasi-Jerma, distant one and a half day's march to the north from the more important place Gasi-Ghúma or Gasi-Lúmo, the great market-place of the "killa" or coarse colored stuff of mixed cotton and wool, and the second place of the province of Fermágha, next to Yówaru. Gasi-Ghúma lies on the backwaters of the river running parallel with the main branch between Lake Débu and Gúndam, and joining the river near Salga, while a branch runs from here to Gasi-Jerma, and thence to Lére. Gasi-Jerma has no great commercial activity, but a good supply of corn; shells are not current. It is inhabited by Songhay and Zoghorán, and is distant five days from Basikúnnu, toward the east.

11th. Sudfi, a place inhabited by Songhay, and belonging to Aússa. You pass the heat of the day in the ksar Nyeddúgu.

12th. No place.

13th. A village or ksar on a branch of the river. You pass the heat of the day near the dhaye Hór, and then keep along this sheet of water, which is a branch of the Rás el Má, and, according to my informant, extends as far as Gasi-Ghúma.

14th. Gúndam. N.B.—Perhaps one station has been left out, viz., Télé.

17th. Timbúktu.

P. *Route from Timbúktu to Waláta.*

1st day. Farsha, a locality at the foot of a hill.

2d. Mújerán, a lake in connection with the river, by means of the branch which separates from the latter between Betagúngu and Toga-bango, and encircled by hills. A short day's march. Gúndam from here S.S.W. The Kél-antsár of the I'gelád, whose chief is Tháher, encamp here.

3d. Geléb el Ghánem, a fertile locality, with a high mount seen from Gúndam, situated on the bank of a branch of the river. You pass between nine and ten o'clock in the morning Abánko, a small place, inhabited by slaves and a few Songhay.

4th. A'm-gunnán, a favored spot, where the slaves of the Tawárek cultivate the ground. "A'm" is not pure Arabic, but of Semitic origin.

5th. Rás el má ("the head of the water"), called "A'raf-n-A'man" by the Tawárek or I'móshagh, the outlying creek where the traveler from the north on his way to Waláta seems formerly to have first reached the river. This creek is stated by tradition to have been dug by the Bashá Jódar and his musketeers or "ermá." On the south side of this basin, already mentioned by El Bekrí,* there are small villages or "ádabay" (pl. "tadebít") inhabited by the I'délebó, a poor Moorish tribe, said to be related to the Shemman-A'mmas. It is an important fact that all the wheat consumed in Timbúktu is cultivated round the Rás el má, and not brought from the north, as Caillié stated (Travels to Timbuctoo, vol. ii., p. 20).

From Rás el má, which appears to be a little S. from W. of Timbúktu, the direct road to Waláta leaves the basin of the river, and reaches that place in seven good days' marches, or even in traveling as a courier in five; direction a little N. from W. In the dry season there is no water along this road, but in the rainy season plenty of tanks or "dhaye" are met with, so that at that time of the year some people prefer traveling at their leisure, performing the distance in ten or twelve days.

Our road keeps at some distance from the outlying backwaters of the river and reaches, with a long march.

6th day. Ulákiás, a very deep well, about twenty fathoms deep. On the way you pass the locality "Tádemét," called by this name from a group of "tédumt," as the baobab is called by the people of Timbúktu.

7th. A'dar, a well, with a small dwelling-place or "ksar" inhabited by Songhay and slaves of the I'délebó.

8th. Bír e' Selem, a well.

9th. Bú-Seríbe, a well; a long day's march. You pass another well called Zegzíg.

10th. Basikúnnu.

15th. Waláta, as the town is called by the Arabs and Tawárek, or Bíru, as it is called by the blacks, especially the Azér, a section of the Aswánek, who are the original inhabitants of the place. It is a considerable town, consisting of houses built carefully of a good species of clay, with a rough-cast of plaster, as it would seem. But the situation of Waláta, at the eastern border of the district El Hódh, at the foot of a range of hills called "Dháhar Waláta," which encircle it on this side, while a large valley, richly clad with trees, skirts the north and east side, is considered as extremely unhealthy, and on this account is called "kháneg el haye," "the throat of the snake," the district El Hódh being considered as the snake. Thus in this respect Waláta entirely resembles Ghánata, or the capital of the empire; but besides being a hot-bed of disease, the town is now also the seat of poverty and misery, which Ghánata, at least during its prime, certainly was not. For, as we have seen (Chronolog. Tables, p. 665), in the course of the fifteenth century

* El Bekrí, p. 160.

all the commercial importance of that place was transferred to Timbúktu, and nothing remained except the trade in provisions, especially negro corn or "éneli."

The inhabitants of Waláta are a mixed race of blacks and whites. The former, at present greatly reduced in numbers and their moral standard considerably lowered, belong to the widely-scattered nation of the Swanínki or Azér; the whites are Berbers and Arabs, the Arabs belonging to various tribes, but especially to the tribe of the Méhajib, who, even among themselves, make use almost exclusively of the Azéríye idiom, this being the indigenous language.

About one mile west from Bíru are the ruins of an ancient place called Tezúght, formerly inhabited by the Berber tribe of the Idáw el Háj, who were the chief propagators of Islám over these parts of Negroland, and ruled them for a long time. Among the ruins much gold is said to be found occasionally at this very day. At that time Bíru was only inhabited by native blacks. All circumstances taken into account, although the whole district called El Hódh was once thickly covered with towns or "ksúr," it can not be denied that the double town of Tezúght-Bíru is more fully entitled than any other place to be identified with the celebrated capital of the Ghánata empire.* The distance of Ghánata from Rás el má—the five days being taken at the rate of a courier—and that from Amíma, or Míme, or, as the name is generally pronounced, Maima, a locality still bearing this name, although the place is at present deserted, a little to the west of Lére, correspond exactly; the distance of three days from that place to the river (at Safnakú or Safekú) does not harmonize exactly with the present state of the country, the smallest distance of Waláta from the river being five days, but it is not impossible that the outlying creeks eight centuries ago approached a little closer the site of Waláta.

As for the distance of twenty days between Ghánata and Silla, which is certainly the town on the bank of the Niger visited by Mungo Park, it is to be considered at the rate of marching with loaded caravans. Silla was a very important place, and gave its name to the Sillát, that section of the Swanínki or Aswánek which is most distinguished on account of the antiquity and purity of its Islám, but the town has recently been destroyed in the wars between the Bámbara and Fullán.

There is a spacious mosque in Waláta, of high antiquity, but certainly wrongly attributed to Sídi 'Ukba el Mústajáb.

Between Waláta and A'rawán ten days are counted, in an east-northeasterly direction, through the "A'kela," the very name given to a portion of the old Ghánata, A'kela being nothing but another form of the name Aúkár, a district consisting of light isolated sand-hills, full of excellent shrubs for the camel, but entirely destitute of water, the tribe of the Kóbetát, who are wandering hereabout, not less than their camels, subsisting entirely on water-melons, which grow here in great plenty, and contain a sufficient supply of the aqueous element.

Q 1. *Routes from Waláta to Sansándi.*

Most people who undertake this journey go from Waláta to Basikúnnu, and thence to Sansándi, along the track described above; for the direct route which I am now about to communicate, according to the statements of my two informants, leads through a district much frequented by Arabs from El Hódh, whom peaceful travelers endeavor to avoid. I first give the route according to Shékho Weled A'mmer Waláti.

1st day. Simberínne, a spot in the sand-hills only a short, or rather half a day's march.

2d. Ríni, a well.

3d. E' Shemín, a well of great depth.

4th. Sigánneját, a group of shallow wells dry in summer.

5th. Dendáre, a large tank or dhaye, site of a former ksar, with an extensive forest or "ghába."

6th. Kork, a wooded and hilly locality.

7th. El Baruk, a well.

8th. Búgla, a deep well surrounded by fine groups of the tédum or baobab. You pass on the road the wells El Ghánimát and Jellúk.

9th. El Tréik, a well, or El Mákrunát, a little farther on.

* I here can not omit to express my admiration of Mr. Cooley's critical judgment, who, from the incomplete materials which he at the time possessed, arrived at the same conclusion in his researches on the Negroland of the Arabs. See especially p. 43.

10th. Atwél, a well to the east of Sinyáre, or you may make a long march, and go to Farabúgu, a Bámbara village.

11th. Kála, a large town of Bámbara, only two or three hours from Farabúgu. It is no doubt the same Kála which once constituted a small kingdom of itself, and of which A'hmed Bábá speaks so repeatedly.* In course of time it constituted one of the three great divisions of the empire of Melle, the two others being Bennendúgu and Sabardúgu.

12th. Sara-dóbú or Sara-dúgu.

13th. Falam-búgu.

14th. Swéra.

15th. Sansándi.

Q 2. *Same route according to El Beshír.*

N.B.—Informant proceeded on this route with a caravan of camels and pack-oxen, the former traveling from morning till about four o'clock in the afternoon, the latter resting during the heat of the day and following in the evening.

1st day. Aréni (evidently identical with Ríni), or another group of wells called A'jel el A'hmar.

2d. Arék, sand-hills, having passed the heat of the day at the Bír A'shim-mén (E' Shemín).

3d. Ajábi, or, if you proceed a little farther and keep more to the east, Tenwakkar.

4th. El Ghánimát, a well with a pond or "dhaye."

5th. Encamp at the foot of a conspicuous eminence, "e' sín," of the chain called "Dháhar Waláta," which encircles El Hódh on the east side, and which is here crossed.

6th. Encamp without water.

7th. Sinyáre, a village or ksar of the Swánínki or Aswánek.

8th. Kála, as above. My informant states that this town, like the last station before Sansándi, is called Swéra by the Aswánek.

9th. Falambúgu, a few miles to the west of Karadúgu.

10th. Swéra.

11th. Sansándi, a short march.

R. *Route from Kasambára to Waláta.*

Kasambára is regarded as the chief town in Bághena, and is often the residence of the chief of the Welád Mebárek.

1st day. Lombo-tendi, a rather long day. Lombo-tendi is the name of a well and a ksar or village of clay huts, inhabited by Rumá or Ermá (see *ante*, p. 296). Besides Lombo-tendi, there are two other ksúr in Bághena inhabited by this remarkable set of mulattoes, both of them called Barasáfa, the one situated at no great distance S.E. from Lombo-tendi, the other lying near Bisága, to the N.E. These three villages together form the group called in Bághena "Ksúr e' Rúmme."

2d. Tamára, a tank or dhaye.

3d. Agámmu, a well and tank.

4th. Bú-Lawán, a well.

5th. N'ama, a pretty ksar or small town, built about fifty years ago by a grandson of Múláy Ismá'aíl, in consequence of a civil war which had broken out among the Shurfa residing in Waláta. The village is inhabited by Shurfa, Méhajíb, and by I'délebó. The houses are built of clay and stone; the west side of the village is skirted by a valley which contains some hundreds of palm-trees, and where some tobacco is grown. N'ama is situated at the foot of the hilly chain which encircles the whole of El Hódh, or the basin. You arrive early in the morning.

8th. Waláta.

S. *From Kasambára to Jawára, from the information of Sídi A'hmed el Mazúki el Bágheni.*

1st day. Encamp in the wilderness, having rested two or three hours in Bisága.

2d. Retánne, a group of shallow wells or hasián. You pass the heat in Benón, at present a ksar inhabited by Aswánek, but evidently identical with the place of encampment of the chief of the Ludamar (Welád 'Omár, pronounced A'mmer),

* Journal of Leipsic Oriental Society, vol. ix., p. 527.

where Mungo Park suffered so much. Another road leads from Bisága to Benón, by a place called Dúnu.

3d. Jawára, called by the Fúlbe or Fullán Jára Melle, once the capital of the empire of Melle, at present deserted; during the latter period of its existence inhabited by Rúmme (Rumá) and Gurmábe.

Jawára is distant one and a half day N.N.E. from Jebéga, and two days from Samakéde, passing one night in Melléri, a ksar inhabited by the Welád Dábo (the name given by the Arabs to one section of the Aswánek or Wákoró), and passing the heat in a place called Arjóga. It is after this town, Jawára or Jaura, that the Fúlbe call the Swáníuki, or Sébe, as they style themselves (the noblest section of the Aswánek), by the name of Jaura-n-kóbe.

At a short distance from Melléri, south, lies the ksar Jemjúmmu, and west of it Sára.

T. *From Kasambára to Bú-Jedúr or Bakel.*

1st day. Bisága, a ksar of Aswánek, having passed the heat of the day in Jóga.

2d. Joróni, a ksar of Aswánek. In the morning, not far from Bisága, you pass Medína, a large place, and farther on Demmundáli, and rest during the heat of the day in A'gwenít, a considerable ksar, likewise inhabited by Aswánek.

3d. Túreghámme, another ksar of Aswánek, having passed the heat in a place called Kurche.

4th. Jebéga, a ksar of Aswánek. The traveler enters Kaarta, and the roads divide. Jebéga is said to be two days S.E. of Mesíla.

5th. Samankéde, a place inhabited at present by Bámbara. You pass the heat in a village called Aréri, and leave the village Chencha on one side.

6th. El Káb, a ksar of Aswánek, having passed another place called Bú-Swéde, and rested during the greatest heat in Kórkoró.

7th. Brenta, one of the chief places of the Aswánek. You pass the heat in Yóri, another place of the Aswánek.

8th. Tenge, a village inhabited by Bámbara, and dominating a mountain pass. You halt during the hot hours of the day in Kása, a village inhabited by Bámbara people.

9th. Mámuru, the residence of a chief called Dembo Weled Músa Korbo, situated in a wide valley. You rest during the heat in Mowedína, a town inhabited by Bámbara and governed by a chief of the name of Hassan Bébelé.

10th. Lewána, a large place, and residence of a governor dependent on the King of Ségo. You rest at noon in a village inhabited by slaves of the Bámbara.

11th. Gúri, the chief place of Jáfunu (evidently identical with Raffenel's Kóghi),* a considerable town built of clay, and containing, according to the statements of informants, not less than sixty mséd or places of worship. The inhabitants are Aswánek, forming a peculiar stock, called by the Fúlbe "Jáfunankóbe." The population of the country of Kajága or Gejága, S. of Jáfunu, is said to consist likewise of Aswánek, forming another tribe called Hairankóbe by the Fúlbe. You rest at noon in Cháma, a place inhabited by Bámbara, and governed by a son of Morbo; and beyond that place you enter Jáfunu, Jáfuna, or, as the name is pronounced by the Arabs, Jáfena.

15th. Bú-Jedúr, as the Freneh settlement Bakel, to the S.S.E. of Bot-badíye, is universally called by the Arabs. There are many towns and villages on the road, the names of which informant had forgotten. You enter the province of Fúta on the 12th day.

U. *Route from Kasambára to Mesíla.*

1st day. Bisága. From Bisága to Benón is one day's mareh from morning till sunset, halting at noon in Dúnu.

2d. In the wilderness.

3d. Ferénni, a ksar inhabited by Aswánek. It is the westernmost ksar of Bághena, being situated about six miles N.N.W. from Benón.

4th. Gógi, a shallow well or hasi belonging to Termessa, a district of El Hódh. Arrive about noon.

5th. Beyond a well named Talli, rich in water and adorned with small trees, where you pass the heat and proceed on your journey.

* Raffenel's Second Voyage, vol i., p. 223, seq.

6th. Bowár, a copious well, constituting the W. frontier of El Hódh, and frequented by the tribes of the Zenágha or Senhája, Henún, and Fáta.

7th. Mesíla, a group of shallow wells, the first of which is called Akerúd. With regard to plants, the "dirs" is almost exclusively found here.

V. *Route from Kasambára to Nyámina.*

1st day. N'ama, a ksar of the Welád Mazúk. Rest during the heat of the day in a village called San-fága.

2d. Dýnnia, a large and wealthy town of the Welád Yággeré, residence of a governor called Músa Nájem, son of Bankóro, and dependent on the King of Bámbara. The town is rich in horses. You pass the heat in a place called Séredú, inhabited by Aswánek and Bámbara. Dýnnia is distant one day's march W. from Alássa, resting at noon in a ksar called Wésat, inhabited by Bámbara.

3d. Jóre, belonging to the district of Dýnnia. You pass the heat in Wáteré, a large Bámbara place.

4th. Debála, a Bámbara town belonging to the northwestern province of the Bámbara empire, called Kéche. Rest during the heat in Delánga, a place distant only six or eight miles from Jóre.

5th. Mekoye, a large place, residence of the Governor of Kéche. Pass Kasambúgu, a large place inhabited by Arabs and Bámbara.

13th. Nyámina, a considerable town and well-furnished market-place on the N. side of the Dhiúlibá. The market of Nyámina exceels that of Sansándi in many respects, and supplies a great proportion of the inhabitants of the western desert. The district intervening between Mekoye and Nyámina is densely inhabited, but informant does not remember the names of the places where he slept. Not far W. from Nyámina a very considerable creek or backwater separates from the river, opening an extensive inland navigation. It divides itself into two branches, the eastern one of which follows an almost northerly direction, approaching close to Tumbúlle, a ksar in the country of A'hel Yággeré, distant a day and a half S.S.W. from Dýnnia, and thence going to Jungúnta, situated to the same distance S. from W. of Dýnnia (starting from Dýnnia, pass the heat in Farku, sleep in Sillintíggera, arrive in the morning in Jungúnta), after which the creek turns S. from W. to the country of A'hel Mása.

W. *From Kasambára to Nyámina by way of Murja, and from Murja to Mekoye.*

1st day. Dáli, one of the chief places of the Aswánek. Pass on the road the villages Zeghéri, probably identical with the زغارى of the Arab traveler E'bn Batúta (Journal As. Soc., 1852, p. 50); farther on Serére, then B'aínbála, where you pass the heat of the day. East, at no great distance from Dáli, was formerly the ksar called Debbús. At a short distance E. of B'aínbála is the village Kóshi; direction S.E., or rather E.S.E.

2d. Alássa, a ksar of the tribe of the Teghdaust, of mixed Aswánek and Arab blood, once very powerful and widely scattered, at present degraded to the condition of "lhame" or "khóddemán," serfs or tributaries, but still distinguished on the score of their learning. The town of Alássa itself is very remarkable on account of its palm-trees, there being besides these no palm-trees in the whole of Bághena, with the exception of two trees in Kasambára, where there were formerly four. About six miles S.S.E. from Alássa lies Safantára, a large Bámbara place. Direction E. of S. You halt during the heat in Yengót. Here you also pass the heat of the first day in going from Alássa to Jawára in very short marches; sleep in El Awéna; halt the second day in Seghálli, sleep in Jurni (Joróni); third day sleep in Kúrehe; fourth day sleep in Torangúmbu (Turaghamme); fifth day reach Jawára.

From Alássa to Akúmb is two and a half days' march S.E. First day Rararúlle, making a short halt at noon in Tambebógo; second day Rullúmbo, passing the heat in Fúgti; third day Akúmb; distance the same as that between Kábara and Timbúktu. A short distance N. from Akúmb is Díggena, with a mixed population of Bámbara, Aswánek, and Fullán.

3d. Tambe-bógo, a ksar of Bámbara. Rest a couple of hours during the heat of the day in Gala-bógo, likewise inhabited by Bámbara.

4th. Nyáme-bógo, another Bámbara place, about noon.

5th. Sleep in the wilderness, having rested at noon in Dambar- (or Damboy-) kesćba.

6th. Murja, in the morning.

In going from Murja to Nyámina.

1st day. Khersánne, a Bámbara place; arrive between three and four o'clock, without having halted on the road.

2d. Manzánne.

3d. Kanú, a Bámbara place, about three o'clock P.M.

4th. Ksér (diminutive form of "ksar") el M'allemín, a place inhabited by Aswánek students, and therefore so designated by the Arabs.

5th. Nyámina, before noon.

From Murja to Mekoye.

1st day. Gellu, a considerable place. It was formerly dependent upon Murja, but it has succeeded in making itself independent, while the latter place lay deserted and waste for nearly four years, and it has also preserved its independence since the rebuilding of Murja in 1852–3. Several towns or villages in the neighborhood belong to Gellu.

2d. Debála. Pass on the road many ksúr or small towns.

3d. Mekoye. A long day.

I here add a few less distinct data with regard to this region from the information of Dáúd.

Between Marikoire (probably identical with Mekoye) and Debála, the following towns and villages: Belála, Dundé, Síde, Nawelénna, Kalúmbu, a Bámbara place, Debála.

Between Debála and Dinga, on a route of a little more than a day's journey, are the following places: Wálteré, Marénna, Sírankóro, Tówa, Dócheré, Dinga. Dinga is said by this informant to be the abode of the A'hel Y'eggara, a tribe of Bámbara.

Between Marikoire and Danfa, in a direction from west to east, two and a half days' fast, or four days' slow traveling: Búle, Tolókkoró, Sćle, Búlo, Báne, Túnturubále, Kóssa, Barakóro, Bássala, two considerable villages or ksúr, inhabited by Bámbara people, Bankorondúgu, Danfa.

Between Danfa and Debála, a two days' journey north, lie the following places: Dogoye, A'rsa, Marénna, Námbara, Babanúru, Mariam-Babanúru, Jeraudu, Bóngel, Debála.

Between Yá-saláme and Sókolo, a three days' journey: Nyenchélle, Nyarinyarínde, Káre (see below), Urlí, Sókolo; a long uninhabited tract intervening between the last two stations.

X 1. *Route from Kasambára to Kóla direct.*

1st day. Chappáto, a ksar of the Bámbara, a few miles west from Dáli. Halt at noon in B'aínbála.

2d. Jibónfo, a town inhabited by Fúlbe. Pass the heat in U'm el 'Arúk. One day from U'm el 'Arúk is Musáwelí, a considerable ksar of the Aswánek, about two hours north of Kolí. Another road from Musáwelí to Kasambára leads, 1st, to U'm 'el 'Arúk; on the 2d day, by Kúsh to Kóla; on the 3d, to Serére; on the 4th, to Kasambára. One day and a half from Jibónfo is Tangenágha. Halt at noon in Raranrúlle, a Bámbara village; sleep at Fúrti or Dambo-selli; reach at noon, the next day, Jibónfo.

3d. Kolí, a considerable place; arrive about three o'clock P.M. It is two hours south from Musáwelí.

4th. Encamp in the open country, having halted during the heat in Kúmba, which is not farther distant from Kolí than Kábara from Timbúktu, and consists of two villages, separated from each other by a valley, where the market is held; the northern village being called Ferbága, and the southern one Lellága.

5th. Kóla, a Bámbara place, distant two days northwest from Kála, and six from Sansándi. Arrive before noon.

X 2. *Zigzag route from Sansándi to Kasambára, according to the Idésan el Mukhtár.* Slow rate with camels.*

2d day. Karandúgu, dependent upon Bámbara. Country level; all the houses clay; no reed huts.

4th. Denfó, a large walled place, under the dominion of Bámbara; residence of a governor; abundance of trees, rice; horned cattle, sheep; much cotton. The natives, dressed in tobes, take their supply of water from wells. In Karandúgu informant changed his north-northeasterly direction for one going west.

5th. Salákoró, a small village of Bámbara, densely inhabited. Country well cultivated. Arrive at sunset.

6th. Bernínkoró, a small village, but well inhabited. Even the smaller towns and villages in this quarter are constructed of clay. Grain in abundance; much honey and butter.

7th. Murja, a large walled place; residence of a governor called Mamári, and nicknamed by informant Elli-Búseruwál. The inhabitants, including the governor, all idolaters, but dress well; like all the Bámbara people, they have a golden stud in the right ear. A great portion of them speak Arabic. They are armed with muskets and arrows. The country is perfectly level; no valleys, only wells.

8th. Encamp at sunset in the open country. The country here intersected by sandy ridges, nebák or erreg rendering the passage difficult. No cultivation, but tall trees; no water.

9th. Kumba, first town of Bághena, separated by a ravine into two distinct quarters, each ruled by a governor of its own. In the ravine or valley the market is held. The inhabitants are all Mohammedans; speak Bámbara. Informant, from some cause or other, did not take the direct road from Murja to Kasambára by way of Alássa.

10th. Kolí, at sunset; a large walled town, half clay, half reed. The whole country is under cultivation; cattle and sheep; wells; no running water. The Welád e' Rahmún, the Shébahín, besides the Aswánek, have villages on the road. There are also the Fúlbe tribes, the Bowár, with the chief Búgenó, and the Hási-nibóro, with the chief Sumbúnne, but acknowledging the supremacy of Bághena.

11th. Roríngа, a temporary dwelling-place of the roving tribes, including the Idésan. Arrive at four o'clock P.M., having rested at noon.

12th. U'm el 'Aruk, a large village, with shallow wells. Much cotton and indigo. Arrive about noon.

13th. Chapáto, a place inhabited by Sellát, a section of Aswánek, Mohammedans; many temporary settlers. Early in the morning.

14th. Kúsh, a large place, residence of the Helbúbu Welád Mahbúb, who have no handicraft or market; make war in company with the Arabs; are armed with muskets; their idiom Bámbara, Aswánek, and Arab; all clay dwellings.

15th. Tónorár, small place; as usual, consisting of clay dwellings; residence of the Arúsíyín, with their chief Sídi Sála; herds of cattle; no camels; much honey.

16th. Kserát Shigge (probably meaning "the manufacturing or weaving towns," shigge being generally the name given to cotton in these quarters). At present the Kesíma, a section of those in Sús, dwell here. Arrival in the morning early.

17th. Kasambára, large place; clay and reed; residence, at the time of informant's journey, of Mukhtár, son of Mohammed, whom my informant believed able to bring into the field from 6000 to 7000 cavalry, but only a few infantry.

Y. *A few Notes on the present state of Bághena.*

The name of Bághena, as it comprises part of the ancient territory of Ghánata, has evidently also supplanted the ancient name. At present it does not comprise a country naturally or politically united; for, naturally considered, Bághena forms part of the district El Hódh, at least that portion of it which is most favored by nature; and in a political point of view it consists of the most heterogeneous elements, comprising districts inhabited by Aswánek, Arabs, and Fullán. The former, even at the end of the last century, were very powerful, when they became known to Venture under the name of Marka,† through the medium of those two

* It would seem, from many indications, that this informant describes the country in the more flourishing state which it enjoyed some years previously to my visit to Negroland.

† Venture, Vocabulaire Berbère, ed. Jaubert, Appendix, p. 225.

Moroccain merchants who visited Paris at that time. This name is given to them by the Bámbara, who call their country Marka-kanne or kanda, and are greatly intermixed with them. The Fullán hereabouts also formerly had great power, and have become famous under the name Kowár.

The Aswánek, Swánínki, Sébe, or Wákoré, were the original inhabitants of the country, and once formed the principal stock in the vast and glorious empire of Ghánata, the ruling class not improbably belonging to the Pullo stock, the Leukæthiopes, who were settled in this very region since the time of Ptolemy, till they were overpowered by the nearly-related tribe of the Mandingoes or Júli, who, on the ruins of the empire of Ghánata, founded a new empire, extending its influence over the whole middle course of the great river. This new empire was called "Melle," from melle, a word meaning "free," "noble," as the dominating tribe of the Mandingoes called themselves, in opposition to their oppressed brethren, the Aswánek, just in the same manner as the free, roving portion of the Berbers from ancient times seem to have called themselves Mázigh, Imóshagh, in opposition to the degraded settlers in the towns. The feeble remains of the empire of Melle, which had been nearly annihilated by the Songhay, were extinguished, as it seems, in the beginning of the reign of Múláy Ism'aíl, when the Arabs on the one side, and the Bámbara on the other, began to take the lead in those quarters, while the Fúlbe or Fullán appeared in the background.

The catastrophe of the extinction of this last remnant of the empire of Melle is not without interest in the modern history of the western part of Central Africa. For a civil war having arisen between the royal princes Dábo and Sagóne, sons of Ferénghi Mahmúd, the late king or ruler of Melle (the title "Ferénghi," instead of the more exalted one of Mansa, showing his reduced state of rank), all the most powerful tribes in that part of the continent took part in the quarrel: one faction being formed by the Bámbara, who, in the mean time, had won Ségo from their masters and near relations the Mandingoes, the Welád Mazúk, the noblest portion of the Welád Mebárek, and the A'hel Sembóru—that is to say, a section of the Fullán, who meanwhile had settled in these quarters; while the opposite party consisted of the Rumá, or Ermá, the Moroccain conquerors of Songhay, who had settled down in certain places of that vast empire, and intermarried with the natives; the Zenágha; the Welád 'Alúsh, a very warlike tribe, mentioned above; and the A'hel Másа, or Sáro, a section of the Wákoré. In this struggle the capital of Melle was destroyed; and while the people of Bámbara took possession of the southwestern portion of its dominions, the Welád Mebárek, with their friends the Welád Mazúk, rendered themselves masters of its northeastern districts. For Hennún, the son of Bóhedel, son of Mebárek, who had led this tribe in the sanguinary and long-lasting war, received from the hands of Múláy Ism'aíl, the energetic emperor of the Gharb, as a sort of feudal dominion, the lordship of Bághena; and his successors have at least partly retained it up to this day. I here give a list of these chiefs, adding the length of their reigns, wherever I was able to make it out:

'Omár (A'mmer) Weled Hennún, a powerful chief, who has given his name to the ruling tribe, which, after him, is called Welád 'Omár (A'mmer), a name corrupted by Park into Lúdamar.

'Alí Weled 'Omár ruled almost forty years; was visited by Park shortly before his death.

'Omár Weled 'Alí, ruled about thirteen years.

Mohammed Weled 'Omár was chief about the same number of years.

'Alí Weled Mohammed was chief seven years.

Hennún Weled Mohammed murdered his brother 'Alí, but was chief only four months, being murdered in his turn by

Mukhtár, a near relative of his, who was chief for about twelve years.

Babúne succeeded him. Between this chief and Hámed Weled 'Alí e' Sheikh Weled Hennún Weled Bóhedel, there arose a civil war, which lasted seven years, devastating all Bághena, and weakening especially the power of the Arabs. At the end of seven years Hámed died, Babúne, who altogether ruled about nine years, surviving him by one year. He was succeeded by

'Alí Weled el Mukhtár, the present chief of the Welád Mebárek, who in 1853 had ruled two years.

As for the Fullán, or Fúlbe, they had become very numerous in Bághena, and were in possession of several ksúr, principally Dáguní, Jibónfo, Kemeñyómo, Nara, Kebda, Barréu, and Gurúnge, till they were driven out of these places by 'Omár

Weled Hennún, when most of the ksúr remained deserted. But the policy of the Fullán of Bághena became entirely changed when their brethren on the other side of the river, led on by the fanatical and energetic chieftain Mohammed Lebbo, raised the standard of the Jihád in the year 1821. Jealous of their political independence, which thus became threatened, they then joined the Arabs in their struggle against the new empire of Hamda-Alláhi, and supported them. Nevertheless, favored as he was by the civil war among the latter, the chief A'hmedu, son of Mohammed Lebbo, made considerable progress in Bághena, which was not arrested until recently. At present Sumbúnne, son of Bú-Bakr, the present emír of the Fullán in Bághena, has built a new ksar, the place El Imbedíye mentioned above, situated a few miles east from Lombo Tendi, and to the north of another ksar called Gurúnge. There is also a Pullo emír in Bághena, of the name A'bú El Háji Ibrahíma, who seems to enjoy considerable authority.

As for the Aswánek of Bághena, who, as will have been gleaned already from the itineraries, are masters of many ksúr, their present policy is said to consist in keeping prudently in the background, and economizing their strength for some great exertion in favor of their own independence. I here insert a list of the several sections into which the Aswánek are divided, as far as I have become acquainted with them:

The Kométen, in Sansándi or Sansánni, which originally was an Aswánek town.
The Síse, not unlikely related with the Súsu.
The Sása.
The Konne.
The Berta.
The Berre.
The Dúkkera or Dúkerát.
The Silláwa or Sillát.

The Kágorát, a very remarkable tribe, distinguished by a lighter hue, and, according to report, even by a peculiar idiom, while in other respects, especially by the three cuts which they make along both cheeks, they approach closer to the customs of the Bámbara and A'hel Mása.

The Kúnnatát.

The Jáwarát, speaking nothing but the pure Aswánek language, and divided into the two sections of the Welád Dábo and the Swági, the latter especially being very numerous and warlike.

The Fófanát.
The Dárisát.

The chief of the Aswánek in Bághena is Músa, son of Benédik, who resides in Ershán, at no great distance W. from Bisága.

Related to the Aswánek are also the Sáro, whose seats are one day S. from Jinni, and who, together with the Bámbara, fight against the Fúlbe. Their former chief was Chong Weled Músa.

The hostilities carried on between the inhabitants of the northern banks of the Niger or Dhiúliba as a whole, on the one side, and the Fúlbe of Hamda-Alláhi on the other, exercise their influence also upon the relation which exists between the Arabs of Bághena and the Bámbara, which therefore at present can not but be a friendly one.

On the whole, the country of Bághena, which well deserves the attention of Europeans, is not less capable of fixed settlements than it is fit for rehála life, or nomadic wandering, although it is not suited for the camel. Besides cultivation of dukhn, or, as it is here called, bíshen or héni, and dhurra or sába, wild rice is procured from the numerous swamps formed in the rainy season, as is also the case in the whole of El Hódh. The trees most common in Bághena are the tédum or baobab, at least in the southern districts, the róma or líyene, the chígfit, the baferéwa, and the aúrnal; of the date-tree I have spoken above.

Z. Route from Kasambára to Tishít or Shétu, from the information of El Imám, a native of the latter place.

1st day. Mabrúk, a large well or hasi.

5th. Ajwér, a large and much-frequented well, distant a long day's journey W. from the celebrated well "Bír Nwál." As far as Ajwér the direction is almost N., but here it becomes N.W.

10th. Agérijít, in former times nothing but a well, but in the year 1850, owing

to a civil war having broken out in Tishít, one section of the Welád Bille left their home and settled near this well, where they built a small ksar or village. Here the direction of the road changes to the W.

11th. Tishít, or, as the place is called by its original inhabitants, Shétu. These indigenous inhabitants of Tishít are the Másina, a section of the Aswánek or Azér, consisting of two divisions, one of darker and the other of lighter color. These Másina are the founders of the kingdom of Másina or Másin, whose centre was the island or rúde formed by the Máyo Balléo and the Máyo Rannéo, with Tenéngu as its chief place. It is still an important market-place. Tishít is said by the Arabs to have been founded by 'Abd el Múmen, about the fifth century of the Hejra; but that means only that about the period indicated the Berbers took possession of the town, the original name of which they thus changed into Tishít. At present there live in the town, intermixed with the Másina, the Welád Bille, who about two centuries ago formed an extremely rich and powerful tribe, but part of whom, as stated before, have at present emigrated. The consequence is that the town has decayed greatly, and seems scarcely to contain at present more than about 3000 inhabitants. Besides the Welád Bille, there live also in Tishít a certain number of Zuwaye or Tolba, especially the A'hel Hindi Nislim.

Tishít lies not far from the southern foot of the Kódia, which encircles El Hódh, and there is at no great distance from it a sebkha where an inferior kind of salt is obtained. The only produce of the place are dates of various quality, the names of which are as follows: Básebúrk, Dérmakúl, Dérmasúggin, Batáye, Mandínga, Géti, Habbes, Getfáf, Dáram, Birkeráwi, Zengít, Tamaraníye. All other articles of food are brought from Nyámi, which forms the great market-place of Tishít and the surrounding country.

There is another more westerly road leading from Kasambára to Tishít, and reaching on the 4th day the well called "Bír Fóg," or perhaps "fók," meaning "the upper well;" on the 8th, another well or hasi called "A'jwe," and bringing the traveler to Tishít on the 10th before noon.

AA. *List of stations between Tishít and Waláta.*

1 short march, A'gerijít, the well where the road from Kasambára joins. 1 short march, Tuwéjínit. 1 long march, Bottat el abés. 1 short march, A'ratán. 1 short march, 'Imód elán, hills or columns of sand, one of them called 'Amad el Abiadh. This station is very important, as it is the point where the direct road from Wadán to Waláta joins this track. See lower down. ½ day, Bú-mehaye. 1 day, I'ghelád Timasóra. ½ day, Shebbi, "m'aden sheb abiadh," mines of white alum. 1 long day, Ojáf. 1 day, Tagoráret. ½ day, El 'Ayún Khanfóreten Aísa. 1 day, Wádi Níti, with wells (hasián) and íghelád. 1 day, Waláta.

BB. *Route from Tishít to Bot-hadíye.*

3d day. Týggebo, a ksar or village inhabited by the Teghdaust, a very remarkable tribe, about whom I shall say more farther on, and by the Tájakánt. The village belongs to the district called Erkíz, perhaps identical with what others call Taskast. About ten miles west from Týggebo there is an ancient place called Nyadásh, inhabited likewise by the Teghdaust.

4th. Ergébe, or rather a resting-place in the hilly district called by that name. In another part of this hilly tract, on the frontier of Afólle, a party of Zuwaye have recently built a ksar or small town of the name of Makámet.

5th. E'nwasár, a shallow well or hasi.

10th. Bú-bothá, a well or hasi, evidently near a bothá or swampy depression. Between E'nwasár and this place there are other watering-places, but informant has forgotten their names.

11th. Jók, a well or hasi.

14th. Limódu, a ksar or village inhabited by the Medrámberín, a tribe of the Kunta.

16th. Jígge, a valley with plenty of water in the rainy season.

17th. El Mal, a small island in a lake of fresh water, and not even drying up during the dry season.

19th. Krá el ásfar, a creek of the bahr Fúta or Senegal, so called by the Arabs.

21st. Bír el Ghála, a well.

22d. Testaye, a well.

23d. Bothádíye or El Bot-há, as Fort St. Joseph seems to be called by the Arabs.

CC. *Stations on the route from Wadán to Tishít.*

5 days, Bú-Sefíye. ½ day, Khat el Moina or Shwékh. 1 day, Lobér. 1 long, Tin-tét or Ghaléb e' dál. 1 day, Felísh el milha. 1 day, Kátib. 1 day, El Badiyát. 1 day, El Jerádiyát. 1 day, Ganeb, a well or hasi, with date palms. 1 day, Dikil gháleb. 1 day, Tishít. From Wadán to the sebkha I'jil, a salt basin at the foot of a considerable mountain, is ten days' journey with laden camels, and seven with unladen ones going at a swift rate. 1 day, Tagálift, on the northern side of the valley. ½ day, U'm el bédh. 2 days, Aushísh, in the district called Maghtér, consisting of high sandy downs. ½ day, Bot-há el haye. 1½ day, El Argíye, the nearest well to the salt lake. One day S. from the sebkha is the high mount I'jil.

DD. *Stations on the route between Wadán and Waláta.*

3½ days, Warán. 1 short, Tésserat-ú-Láhiat. 1 long, Temnakarárit. 1½ day, Ijúfa, all sandy downs. 1¼ day, Akáratín e' sbot and Akáratín el had. 1 day, El Mehámer. ½ day, El Ksar-rawát. 1 day, Engéwel. 1 day, Agamíyirt. 1 day, Imódhelán; here this route joins the former one. 1 day, Bú-meháye. 1 short, Begére, a dhaye. ½ day, Shebbi. ½ day, Keddámu. ½ day, Warásh. 1 short, El Atilt (El Ethelet?) seráye. 1 short, Rek E'rdhedhír. 1 long, El Ogúdh el himmál. 1 day, Rodh el hamra. 1 day, El Felísh. 1 day, El Derrúmbekát. ½ day, Waláta.

EE. *Stations between Wadán and El Khat, by a circuitous route.*

1 short day, Tanúshirt, a hasi with date-trees; "tanú" means vale. 1 day, A'herúr. 4 days, A'wakan; this part of the road passes through a desert tract without wells, called Táyarát Idáw el Háj. 1 day, Sharaníye. 1 day, Hasi el harka. 1 day, Itílen, a mound. 1 day, El Khat, having passed the heat in Bú-Sefíye. El Khat is a rich valley, which I shall say more about in the general account of El Hódh, and a very important locality where most of the routes traversing this region join. A'wakan, which will be mentioned in a following itinerary, is thus tolerably well determined.

FF. *From Wadán to Rashíd, by way of El Khat.**

1 day, Roj, a well. 1 day, Shingít, an ancient town, which has become very famous in the whole of the East on account of its having given its name to all the Arabs of the West. The reason of this is said to be that a distinguished man, a native of this place, of the name of 'Abd e' Rahmán, visited the court of Harún e' Ráshid. I shall say more about this place farther on. 1 day, encamp beyond the A'kela without a well. 1 day, Hawéshi. 1 day, Awázgar (identical with A'wakan?), with a hasi at the foot of the kódia, leaving the small town of A'tar eastward. 1 day, Tákenus and El Khósa. 1 day, El Sharaníye, a hasi or well belonging to the Welád el Wáfi, and still forming part of A'derér e' temar. 1 day, El Khat Smirár, a tract with many wells, but, as it seems, on high ground, from whence Tejígja, Ksar el Barka, Rashíd, and even Tisígi may be seen. 1 day, Tagánet el bédha. 1 day, Rashíd.

GG. *From A'tar to Tejígja or Rashíd.*

N.B.—A'tar is two days E. of Shingít and Ojúft, another ksar or village which is two days S.E. of Shingít, and one day S.S.W. of A'tar. (These data I had not made use of in my map.)

1 day, Tozarótín, with a well or hasi. 1 short, Zeríbe, a dhaye or pond. 1 day, A'ús, difficult march, high kódia. 1 day, a locality a short distance to the south of Shingít. 3 days through the A'kela, without a well; then reach Kíder Wámu, a well three days from Shingít. 1 day, A'wakan, the above-mentioned well. 1 day, Hasi il harka. 1 day, Shwékh, or Khat el Moina, on the south side of the Khat. 1 day, El Laye, a well. ½ day, Tanúshight. 1 short, Atwél and Awén Tisba. 1 day, E' Nwalík Warzák. ½ day, either Tejígja or Rashíd, two villages in Tagánet, the distance of both places being the same. Tejígja is a place of considerable renown.

* N.B.—This itinerary was not made use of for the map of the western part of the desert which I sent home from Timbúktu.

III. *From Tejígja to Jáfena or Jáfunú.*

2 days, Wedán, with a large dhaye or pond. 1 short, Adírg el Mejúj. 1 day, Dhú el Rodíye, passing by Daúdad. 1 day, E' Nugga. ½ day, Korkol, a kódia or hill at the frontier of Tezízzay, between Aúkár and El Kódia. ½ day, Gárrugát. 1 short, Agúrsh Gasámu. 1 day, Gundége nwamélen (wan mellen?) two mountains with hasián. 4 day, Kífa, a well or hasi. 1 day, U'm el A'khseb, a dhaye or tamurt, surrounded by baobab-trees. 1 day, Samba-sandíggi, a well, with plenty of sgillem (the dúm bush) and delcb palms. 1 day, Isíl, a dhaye. 1 day, Gár-allah, a large dhaye. The district Asába is south from here. 1 day, Erísh. 1 day, Elgílte el Khaddra, a large dhaye or pond full of fish. 1 day, encamp in the open country. 1 day, Jáfena or Jáfunú, or rather Gúghi or Gúri, the capital of that province, which is four or five days south of Bowár or 'Akerút, a well in Mesíla.

II. *Route from Ksar el Barka—Bú-télimít.*

Ksar el Barka is one short day southwest from Rashíd.

1st day, Gébbu, a tamurt or dhaye where sába or dhurra and wheat are cultivated by the Welád Sídi Haiballa, who usually encamp here. 2d, Tisígi, a short well at the foot of a kódia, from whence the passes crossing the range of sand-hills toward the south are seen. 3d, El Júwelát e' Twáma, two of these passes, either of which you may choose. 4th, U'm e' dér, a hasi or well belonging to the district Agán.* 5th, El 'Aíní, a hasi or well. 6th, Titárikt or A'sabay, a well about thirty-five fathoms in depth, and the most eastern of "El A'biár," or the deep wells, which have given their name to the whole district called "El A'biár."

Besides the wells here mentioned, the most famous wells of "El A'biár" are the following, all lying west of Aftót: A'r-éddeke, Bú-Telehíye, Rézelán, Bír el Barka, Dukhn, Bú-Tweríge, Yáre, Bú-Tumbúski. Farther to the northwest from Aftót, and at the distance of about two days north from Bú-Tweríge, is a famous well called Bú-télimít, but not to be confounded with the well of the same name mentioned hereafter. In the district of Aftót there are only shallow wells.

7th, El Wastha, a deep well dug in stony ground. 8th, Twersát, a group of shallow wells. 9th, a well, being the property of a man called E' Sheikh el Kádhi, with an encampment of the Ijéjebó. 10th, Tin-dámmer Abél, a well. 11th, Bútélimít, a large well or hasi near the camping-grounds of the Brákena, much frequented. From here Bot-hadíye is said to be only one day and a half distant. If that is the case, the latter must be identical with some place in the "Ile de Morfil."

KK. *Route from Ksar el Barka to Kahaide.*

2d day, Tésigí, the locality mentioned above. 3d, Létfatár, a large tamurt or pond. 4th (long), Agáyar, a well or hasi. 5th, Gímí, a hasi, belonging, like the foregoing one, to the district Aftót. 6th, Keréni, a hasi. 7th, El Wád, a valley without water. 8th, El A'rruwa, a hasi. 9th, encamp in the wilderness without water. 10th, Shemmáma, a name which is given by the Arabs to the whole district along the north side of the Senegal. You arrive at the river opposite two villages called (by the Arabs) Gúru 'l hajar. It seems not to be identical with the Gúri 'l haire of the Fúlbe, as that is one short day from Bakel, while our route evidently follows a far more westerly course, even west of the one which I am about to give.

LL. *Route from Kahaide to the frontier of Taqánet, direction N.N.E., according to Háj Ibrahím from Kahaide.*

1st day. E'njekúdi, or Tisílit Táleb Mahmúd, a well with an encampment of Arabs called collectively by my informant Shénagít and Limtúna.

2d. Monge, a village of the Limtúna, consisting of tents made of camels' hair.

3d. Moyet, another village of the Limtúna, or rather two sections of this once powerful but now degraded Berber tribe, the Dagebámbera (this is probably not their proper name), and the Welád e' Shefága.

4th. Basengíddi, a village inhabited by the Limtúna, the Twabér (a section of the former), El Hejáj, the Rehála, El Héba, and the Welád 'Abd-Allah. The country rather hilly.

* On my MS. map I placed Agán wrong, giving it an intermediate position between Aftót and Asába.

5th. Wanja, or Jenúr, as you choose, both of them being settlements of Arabs, and close to each other. Here live the Tagát, the Idáw el Hassan, the Welád Biyéri, and the Jéjeba, the food of these people consisting of sour milk, dhurra, and fruits. From this spot you obtain a view of the mountains of Tagánet and Asába.

6th. Marde, a well with an encampment of the same tribes as Wanja. The country is hilly and rich in herbage, the mountains or vales being adorned with plenty of trees.

7th. Téri, a pool of stagnant water in the rainy season, while during the dry season only a well is to be found here. The country rather hilly.

8th. A'sherám, a settlement of different tribes. The mountains of Tagánet seem to be quite near.

9th. Tisílit Akerárer, a wádí in a mountainous tract, with scattered groups of tents inhabited by Arabs.

10th. Dwenki, a mountain with a pool of stagnant water at its foot, but only in the rainy season; during the dry season only a well is found.

11th. Yogbáshi, a mountain with temporary inhabitants. Few trees.

12th. Nufni, a mountain pass, "the entrance or gate of Tagánet," the mountains being very high.

From Nufni to Kasr el Barka is a march of two days.

MM. *Route from Bakel to the frontier of Tagánet by way of Asába.*

1st day. Samba-rainji, a considerable place inhabited by Aswánek, and situated in a level tract inclosed between the foot of the mountains and the river.

2d. Hasi Weled 'Alí Bába, a well lying in the vale or depression inclosed between the two mountain ranges along which your road winds. Kómandó, a considerable Aswánek village, lies on a more easterly road.

3d. Hasi Shagár, another well, with a camp of Arabs in the dry season.

4th. Tektáke, as the place is called by the Arabs, or Bú-túmke, as it is called by the Aswánek and Fullán or Fúlbe, the population consisting chiefly of Aswánek. The village lies in the midst of the mountains; the houses are built of clay, and a few gardens are cultivated in the neighborhood, for although there is no running stream, water is said to be found at the depth of only one foot under ground, and the mountains, or "gidé," as they are called in Aswánek, are full of trees. The country nominally under the dominion of Fúta.

5th. Jibáli, or, as the name is pronounced by the Arabs, Jubélli, a village situated in the midst of the mountains, at times inhabited, at others deserted. On pursuing your road you cross a mountain ridge, and then wind along a valley. The mountains contain excellent rock for grindstones, shaped in quadrangular forms, and like the stone found in the mountains near Mekka.

6th. Búnga, an Aswánek village surrounded by steep rocks; some gardens are cultivated.

7th. Moila, an Aswánek village. The road keeps always in the mountainous tract.

8th. Samma, an Aswánek village.

9th. Tattopútti, formerly a village, but at present deserted.

10th. Wákuré, as it is called by the Fullán, or Woló by the natives, a large place situated in a deep valley or irregular vale, the rivulet Gallúla flowing at no great distance toward the W. from the place.

11th. Babbu, a village in a mountainous tract.

12th. Kachukoróne, another village.

13th. Gelléil.

14th. Garáf Bafál, situated in the midst of the mountains, and being the temporary abode of different wandering tribes.

15th. Fúmo-báche, another settlement of that kind.

16th. Fúmo-láwel, the same.

17th. Nebék, a place of the same nature; mountainous tract continues.

18th. A'wenet A'r, the beginning of Tagánet, the southeastern corner of which is here hemmed in by the mountains of Asába.

Asába, according to this informant, is a broad mountain range, diverging as a northern branch from the main range, the general direction of which is toward Bundu, from which country it is separated by the river. The Fúlbe call this mountainous tract "Hairi-n-gar," and the Aswánek call it Gidé.

NN. *Route from Hamda-Allâhi, the present capital of Másina, to Meshíla, and thence to Kahaide, according to Háj I brahím; route rather winding, and to be controlled by other routes which I have already given.*

1st day. Kunna (see above), a small town, but an important market-place, situated originally on the western bank of the Máyo balléo, on an island in the Dhiúliba, inclosed by the Máyo balléo, "the blue river," and the Máyo dhannéo, or "the white river," but at present built on the eastern shore of the Máyo balléo. What is very remarkable, it is said to be inhabited by Songhay. A short march of three hours.

2d. Núkuma, a place or district situated on the island, or "rúde," inclosed by the two branches of the river. Here in the beginning of his career resided Mohammed Lebbo. There seem to be several hamlets, one of which is called Sébbera.

3d. Tummay, still on the island or rúde.

4th. Sáre-dína, a large place, and evidently one of the first towns converted to Islám in these regions, situated on the western bank of the Máyo dhannéo, which you cross here, at half a day's distance E.N.E. of the ancient town Zágha or Jáka. Inhabitants Songhay.

5th. Tógoró, a group of villages or hamlets, inhabited by the Fullán conquerors. In Tógoró the road divides, one branch leading N.E. in two short days to Tenéngu, the original capital of Másina, passing by Tumúra, a large district inhabited by Fúlbe.*

6th. Somógirí, a considerable place inhabited by Bámbara of the country.

7th. Diggíseré, an important Bámbara town at some miles distance S.W. from Tenéngu, the road leading to which place, and from thence to Yá-saláme, whither a person may also proceed from Diggíseré (see above), informant has left on his right. Country open, adorned with *zizyphus*.

8th. Fetokóle, a small place. The country rich in trees, the principal produce consisting in rice and cotton.

9th. Káre, a Bámbara town, governed by an officer of the name of Búgoní. The country hereabout rich in cattle and camels, but the wells are said to have an enormous depth, according to informant, not less than sixty fathoms. Cotton strips are the standard currency of the market.

14th. Sókoló, a town inhabited by Bámbara people, but belonging to Másina. Between the two stations you traverse for five days an open country inhabited by Arab tribes, as the Welád S'aíd, the Welád 'Alúsh, and the Gelágema, and rich in elephants, giraffes, and buffaloes, abundance of water being found in stagnant pools. On the second day of this march you leave the town of Kála on your left.

19th. Aláso or Alássa, a place belonging to Bághena, and inhabited by the Welád 'Omrán. The country which you traverse is thickly covered with trees, and is the abode of the Nimádi, a wild set of people, who are stated by my informant to possess nothing but dogs, with which they hunt the large antelope called "bakr el wáhesh" by the Arabs. (The name "Nimádi" is probably not the real name of these people.) You sleep four nights in the open country.

22d. Kabúde, a well with temporary settlers. Pass two nights in the open country without a dwelling.

26th. Mú-sáweli, a considerable place of Bághena. You pass on your march several other places, the names of which informant does not remember.

27th. Dúguní, a middle-sized town.

28th. Debámpa, a large town of Bághena. All the houses are built of clay.

29th. Toróngu, another place of importance.

30th. Tíndi, a small town about seven days N.W. from Kolí, another town of Bághena. Tíndi is inhabited by Aswánek or Swanínki.

31st. Khat e' dem, a temporary dwelling-place of Arabs belonging to the tribes of the Welád Mohammed, the Funti, and the Henún, with the Sheikh Mohammed Fádhel, son of the protector Mukhtár. All the dwellings consist of tents of camels' hair. Khat e' dem forms the beginning of the district called El Hódh.

33d. Tokko, a large pool of stagnant water, round which there is an encampment of Arabs.

35th. Derís, a dwelling-place of the "White Arabs," as my informant calls them. Many tribes are wandering hereabout; but almost all the towns are at present in

* An interesting account of this district is given in Hodgson's "Notes on North Africa," p. 70, from the information of a slave in the United States.

the hands of the Fúlbe or Fullán. N'amá, the small town mentioned above as having been built by the Shurfa, is three days E. a little N. from Derís.

37th. Nwal, a well with an encampment of Arabs.

42d. Tádirt, a well with tents of the same.

47th. Líbe, a well of the same character.

50th. Mesíla, a spring of running water at the foot of the kódia which surrounds El Hódh. The water of Mesíla is said to run toward the south.

N.B.—It must be borne in mind in laying down this route that my informant, a Púllo, wished to avoid the seats of the Welád Mebárek, and therefore followed in his generally northerly direction a very roundabout way.

56th. Afúlle, or rather an open Arab village in the district so named, the mountainous country having been entered on the fifty-second day. Afúlle borders on Kaarta, and its eastern part is inhabited by Bámbara, but the northern portion is inhabited by the following Arab tribes: the Fáta, the Welád e' Násr, the Elkwézi or Lighwézi, the Askír, the Welád Bóde, and by two tribes of the Zuwaye or Merábetín, viz., the Tenwaijió and the Lághelél. Some of the divisions of these tribes are settled in the mountains, while others live in the plain called El Khénashísh, rich in pasture-grounds, between which and the mountains there is a small town called Túgguba.

59th. Tiñírgi, a well with Arab settlers. Country mountainous.

62d. U'mmat el adhám, a well. The last three days no water is found along the road, while in general, even in the tract intervening between two stations marked by my informant, watering-places are occasionally met with.

67th. Kawál, a lively spring of water. Country mountainous.

73d. Túgguba, an open village inhabited by Arabs. Many springs in the mountains.

76th. Waya, another Arab village.

78th. Meshíla, called by my informant "rás el Fúta," as the beginning of Fúta (at least in former times).

I now give the route from Meshíla to Kahaide:

1st day. Samóga, a mountain belonging to the mountainous district Asába.

2d. Wákoré, a village inhabited by Aswánek, but subjected to Fúta as well as to the Zenágha Arabs, to whom they pay tribute.

3d. Galúla, a village inhabited by Aswánek, and dependent upon Wákoré. It is situated at the foot of a mountain, from the top of which a brook of living water rushes down. This water-course is called Galúla, like the village, and is said to be full of fish.

4th. Dé il Kurbán, an Arab settlement on a wádí, with running water during the rainy season, which is said to flow into the Senegal. Country not under cultivation.

5th. Jumlaníye, another dwelling-place of the Zenágha on the same wádí.

6th. Wau Sámberlám, a high mountain ridge extending toward Bundu.

7th. Gílte, another locality in the same ridge. The country not under cultivation, and only temporarily inhabited after the rains.

8th. Tashót, a wádí with water in the rainy season. No cultivation.

9th. Bú-'Amúd, an open tract of country, the pasture-grounds for the cattle of the Fullán.

10th. Tara-múl, a locality on the same wádí. The country full of the large species of antelopes, giraffes, elephants, and buffaloes, and richly clad with large trees.

11th. Shillíyul, the same wádí richly adorned with trees. The country nearly level, only broken by a few hills. Abundance of cattle.

12th. Sugurére, a Fullán village. Country hilly.

13th. Bailabúbi, on the same wádí. The country hilly; nothing but pasture-grounds.

14th. Píttangál, another settlement of Fullán shepherds.

15th. Bogilchéle, a place of the same description. At this point the Gurgul balléo, or black Gurgul, a small water-course coming from the N.E. in the direction of Gallúla, joins the Gurgul dhannéo, running from Akerére in Tagánet, the two forming henceforward a considerable water-course, at least during the rainy season. According to this informant, the small craft from Kahaide can navigate this creek, but of such communication the French accounts of the Senegal give no indication.

16th. Maktachúchi, or, as the spot is called in the Fulfúlde language, Lumbírde-

chútinkóbe, a large pool of stagnant water, with river-horses, and surrounded by fine pasture-grounds. A section of the Limtúna are said to cultivate this ground.

17th. Rak Hilhébe, the plain of Hilhébe; property of the Brákena.

18th. Kerfát, the fields of Kahaide.

19th. Kahaide, on the W. side of a great bend of the Senegal. On your road you pass the large village Jéri-lúmburí.

I will here add a list of the chief divisions of Fúta, including the Wolof country, such as Ibrahím communicated them to me: Lóre, Damga, Ferló, Nange-hóre, the centre of Fúta, Toró, Walbrek, Ndér, U'l, Niyán, Bachár, Kimínta, Ballindúngu Sálu, Jolóf, Kayór.

OO. *From Meshíla to Bakel. Very short marches.*

1st day. Samba-sandíggi, a wádí in the wilderness, with Arab settlers.

2d. Dáwodá, a wádí.

3d. Nakhéle, settlement of Sídi Makhmúd, of the Zenágha.

4th. Dundumúlli; few settlers.

5th. Sélefél, village of Fúlbe.

6th. Tektáket, all along the valley Mesíla or Meshíla, which runs to the Senegal.

7th. Yóra, village or town of Fúlbe, Aswánek, and Arabs dwelling together.

8th. Abólli, a hamlet of Arabs, Welád Wési, and Fullán Rungábe, under the chiefs 'Omár Weled Bú-Séfi. Wádi Mangol. Few mountains.

9th. Swéna, a hamlet of Fúlbe, with a few Arabs.

10th. Nahál; one day E. of the town Butti.

11th. Báyajám, a small hamlet of Fúlbe Rungábe and Hel Módin Alla.

12th. Tíshi, small hamlet.

13th. Melge, large village inhabited by Fúlbe and Hel Módin Alla.

14th. Village of Chermo-Makkam, who died some time before, when his son, Baidal Chermo succeeded him.

15th. Dár Saláme, now Aswánek, formerly Hel Módin Alla.

16th. Kídibíllo, a small hamlet. Aswánek.

17th. Néneehó. Aswánek.

18th. Waigílle, a middle-sized place of Aswánek. Country level, small hills, many trees, especially the kuddi. Always along the valley Mangol or Mesíla.

19th. Kábu, large place of Aswánek, on the point where the Mesíla joins the Senegal.

20th. Láni, considerable place of Aswánek, on the S. side of the river, which you cross.

21st. Kotéra, a village of Aswánek close to Senegal.

22d. Gúehubel (Gútubé of the French), the point where the Falémé joins the Senegal. On the opposite side lies Yogúnturó.

23d. Arúndu, a village of Aswánek, having crossed the Falémé.

24th. Yáferé, on the Senegal.

25th. Golme, Aswánek under Bundu.

26th. Guri 'l haire, Aswánek.

27th. Bakel.

Even beyond Bakel, toward Kahaide, the seats of the Aswánek, Cheddo, or Wákoré extend as far as the isolated mountain Waunde, which lies on the N.E. shore, and that is evidently the reason of this tract on the N. bank of the Senegal being called Gángara or Wángara, the country of the Wákoré.

N.B.—The routes from Wadán and I'jil to Sákiet el Hamrah, of which I have collected an itinerary, I refrain from communicating, as they have been in some measure superseded by Panet's route. (Revue Coloniale, 1851.)

APPENDIX XI.

LIST OF THE ARAB OR MOORISH TRIBES SCATTERED OVER THE WESTERN PART OF THE DESERT, ACCORDING TO THE DISTRICTS OR NATURAL DIVISIONS OF THE DESERT IN WHICH THEY ARE SETTLED.

The original inhabitants of these regions, at least since the middle of the eighth century of our era, were the Berbers, especially the Zenágha, or Senhája; but these tribes, since the end of the fifteenth century, it would seem, have been pushed back and partly conquered by the Arab tribes to the south of Morocco and Algeria, who either intermingled with them or reduced them to a degraded position. Thus there are especially four classes of tribes: the free warlike tribes, 'Aráb, or Harár; the Zuwaye, or peaceable tribes; the Khóddemán, or Lahme, identical in the southwestern quarter with the Zenágha, the degraded tribes; and the Hárratín, or the mixed stock. The characteristic feature of these Moorish tribes is the guffa, or full tuft of hair; that of the Zenágha the peculiar fashion of wearing the hair called gatáya, as they cut the hair on both sides of the head, and leave nothing but a crest on the crown, from whence a single tress hangs down sometimes to their very feet, or they tie the ends round their waist.

The supposed ancestor of the Moorish tribes is Odé ben Hassan ben A'kil, of the tribe of the Rátafán, who is supposed to have come from Egypt.

I. ARAB TRIBES IN BÁGHENA.

The Welád Mebárek (sing. Mebárki), divided into the following sections: A'hel 'Omár Welád 'Alí, A'hel Hennún (e' Shiúkh).

Fáta, separated into the following divisions: Welád Monún, Welád Dokhanán, A'hel Bú Séf.

Fúnti, separated into the following divisions: Welád Hammu el kohol, A'hel Hammu el biadh, A'hel Múmmu, A'hel Sídi I'brahím, Welád Zenághi, A'hel 'Omár Shemáti.

The following tribes are in a state of dependence upon them, or are, as it is called, their lahme, or their khóddemán: Idábuk, Ifoléden, A'hel 'Abd el Wáhed, El Hárretín (no proper name), El Mehájeríyín, these only partly degraded, Yadás; Welád el 'Alía, A'hel A'hmed Hennún, whose khóddemán are the following tribes: El Rowasíl, Welád Sálem, Basím, I'shalán, Welád Bílle (the brethren of the Welád Bílle in Tishít, formerly Arabs, that is to say, free independent Arabs, but at present khóddemán, paying however only the medáriye, and not the keráma), El 'Abedát, A'hel Udéka.

Next to the large group of the Welád Mebárek are the Welád Mazúk, living in the ksúr together with the Welád 'Omár.

Then the E'rmetát and the Náj; while in a degraded state are El Shébahín and El Habásha.

This is the place to mention a particular group or confederation of warlike tribes called "El Imgháfera," or Megháfera, and consisting of the Welád el 'Alía, Fáta, Abedát, Welád Mazúk, A'hel e' Zenághi, A'hel 'Omár Shemáti.

I *a*. ZUWAYE, OR MERÁBETÍN, IN BÁGHENA.

The Teghdáust, a mixed tribe, but considered as Arabs: the Edésan, Gelágema, Idú Belál in Bághena as well as in El Hódh, Tafulálet, said to have nothing in common with Tafilélet.

Gesíma, living partly in Bághena partly in El Hódh, and divided into the following sections: Welád Táleb, Idáw-'Esh, Welád 'Abd el Melek, Ténagít, El Arusíyín (a tribe very powerful in ancient times, to whom belonged Shenán el Arúsi, the famous despot of Walláta and Tezúght), E' Nwazír, A'hel Táleb Mohammed.

Tenwaijío, who collect the gum and bring it to the European settlements, separated into the following divisions: A'hel Yíntit, Ijáj Búrke, A'hel Bábá, A'hel I'brahím e' Shiúkh (held in great veneration).

These four divisions live in Bághena, while the two following are scattered over the district called Ergébe, where the Tenwaijío are very numerous: Welád Delém ma intis (*sic*), Welád Bú Mohammed.

Zemárik, separated into numerous divisions: Welád Músa, El Horsh, El Hárebát, Jewaule, El Mekhainze, Ardél, Welád Shéfu, El A'thamín, Welád 'Aleyát, A'hel Dombi. A'hel 'Abd (these the Shiúkh), A'hel e' Shegér, Welád e' Dhíb, E' Zemárik (properly so called), very numerous.

Between Bághena and Tagánet live the Welád Lighwézi, the relatives, but likewise the enemies of the Welád Mebárek.

II. MOORISH TRIBES IN EL HÓDH.

El Hódh is a large and extensive district, which has received this name, "the basin," from the Arabs, on account of its being surrounded by a range of rocky hills, "El Kódia," at the western foot of the eastern extremity of which lies Waláta, and near its southern foot Tishít, both of which belong to El Hódh. The N.E. part of this district, which some centuries ago was densely covered with small towns and villages, stretching from half a day S. from Waláta to a distance of about three days, and being inclosed on the W. and E. by "ellib" or light sand-hills, is called *A'rik*, and is rich in wells, among which the following are the best known: El Kedáye, Unkúsa, Bú-il-gedúr, Nejám, A'we-tofén, El Imbediyát, El Mebdúya, Bú-'Ash, Rájat, Teshimmámet, Tekiffí, Nwaiyár, Tanwallít, and not far from it Aréngis el tellíye and Aréngis el giblíye, Tunbuske, N. from the large well Nwál, mentioned above, El Bedd'a Ummi e' Dúggemán, &c.

From A'rik, S.W. as far as Mesíla, extends the district called *Ajaúmera*, to which belongs the famous well El U'ggela, called "surret el Hódh," on account of its being at an equal distance, viz., five days, from Tishít, Waláta, Tagánet, and Bághena. Besides these, some of the most famous wells of this district are Ajwér, almost at its northern extremity, Fógis, Bú-Derge, Bír el Hawáshar, Ajósh, Gunnëu, El Be'adh, these latter near Ergébe. The N. border of El Hódh, stretching along the base of the kódia between Waláta and Tishít, is called *El Batn*. There are besides several districts in El Hódh called Aukár, a Berber name identical with A'kela, and meaning a waterless district consisting of isolated sand-hills. One Aukár, perhaps that meant by El Bekrí in his description of Ghánata, lies a short distance west from Waláta, near Tezúght; another district of this name lies between Tishít and Mesíla, to the north of Ajaúmera. I now proceed to enumerate the tribes settled in El Hódh.

The A'gelál, in several sections, viz.:

Welád A'hmed, subdivided into the following divisions or "lefkhát:" A'hel Táleb Jiddu, A'hel Khalífa, A'hel A'hmed e' Táleb, A'hel Táleb Sídi A'hmed, Wed (*sic*) Yebúi, Welád Sídi (El Kóbetát, A'hel Malúm, A'hel Ismá'aíl, the Soltana, El A'mera).

Welád Músa, subdivided as follows: Welád Háj 'Abd e' Rahmán, Welád Háj el Amín, Welád Músa, properly so called.

Welád Melek, subdivided: A'hel 'Abd-Alláhi Weled Táleb I'brahím, A'hel Háj A'hmedu, A'hel Boghádije.

The Welád Mohammed of Waláta, in several sections, of whom a great part originates from Tishít, while the sheikh family belongs originally to the Bidúkel. Their present chief is 'Alí Weled Nawári el Kuntawi, whose mother is the daughter of the Sheikh of the Legás: A'hel Tíki, Welád Legás e' Shiúkh, Lemwalish, Welád e' dhíb, Targálet, Derágela (belonging originally to the Brákena), Welád el Mojúr, Welád el horma, Sekákena, A'hel e' Táleb Mustuf (a family of "tolbá"), I'de Músa, Welád Aili, Welád Alú, Welád Sékie, Lúkarát.

The Welád e' Násir, very powerful, and divided into the following sections:

Welád 'Abd el Kerím Weled Mohammed el M'atúk, with Bakr Weled Senébe as their chief.

Welád Mas'aúd Weled M'atúk, subdivided: El A'yasát, El I'kemámera, Berársha, Ghéraber, A'hel Músa (the Shiúkh, with the powerful chief 'Othmán el Habíb).

Welád Yáhia Weled M'atúk.

Welád Mohammed Weled M'atúk.

The J'afera, the "jim" pronounced like the French *j* in *jour*.

The 'Atarís, here and in Bághena.

The I'jumán, divided into several sections, of which I only learned the names of three: I'jumán el 'Arab, I'jumán e' tolbu, A'hel Mohammed.

The Mésheduf, not independent, and, as it seems, of almost pure Berber origin, and a section of the Limtúna, being most probably identical with the Masúfa, a Berber tribe so often mentioned by the Arab writers, such as El Bekrí, E'bn Batú-

ta, &c., as settled between Sijílmésa and Timbúktu. They are divided into several sections: Lahmennád, Welád Mahám, Ujenábje, and others, as the Welád Yo'aza.

The Lághallál, a considerable tribe, divided into five khomáis.

III. MOORISH TRIBES IN TAGÁNET.

Tagánet is a large and well-favored district, bordering toward the E. and S.E. on El Hódh, or rather the kódia encircling and forming El Hódh; toward the S.W., where there is a considerable group of mountains, bordering on Aftót, by which it is separated from Fúta, and toward the W. or W.N.W. separated from A'derár by ranges of hills running parallel to each other, called "e' dhelóa," or "the ribs." Tagánet—evidently a Berber name, contrasting as a correlative with the name A'gan—is divided by nature into two distinct regions, viz., Tagánet el káhela, or Black Tagánet, comprehending the southern part of it, and consisting of fertile valleys, full of palm-trees, nebek, &c., excellent for the breeding of cattle and sheep, but infested by numbers of lions and elephants, while it is fit for the camel only in the dry season; and Tagánet el bédha, White Tagánet, called in Azériye, or the language of Tishít, "Gér e' kúlle," consisting of white desert sand, with excellent food for the camel, and with plantations of palm-trees in a few favored spots, which contain the villages or ksúr.

Of these there are three:

Tejígja, four days W.N.W. from Tishít, inhabited by the Idáw 'Alí and the Ghálli.

Rashíd, one day from Tejígja, W.N.W., in the possession of the Kunta.

Kasr el Barka, the most considerable of the three, two days W.S.W. from Tejígja, and three days from the mountain pass Nufni, which gives access to it by way of Aftót, likewise inhabited by the Kunta, who are the traveling merchants of this part of the desert, and supply Shinghít and all those quarters.

Besides these three ksúr, there is, at the distance of one day from Tejígja and three days from Tishít, another plantation of date-trees, but without a ksar, called El Gobbu or El Kubba from the sanctuary of a Weli of the name of 'Abd-Allah, and belonging to the Idáw 'Alí.

As for the Arab tribes not settled in the ksúr, but wandering about in Tagánet, there are first to mention:

The Zenágha, or Senhája, or Idáw-'Aísh, a mixed Berber tribe, who form a conspicuous group in the history of this part of Africa, and have been the principal actors also in the destruction of the empire of the Rumá or Ermá. They are at present divided into several sections, all called after the sons and grandsons of Mohammed Shén, a fanatic man, who arose among this tribe a little more than a century ago and usurped the chieftainship. His eldest son, Mohammed, who succeeded him, left at his death the office of chief vacant, when there arose a sanguinary civil war between his brother Mukhtár, whose partisans were called Sheratít, and his eldest son, Swéd A'hmed, and his party, who were called Abakák, from the red fruits of the talha, on which they were obliged to subsist. The latter, having at length gained the upper hand, killed all his uncles, and was succeeded after his death by his son Bakr, who is ruling at the present time. The chief of the Sheratít is E' Rasúl Weled 'Alí Weled Mohammed Shén.

Hel 'Omár Weled Mohammed Shén, the Soltana kabíla of the Zenágha, subdivided as follows: Hel 'Alí Bábá Weled 'Omár, Bú-Bakr Weled 'Omár, Rasúl Weled 'Omár, Hel 'Alí Weled Mohammed Shén, A'hel Swéd (this is the strongest of the divisions of the Zenágha), A'hel Resúl Weled Alimbugga, Hel Bakr Weled Mohammed Shén, A'hel Resúl Weled Mohammed Shén.

Besides these, there are also the sons of Mohammed e' Sghír, viz.: Mohammed, Mukhtár, Bú-Séf, 'Alí, Sídi el Amín, Hennún, who have given their names to various sections of the great tribe of the Zenágha. In consequence of their intestine feuds, however, this tribe has sunk from the first rank which they occupied among all the Arab tribes; for, though decidedly of Berber origin, they are yet considered as Arabs, owing to the tongue which they now speak.

The Kunta, part of this widely-scattered tribe distinguished by their learning and their sanctity, and divided, as far as they live in Tagánet, into the following sections:

Welád Bú-Séf (the most warlike tribe of the Kunta).

Welád Sídi Bú-Bakr.

Welád Sídi Haiballa (properly Habíb-Alláhi), subdivided: El Noguídh, Welád el

Bah, E'rkabát, these latter being probably the tribe found, according to Scott's statement, not far from the N.W. shores of Lake Débu, and who can not be the E'rgebát, as Mr. Cooley suspects, who never leave their homes in El Gáda; else Scott never saw that lake.

Welád Sídi Wáfi, subdivided as follows: Welád Sídi Bú-Bakr el káhel, Welád Sídi Bú-Bakr el bédh.

IV. MOORISH TRIBES IN ÁDERÉR.

A'derér is a rather elevated district, composed of sand-hills grouped round a considerable range of hills, as its name, meaning the mountain range, indicates, which is the same as that of the district lying between A'zawád and A'ír, being distinguished from it only by a slight difference in the pronunciation. It is encircled toward the north by the awful zone of immense sand-hills called "Maghtér," and toward the south by another similar but less sterile girdle called "Warán," both of these districts joining toward the east of A'derér, at a point called "El Gedám," at the distance of six days from Wadán, in going from east to west: Metweshtíye, first day; Máderás hasi, second; Amasít, third; Zwíri wén Zwemra, fourth; Wadán, sixth day, having passed a good many wells. Between A'derér and El Hódh, and separated from that district of El Hódh which is called El Batn by a range of hills to the north of Tagánet, there is a very extensive valley or valley-plain called Khat e' dem, running, as it seems, about east and west along the northern foot of the ridge of A'derér, at the south foot of which lies El Hódh, with abundance of wells, and even a couple of ksúr, or perpetually inhabited villages. The following is a list of a few of these localities:

Mochénge, shallow well, with a ksar belonging to the Gesíma. Bélle, well, and ksar inhabited by Bámbara (Aswánek?). These on the south side of the Khat, where there are a number of shallow but full wells, of which the group called Khat el Moina is one of the most considerable. In the middle course of the Khat there is O'faní, a large dhaye or tank; Fetéle, Kébi, Zorúgo, all tanks; but the largest of these tanks is U'm el Medék, which lies on the road from the celebrated Bír Nwál to Wadán, then Twéshtair and El Bahéra, also large tanks; on the west side of the Khat there is the large well Tishti. The breadth of this celebrated valley, with whose excellence the wandering Arab is as much enchanted as a European is with the most romantic spots of Switzerland and Italy, is indicated by the distance of three days between the well Tálemist and the famous well Bú-Sefíye, on the road from Tishít to Wadán.

A'derér, according to the different nature of its various parts, is divided into "A'derér e' temar" and "A'derér suttuf." In A'derér Proper there are four ksúr, or towns, the most considerable of which, and the only one known in Europe, is Wadán, a town smaller than Tishít, but at least, till recently, when it has likewise suffered from intestine broils, better inhabited than the latter, and was evidently so even in the first half of the sixteenth century, when the Portuguese established here a factory for a couple of years. Wadán, as well as Tishít, was originally a place of the Azér, and the Azeríye is still the language of its indigenous inhabitants. It has, besides, a considerable Arab population, belonging to the following tribes:

El Arzázir.

Idáw el Háj, probably the founders of the empire of Ghánata, a tribe of great importance in the history of African civilization, and divided into the following sections, as far as they live in A'derér: A'hel Sídi Makhmúd (the Soltana tribe, to whom belongs the Chief of Wadán, 'Abd Allah W. Sídi Makhmúd), Idé Yakób, Síyám, A'hel el Imám; while two other sections of them live in Ergébe, viz: El U'tetád, El Idó-Gejá.

As for the Rayán in Wadán, they are the khóddemán of the Idáw el Háj. The Medrámberín, one of the tribes of the Kunta.

Wadán has a pretty plantation of date-trees of different sorts, of better quality than those of Tishít, and the names of which are as follow: Sekáni, Tennasídi, El Hommor, Tigíbirt, Owetérdel, Bézal el Bagra.

The town, composed of houses built of stone and mud, lies on the east side of the valley, on stony and elevated ground. Its population does certainly not exceed 5000, who supply themselves with necessaries from Tishít, as they do not seem to frequent in person the market of Nyámina or other places.

Shinghít, a small place built of stone, the same size as the town of Dál in Bághe-

na, two days S.W. from Wadán,* which has obtained a great name in the East, all the Arabs of the western desert being called after it. Shinghít, situated in the midst of small sand-hills, where a little salt is found, has a handsome plantation of date-trees, where the tíggedirt and the sukkán are produced. It seems to have no Negro population, all the inhabitants being Arabs belonging to the following tribes: Welád Jáhé ben 'Othmán, divided into the following sections: Welád 'Othmán (to whom belongs the despotic chief of the town, called A'hmed ben Sídi A'hmed ben 'Othmán), El A'wesiát (who speak the dialect of the Zenágha, and have a chief of their own), E' Redán, Welád Bú Láhie, Welád E'gshar, Idáw 'Alí.

A'tar, a well-inhabited little town or ksar, said by some to be larger than Shinghít, situated two days nearly east from the latter place, the track descending along the district called El O's, where date-trees and water are met with in several spots. A'tar lies at the foot of a kódia, where the water collects, feeding a small plantation of date-trees. No negroes.

Ojúft, a ksar not so well inhabited as the two foregoing ones, two days S.E. from Shinghít, and one from A'tar S.S.W., likewise with a palm grove. Its principal inhabitants are E' Smésid or Smásida, Zwaye. The inhabitants of Ojúft, with the exception of the Smásida, do not travel, but receive every thing by way of Kasr el Barka, where the people carry on some trade.

Besides the Arab tribes mentioned as living partially in the ksúr, there are still the following tribes to be mentioned as having their encampments principally or exclusively in A'derér.

The Tájakánt are regarded as belonging to the Himyáritic stock, and wear the gubba; they are a large tribe, and are of great importance in the whole commerce between the W. part of Morocco or "E' Sáhel" and Timbúktu, which is entirely in their hands. At present, in consequence of their feud with the E'rgebát, they are embroiled in a civil war among themselves, while with the Kunta they are at peace. I mention them here with regard to A'derér, though, as far as they are settled in this district, they have been greatly weakened, and part of them at least seem to have their principal abode in Gídi; they wander also in El Giblah. With Tagánet, with which place their name has been connected, they have nothing whatever to do. Tájakánt is the collective form, a single individual being called Jakáni, fem. Jakaníye. Tneir chief is Merábet Mohammed el Mukhtár, an excellent man. They are divided into the following sections: E' Rumadhín or El Armadhín, subdivided: 'Aín el Kohol, Welád Sídi el Háj, El Msaid, Welád S'aíd.

Welád Músánni, in two divisions, whose names I did not learn.

El U'jarát.

A'hel e' sherk.

Dr'awa.

The three latter tribes form at present one faction of the Tájakánt, the two preceding, together with the Merábet, the other. Altogether they are certainly able to bring into the field 2000 muskets, but they do not appear to be strong in cavalry.

The Sídi Mohammed, another division of the Kunta.

In general the Kunta and the Welád e' Násir form one group in opposition to the Tájakánt, Idáw el Háj, and the Zenágha.

V. MOORISH TRIBES IN EL GIBLAH AND IN SHEMMÁMAH.

The whole tract of the desert between A'derér and the sea, in a wide sense, is called Tíris, but in a proper and restricted one this name is applied only to the northern part of it, the middle tract of it being called "Magh-tér," and the southern one "El Giblah;" but care must be taken not to confound this district with what the Arabs of A'zawád and Timbúktu call "El Giblah," with which very vague name, signifying in their dialect "the west," they indicate all that part of the desert W. of them, from Waláta as far as the sea. El Giblah is bordered toward the N. by Magh-tér, toward the E. by A'derér, toward the S.E. by El Abiár, and toward the S. by the Senegal; this more favored southern tract, however, bearing the particular name of Shemmámah, is covered with thick forests of the gum-tree, while another portion of it, consisting of ranges of sand-hills, is called Igídi or E' Swéhel. El Giblah, as well as all Tíris, has no permanent wells, being extremely dry and sterile, but in the rainy season water is found just under the surface. A few of the

* The position of these places, as laid down in my original map, had to be changed a little from my own data given in the itineraries, and from the data of M. Panet's route to Shinghít, published in the "Revue Coloniale," 1851.

most remarkable expressions of the idiom of the Arabs of the Giblah are: sengetti, dukno; tefangurút / tajimákhet } kohemmi; nísha; hasse; 'aganát; busúsu; adelagán, dúnguri; tarer, hoy, a kind of vegetables; ghursh, hak; sofíf, cleverness; asúfaf, clever; likshásha, large calabash; bíshena, sába; mutteri, héni; tasáret, mat of reed; tarzay, pl. terziyaten, awéba; smángeli, I have forgotten, it has escaped me; selli, let this talk.

The Brákena, a large tribe, levying tribute on the harbors of Bot-hadíye, but at present greatly reduced, have partly become the khóddemán and lahme of the more successful Terárza (a name totally distinct from Tegháza). They are divided into several sections: A'hel Agréshi, the Soltana tribe, A'hel Weled 'Abd Allah (all the sections of the Brákena being derived from this 'Abd Allah, son of Kerúm), Welád Síd, Welád Bakr, Welád 'Aíd (formerly very powerful, at present "lahme"), Welád Mansúr, Welád Nurmásh, Welád A'hmedu, A'hel Mehémedát, Welád A'gram, and perhaps others.

The Terárza, a powerful tribe, with Mohammed el Habíb Weled 'Omár Weled el Mukhtár as chief, in two great sections: Welád A'hmed ben Damán, Welád Damán. The names of the several subdivisions into which both these sections fall I was unable to make out with certainty, with the exception of the name of that division of the former section to which belongs Mohammed el Habíb, they being called A'hel 'Omár Weled el Mukhtár.

The Elleb, a considerable tribe, who seem to have some sort of relation with the Terárza, while the Erhábela are in a state of dependence upon them.

The Welád Abéri or Abiyéri, a powerful tribe, with a respected chief called "El Sheikh Sadíye," who resides generally near the well Bú-Telimít, mentioned above as belonging to the district El A'biár, and distant about seven days S.W. from Wadán and nine from Ojúft.

The Temékket: Idáw el Hassan, Idejfága, Ijéjebó, Tenderár, Teshímsha, El Bárek-Allah, Limtúna (who are likewise still numerous in Aftót, speaking Arabic); other sections of the Limtúna, but who are now scattered over various portions of the desert, are, besides the Méshedúf: the Idé-lebó, belonging to the group of Shemman-A'mmas, the Idé-silli, the Udéshen, the Bedúkel or Ibedúkel, the Lédem, Twabér, and the Welád Molúk.

VI. MOORISH TRIBES IN MAGH-TÉR AND TÍRIS.

Tíris, a word meaning in Temáshight the shallow well, is separated from El Giblah, as I have stated above, by Magh-tér, a girdle of immense sand-hills stretching almost from the sea-shore as far east as five days beyond Wadán, and varying in breadth from three to five days. Tíris is very much of the same nature as El Giblah, being destitute of water in the dry season, but presenting sufficient herbage for the camel; however, the whole tract does not present one and the same character, the western part, or "Tíris el Khawára," being much dryer than the eastern portion, which extends from the hasi "El Auj," to near I'jil, and is called "Tíris el Firár." In these two districts there can not be any permanent dwelling-places, but there are two localities worth mentioning, which occasionally become the scenes of much life and bustle. These are the harbor called A'gadír Dóme and the sebkha of I'jil. The former, being called by the Europeans "Arguin," and seeming to be identical with the place called Welíli by the Arab writers, when visited by a European vessel attracts numbers of Arabs, principally of the tribe Malzen, between whom and the strangers the Démesát act as brokers. As for the "sebkha" of I'jil, which was discovered, it is said, about sixty years ago, it seems to lie in an opening of the sand-hills of Magh-tér, which have to be crossed in coming from Wadán, as well as from Sákiet el Hamra, having at some distance toward the south a high mountain, on whose top some holy person, who was certainly an impostor, is said to have seen a grove of palm-trees. It lies about half way between Wadán and Agadír, and has rich layers of salt of a good quality, but of black color, probably of a similar kind to the fourth stratum in Taödénni, called "El Káhela;" but there being no fresh water nearer than a good day's distance, at El Argíye, there is no permanent settlement here, and the Arabs, belonging to different tribes, who come in considerable numbers for the salt, endeavor to get off as quickly as possible. The Sheikh Sídi Mohammed el Kuntawi, who generally has his residence near the well Sidáti, exercises a sort of supremacy over the sebkha, and levies a small tribute on those who carry away the salt. Besides the sebkha of I'jil there seems to be here-

about, perhaps nearer the sea, another sebkha, called U'm el Khashéb, and belonging to the Welád Haye ben 'Othmán, but its exact position I have not been able to make out. Among the Arab tribes wandering about in Tíris and Magh-tér and the adjoining districts, first of all must be mentioned the Welád Delém, which tribe seems to be the most numerous of all the tribes of the desert.

Welád Delém being classed into two groups, at least by the Arabs of A'zawád, called Welád Máref and Delém el A'hmar. To the former group belong the following three tribes:

Welád Molád, the most numerous section of the W. Delém, but ill famed on account of their robberies, living also in Gídi. They are subdivided as follows; Welád Bú-Karsíye (to whom belongs the chief of the whole section, Hennún Welád Twéta), El Hamáya (with a chief of their own, El Fádhel Welád Shwén), E' Sheháli (with a chief, the son of Allád), Welád Sháker, Welád Bú Hínde (who do not live in Tíris, but in A'zawád).

Sekárna, also in several divisions, the name of none of which became known to me, except that of the A'hel Déde, who are the Shiúkh.

Welád Sálem, with the chief Mohammed Weled 'Omár, living here or in Gídi.

To the Delém el A'hmar belong the following: El O'dekát (the Soltana tribe of the Welád Delém, whose famous chief, A'hmed Weled Mohammed el Fodél, died a few years ago at the age of 120, it is said. They are subdivided into the following divisions: Welád e' Shíya, Welád Mansúr), Welád Alláb, Welád Ermithíye, Serákhna, Welád Tagéddi, Welád Shwékh, Welád Bú 'Omár (whose Shiúkh are said to be the A'hel 'Omár Weled e' Sheikh Umbréhi), Welád el Khaléga (?) (with the Shiúkh section A'hel 'Omár Weled Barka), Welád Siddúm, Lógora (?), Welád Tédrarín in several (ten?) sections, all paying tribute to the Welád Delém, Welád Yo'aza (يعزة) (allied with the Medrámberín, most of whom live in Tíris. They are a powerful tribe, and fight against the Welád Delém. They do not wander much, and are partly under the rule of A'hmed Sídi Weled Sídi Mohammed, partly under that of Sidáti), Tóbalt, Lémmier, Shébahín (the kinsfolk of those in El Hódh), Welád 'Abd el Wáhed, El Arúsíyín (the allies of the tribe of the same name), Imerágen (a very poor sort of people and of bad character, living near the sea-shore).

More exclusively, with regard to Magh-tér, are to be mentioned A'hel Etfága, El Khatát, Welád el Háj Mukhtár.

VII. MOORISH TRIBES IN EL GÁDA, AZEMMÚR, EL HÁHA, ERGSHÉSH, GÍDI, AND THE ADJOINING DISTRICTS.

These districts, which I treat in one chapter merely on account of the scanty and imperfect information which as yet I have been able to collect with regard to them, comprise a large tract of country in the N.W. quarter of the desert, and are of very different character. El Gáda lies between Tíris and Wádí Nún, being separated from the latter by the smaller district called Shebéka, and seems to bear almost the same character as Tíris. But it appears to be divided into two different portions, one of which is called "El Mirkh," and the other "El Bédh." Gáda in a certain respect forms part of the larger district called Azemmúr. The most celebrated localities of this district are Meskór, A'zafay, A'geshár, Míjik; from here N.E., Asumárik, Tasumárit, El Genáter, Zádenás, Bésharíf, Kedáye-Yetséllem, El Bellebúna, Stélet bel Girdán, I'shirgán, Agárzezís, with the sebkha Abána, U'm el Roesén, El Méhajíb.

The principal Arab tribes living in Gáda are the E'rgebát, a large and powerful tribe in several sections, living in "El Gáda," as well as in Zíni, a district bordering on the E. side of El Gáda, Welád Músa, E'thalát (these two the Soltana sections), El Gwásem, El 'Aíd-'Esha or A'hel 'Esh, Welád Mohammed ben 'Abd-Allah, and several others.

In Shebéka there are to be mentioned principally the Zergíyín, belonging to the Tíkkena, Yegút, Wetúsa.

East from Shebéka, N.E. from Zíni, and N. from the Wádí Sákiet el Hamra, inhabited by the Welád Bú-Seba, there extends the large district called *El Háha*, principally inhabited by the powerful tribe of El 'Aárib, who are said to have as many as 1000 horse, and who are the enemies of the Duwémena and the Idáu Belál. They are divided into several sections, viz: Legerádeba, about two hundred; El Bwadín, about the same number; El Gwásem (the Shiúkh), about forty; E' Nwaiji, the Tolba; Námena (El Renáneba, Ziyút, Sídi 'Alí, Medíni, Mbáha?).

Besides the 'Aárîb, the district of El Háha is inhabited by the Limtúna, especially the Idán-I'ddereu, and, according to some informants, the Berber element seems to predominate entirely.

El Háha appears to be limited toward the east by *Gídi* or *Igídi*, a girdle of high sand-hills, about one and a half to two days in breadth, and rich in palm-trees, yielding a good sort of date, called "jéhe." Gídi, at the distance of twenty days east from the principal encampment in Sákiet El Hamra, stretches W.S.W. in the direction of Tishít, from which place its southwestern end is separated by a naked desert or "meraye" of about ten days. Gídi has no regular inhabitants, the Tájakánt, the Welád Molád, and especially the Kunta, visiting it annually and staying some time in order to gather the dates.*

To the S.E. of Igídi is the district *E'rgshésh*, separated from it by the smaller districts called *Aftót* and *El Kart*, the former one being a narrow girdle only half a day broad, and consisting of white and black soil, while El Kart, adjoining Aftót toward the west, is about one day's journey in breadth, and exhibits an even surface covered with pebbles and much herbage. E'rgshésh is a long and narrow girdle of sand-hills, which stretches out in the direction from Tawát to Warán, and, passing at no great distance to the west of Taödénni, joins Magh-tér, or rather Warán, at the S.W. end. This district, which is similar in its nature to Gídi, and not destitute of water between the high sand-hills, although not adorned by nature with the equally graceful and useful palm-tree, is only from twenty to thirty miles broad, and is bordered toward the north by the smaller district called *El Hank*, consisting of black vegetable soil, rich in trees, and interseeted by rocky hills or kódia. There is in this district a famous spot called Lemezarráb, with a large group of palm-trees, the fruit of which is gathered by the Kunta, who, however, leave these trees without any cultivation whatever.

On the S.E. side of E'rgshésh lies the district called *El Júf*, to which belongs Taödénni, rich in salt, but almost destitute of herbage, with the exception of the more favored spot called El Harésha, situated at half a day's distance from Taödénni, to the E.N.E., where trees are found. The miserable place called Taödénni, consisting of only a few houses (where, besides the Sheikh Zén, nobody will stay on account of the bad quality of the water), owes its existence to the desertion of Tegháza about the year 950 of the Hejra. I have spoken of the salt mines of Taödénni in the diary of my stay in Timbúktu; here I will only add that in Taödénni a black tobe purchases four camel-loads of salt or sixteen rús, worth each 3500 or 4000 shells in Timbúktu. Taödénni is distant ten days from Warán, going along E'rgshésh; nine days from Bú-Jebéha; about the same distance from M'amún, W.N.W.; and ten to eleven days from Mabrúk, N.W., viz: (going from Mabrúk) two and a half days to the well Anísha, five days to the old well called El Gátara, and three days more to Taödénni.† El Júf is bordered toward the north by the district called Sáfie, a sort of hammáda, with strips of herbage. In this district wander the Welád Delém, the 'Aárîb, the A'turshán, belonging to the tribe of the 'Aídde, and several tribes of the Kunta, principally the Ergágedá, and the Welád el Wáfi; the principal chief also in E'rgshésh, Sídi Mohammed, is a Kuntí.

VIII. DISTRICTS OF THE SAHARA BETWEEN ÁZAWÁD AND TIMBÚKTU ON THE ONE SIDE, AND EL HÓDH AND BÁGHENA ON THE OTHER.

Between A'rawán and Waláta there stretches a waterless desert of ten days, consisting of isolated sand-hills, between which very good food for the camel is found, and plenty of water-melons, sufficient to quench the thirst of man as well as of the camel. This district, which is nearly of the same character as Magh-tér, is called *A'kela*, and the Kóbetát mentioned above are principally wandering hereabout.

South of the A'kela the country is rendered more verdant and fertile by the Niger and its many backwaters, and there is one district especially noted for its pasturage, viz., the famous *Rás el má*, mentioned by me repeatedly, where Arabs, principally the Kunta and Berabísh, with the small remnant of the almost extinguished tribe of the Lansár, and the Welád S'aíd el Borádda, encamp occasionally, and where

* At the time when I finished my original map which I sent home from Timbúktu, I had not collected these materials.

† I here give the following data, without being able to connect them: From Taödénni, one and a half day, Merét; then the same distance, Hasi I'mbedír; Zúgguma, with the 'Arig Atwéle on its N. frontier, five days; Asedáreb, one day; from here the Dháhar (el Hamár); three days from Tawát, the hasi Telíg, 7 to 8 fathoms deep.

Zén el 'Abidín, a younger brother of Sheikh A'hmed el Bakáy had for a long time his encampment. There is here also a small village of the Idélebó.

Between the A'kela to the N.E., the Dháhar Waláta toward the N.W., and Fermágha toward the S.E., there is the district called *Eríggi*, with a ksar, or small town, called Basikúnnu, mentioned in this volume. Eríggi is the chief district of the Welád 'Alúsh, a not very numerous but warlike tribe, which extends its forays over the whole of A'zawád, and is divided into two sections: El Khatterát, El Elléb.

The Welád 'Alúsh are at present the principal tribe of a large group called *Dáúd*, whose elements I shall enumerate here together, though only a portion of the tribes are living hereabout, and most of them have been mentioned by me before, in connection with their respective districts.

El Dáúd, with Sheikh Swédi.

DÁÚD MOHAMMED.

Welád Bílle, Welád Bú-Faida, Welád Talha, Welád Múmmu, with Mohammed Weled 'Alí Enhóri, Welád Nahla, Welád Ghánem.

DÁÚD 'ARÚK.

Welád Zéd, with Nef'a Weled Kedádo, the Erhámena, Welád 'Alúsh, Welád Yúnes, Welád Rahmún, Welád Mazúk, Welád Zayem, Gésharát, Welád Ber-hén, Sákeré Daye, Welád Yillwi, and several others at present almost extinguished.

I shall here also enumerate the tribes composing the group called Ládem, with the Sheikh ———, son of E' Shén: A'hel Tíki, A'hel Táleb Mustuf, Dermússa, Légeráf, El A'ragíb.

Before concluding this list of the Arab tribes, which would be enlivened if historical knowledge were not a thing almost unknown in this part of the world, I shall mention a few tribes who have founded something like an empire in the south part of the so-called desert:

El 'Arúsíyín, about 600 A.H.

El Erhámena, who wrested the empire from Shenán el 'Arúsi.

Welád Bílle, who, having succeeded to the Erhámena, became very rich and powerful, till, as the Arabs say, they destroyed their empire themselves by provoking the wrath of the Sheikh El Mukhtár el Kebír, about sixty years ago, when their power was crushed by the Mesheduf and the Zenágha.

A smaller empire was founded by the Welád Bú-Faida, who had their principal seats round Kasári in El Hódh, N.W. from Bághena, till they were overpowered by the A'hel e' Zenághi.

The Imóshagh have peculiar names for the Arab localities, calling Gundám, *Sasáweli;* A'rawán, *Eshíggaren;* Berabísh, *Kel-jaberíye;* Kunta, or Kuntarár, *Kel-borásse;* the 'Arab el Giblah, *Udayen* (sing. *Uday*).

I shall here add an itinerary of the route from Wadán to A'ghadír Dóme, or, as it is called by the Arabs, E' Dákhela, which I omitted in the right place. 1st day, Selaurísh. 2d, Shúf. 3d, El Mórwesín, a kódia. 4th, Dómus, a good well or hasi. 5th, Tenwáke, an úggada, with good water in the rainy season, but brackish during the dry season. 6th, Encamp between Egjir and Rek el Mhón. 7th, Swéta, a locality encompassed by hilly chains or kódia. 8th, Tagazímet, a hasi, 7 fathoms in depth. 9th, Takeshtint, a hasi, 2 fathoms deep. 10th, E' Dákhela. The two last days are short marches. The village A'ghadír is said to contain from 50 to 60 huts of reed, inhabited by the Imrághen, the chiefs of whom are Weled A'hmed Budde E'bn 'Omár and Mohammed Weled el Mréma.

APPENDIX XII.

SECTIONS AND FAMILIES OF THE GREAT SOUTHWESTERLY GROUP OF THE I'MO'SHAGH OR TAWA'REK.

As Amóshagh (in the plural form I'móshagh) designates rather in the present state of Tawárek society the free and noble man in opposition to A'mghi (plural, Imghád), the whole of these free and degraded tribes together are better designated by the general term, the "red people," "I'dinet-n-shéggarnén," for which there is another still more general term, viz., "Tíshorén."

The whole group of these southwesterly Tawárek is now generally designated by the name of Awelímmid, Welímmid, or Awelímmiden, the dominating tribe whose supremacy is acknowledged in some way or other by the remainder; and in that respect even the Tademékket are included among the Awelímmiden; but the real stock of the Awelímmiden is very small. The whole group, therefore, in opposition, I think, to the name "Iregenáten," denoting the mixed group of tribes dwelling S. of the Niger, is called "Tegesásemt."

The original group of the Awelímmiden ("Ulmdn" is the way the name is expressed in Tefínagh) are certainly identical with the Lamta (the t being a hard t, which is continually confounded with the d), the name signifying probably "the children of Lamta," or rather "Limmid;" or the name may originally be an adjective. They dwelt formerly in Igídi near the Welád Delém, a Moorish tribe which has received a great many Berber elements, till they emigrated to A'derár, the country N.E. of Gógó, from whence, as I have stated in the Chronological Tables appended to this volume (p. 657), under the command of Karidénne, son of Shwásh, or rather Abék, they drove out the Tademékket, at that period the ruling tribe of this whole region. I here give a list of the most common camping-grounds in A'derár: Amásin, 'Araba, Tin-darán, Yúnhan or Gúnhan, E' Súk (the last two were formerly the sites of flourishing towns), Ijenshíshen, A'zel adhár, Kidal, regarded often as a separate district, Endeshedait, Taghelíb, Marret, Talábit, Tadakét, Asway, Anemellen, Ansáttefen, Asheróbbak, Tinzáwaten, Tájemart, Eléwi, Dohéndal, Tinajóla, Enrar, Ejárak, A'shu, Alkit, Takellút, Dafalliána, Enáfara. The ancestor of the Awelímmiden is said to have been named Síggene, a man of the tribe of the Himyár.*

I now proceed to give a list of all the tribes belonging to this group, assigning the first place to those who belong to the original stock:

The Kél-ekímmét, the royal section, or the Kél-amanókalen, separated, as it would seem, into two subdivisions, one of which is called after Fatíta, and the other, if I am not mistaken, after U'ksem or O'kasem, the son of (ig) Imma, although U'ksem was the father of Fatíta. The present ruler of the tribe, and thus the lord of this whole group, is Alkúttabu, properly "Kúttub-e'-dín," "Pillar of the Faith," a brother of the late and well-known chief E' Nábegha, son of Káwa; and besides him there is Thákkefi, the son of E' Nábegha, and Legáwi or El A'gwi, between whom and the ruling family there seems to be some little rivalry.

Targhay-tamút (the "u" is not generally expressed in Tefínagh), with the chief Inlehát or Lehát, who likewise rules the tribe of the Tesgógamet. Sometimes, also, Legáwi is regarded as chief of this tribe. The Targhay-tamút are subdivided into the sections of the Kél-egéuk, the Ikarérayen, the Ihiawen, the Iberekíten, the Idammán, the Isegrán, the Kél-tabónnan, the Ishegéttan or Ishéggattan, the Ikhérkheen, the Kél-kabáy.

Tahabanát or Tahabanáten with the chief Kásel. They are subdivided into the Tahabanát ikáwelen, T. ishéggarnén, Ibatánaten (a name which might lead one to infer that the tribe of the same name which at present lives among the degraded tribes of the A'zkar (see vol. i., p. 202), originally belonged to this tribe, a state of things which is not at all impossible), Khorímmiden, Taradégha, Tamizgída.†

Ikhórmeten,‡ with the chiefs Intagézzut and Eránre.

Ifogas, a section of that widely-scattered tribe of which I have already spoken repeatedly. As far as they live with the Awelímmiden, they are governed by the chiefs Innátayen, A'msadúwa, Itkál, and Elrélmu, and are subdivided into the following sections: Kél-tebághart, Kél-áthogal, Ikarérayen, Ibeddédawen, Ibbézawen, Tegétik, Kél-télatait, Kél-áseghalt.

Tin-eger-égedesh, with the chief Kaulen, subdivided as follows: Ikarnánayen, Kél-takábut, Telghásem, Kél-tikkenéwen, Tarbédegén, Kél-torfén.

Kél-tegilálet, with the chief Mokaile.

Kél-helwat, or I'd el Mashíl, with the chief Wági.

Sherífen, subdivided into the following sections: Kél-temákkeret, Ihéwan-Allen,

* Compare the account of A'bú 'Omár E'bn 'Abd el Ber in E'bn Khaldún (trad. par Macguckin de Slane, vol. i., p. 174). Síggene, who by my informants is stated to be the ancestor of Lamt, may seem to be identical with Asnag, the ancestor of the Senhája, or Zenágha, with whom the Awelímmiden are intimately related.

† I will here observe that most of the vowels which I have to distinguish by an accent, as showing the way of pronouncing the name, are not at all expressed in Tefínagh.

‡ The name seems to be nearly the same as that of the Khorímmeden.

Kél-rarór, Kél-n-kerémmár, Kél-abánafógal, Kél-tabáriat, Kél-arábbo, Kél-férián, Kél-tefélliant, Kél-inráwe, Kél-gokén.

Edarragágen, with the chief Tawíl. Edarragágen wuí (or wén) shéjjerotnén, identical with shéggarnén, Ed. wuí jezzolín.

Ekarrabása, subdivided as follows: Kél-tikkenéwen (different from the above-mentioned tribe of the same name) with Aíbasu ig (the son of) Ranni; Kél-egées, with Lawis ig Hawe-Tawát; Tezgógamet, with the chief Hamma-Hamma.

Kél-gasse, with Hamma.

Kél-n-ejíud, with Sínnefel in A'ribínda.

Targagásset or Tagéggesát, with the chief Elláfi, very ill-famed as highway robbers.

Ibélghawen, with the chief Adékara.

Erátafán, in ancient times a most powerful and celebrated tribe, from whom Hassan ben A'kil, the forefather of the Udáya, sprung, but at present reduced and settled on the middle course of the Niger, where I have described them (see p. 525). Their chiefs are 'Omár and Mohammed el A'mín.

Tárka, a small fragment of a once powerful tribe, perhaps the Tárikâ of Arab writers (see vol. i., p. 196, n. †), at present settled near Sínder on the Niger, where I have mentioned them, with the chief Almuttu.

Ishedhénharen, with the chief Inteshékhen.

Imelíggizen (mentioned by me on my route along the Niger), with the chiefs Warilkím and Ishawadéna.

Ebaíbaten.

Igwádaren, formerly, when they were settled in A'zawád, a still more powerful and totally independent tribe, with the chief A'khbi ben Sálem, who, just at the time of my journey, when they were settled near Bámba, attempted to regain his independence from his liege lord. This tribe is subdivided into the following sections: Kél-gógi, the chief's tribe, but having, besides A'khbi, another chief of the name of Sadáktu, hostile to the former; Tarabanása, with the chiefs Téni and Wóghdughu; Terféntik; Kél-tebánkorit, with the chief Saúl; Kél-hekíkan, with the chiefs Síllekay, 'Ayúb, Knéha, and Zobbi, this little tribe presenting the most striking example of the predatory and anarchical character of these nomadic hordes; Kél-teghárart, with the chief Khátem (surnamed or nicknamed by the Arabs El Gherfe); Kél-tabórit, with the chief Khébar (another section of this tribe living with the I'regenáten); the Iwarághen or Aurághen, another section of this widely-scattered tribe which, once very powerful, has now lost a great portion of its independence, with the chief Khazza.

Among the Awelímmiden live also the E'he-n-Dabósa, or E'he-n-Eláli, with the chiefs Elákhte, Mushtába, and El Mótelék, originally a section of the Telamédes, a tribe of the Dinnik.

I now proceed to give a list of the degraded tribes, or *Imghád*, of the Awelímmiden and Igwádaren:

Imedídderen, a tribe still very numerous, and not quite so much degraded in the social life of these regions as the other tribes, possessing even a good many horses, but formerly distinguished by their power* as well as by their learning. It was this tribe, together with the I'denán, who founded the first settlement at the place where, in course of time, the city of Timbúktu arose. Their chiefs are Béle, El U's-sere, and Khayár.

They are subdivided into a great many sections:

Kél-gósi, the most warlike section, with the chief El Khatír, whom I have mentioned repeatedly. They are warlike, and maintain especially a struggle against the Governor of Hómbori. Kél-éhe-n-shéggarén, E'debélle, with the chief Dári, Tekaute, Kél-sammi, Ibogháliten, Erannarássen, Kél-ankít, or Kél-n-kít; Ilókan, a tribe the name of which is no doubt connected with the town of the same name mentioned by El Bekrí (p. 179), as lying in the neighborhood of Kúgha or Kúkiá; Kél-térdit, Tábara-juwílt, Idírmaghen; E'he-dékkaten, Ebónjiten; and, finally, a group of four tribes, which collectively bear the name Kél-réres, but each of which has a separate name, Tafajéjjat, with the chief Maijikma, Ikawálaten, with Ntagellálet, Ekarárayen, with Ntárede, and, finally, A'rkaten.

Aurághen (written Urgh), the larger portion of this once predominant and widely scattered, but now degraded tribe, portions of which we have already met with else-

* To the Imedídderen belonged Kosélete, the warrior who slew 'Ukba el Mústajáb, the great Mohammedan hero in the history of the conquest of Africa.

where. They are divided into the two sections of white and black Aurághen, or Aurághen-eméllulén and Aurághen-isáttafnén.

Auragh-Aurághen, or Uraghrághen, with the chief Ofádi.

Tameltútak.*

Imícha, with the chiefs Kámuwen and Khambéllu.

Imczghérsen, with Sullátegé and Amúst.

Kél-gosse.	Kél-tenéri.
I'kedén.	Kél-n-eshéub.
I'mrarán.	Kél-tegéswan.

Mékalén-kalén, or Imekélkalen, with the chief Sidídi.

Kél-wan, with the chief Sídi Mohammed ig Kháde.

Ishemmáten.

Ibílkorayen, originally a section of the Dinnik.

Kél-úlli, the tribe so repeatedly mentioned in my journal as my chief protectors during my stay in Timbúktu, divided into two sections, viz., the Kél-efelle, with the chief E' Shugl, and the Kél-idér, with Shéri.

Tefárten.	Kél-ghénneshen.
Imassejénberen.	Góne.
Bóru.	Kél-ídal.
Eghashómen.	Ilóghmaten.
Ijíndwejan.	Tábakunt.
Ikeberédan.	Meskénderen.
Idóshan or Ilóshan.	Hawe-n-adagh or Haye-ladagh.
Událen.	Iderak (? the same with Id-auragh).
Kél-ghennesh.	Dáúd.
Kesébaten or Elkasébaten.	Iletámaten.
Id-auragh (written Dúrgh).	Kél-téfirwén.

I now proceed to enumerate the tribes of Anís'limen or Tolba, peaceable tribes given to learning and religious devotion, among the group of the Awelímmiden.

Shemman-A'mmas, with the chief Mohammed ig Itékke, once the Amanókalen or Sultan tribe, in the town of Súk. They are divided into the following sections: Ikarbágenen, Iwárwaren, Kél-n-tashdait or Kél-tíbbele, Kél-amdellía or A'hel E'shelmát, subdivided into the two sections of the E'l Wankílle and E'l Enúlli.

Debákar, called in Háusa Benú Sekki, settled in Kidal.

Dau Sehák: Kél-abákkut, Kél-azár, Kerzezáwaten, Kél-báriyo, Kél-tábalo, different from the homonymous section of the I'ghelád, Dogerítan, Idébbuten.

I'denán, once a powerful tribe, hostile to the Kunta, who made use of the assistance of the Igwádaren against them. The I'denán are subdivided into the following clans: Dindséddakant, I'denán eheawen Kidímmit, Kél-teshérayén, Izímmaten, I'nheren, Tajeréjit, Imakórda, Kél-ghalá, Ilóshan.

Kél e' Súk, a very numerous tribe of a peculiar stock, so called, as I have stated in another place, from the important town of Súk, probably identical with the town called Tademékka by El Bekrí, of which they were the chief inhabitants. They are subdivided into a great many sections:

First, there is a group of three tribes, which are referred to one common forefather, Yusuf, a native of Tekerénnat: these are the Kél-tekerénnat, who are evidently called from the town Tekerénnat mentioned above; the Kél-tenákse; and the E'gedesh. The Kél-tekerénnat are subdivided into the Kél-tekerénnat ikáwelen, the Kél-tekerénnat ishéggarnén, with the chief Intaklúset, the Dwas Ejímmik, and the Disemákhshil. To the tribe of the E'gedesh belong the two principal chiefs of the Kél e' Súk at the present time, Khozématen and Henna. Then there are the Kél e' Súk wa-n-e' Súk, whose name is connected with the town of Súk in a twofold manner, as having resided in that place longer than any other section, having probably their nomadic encampments on the site of the town after its destruction. Then the Kél-bógu, with Intéllumt, formerly Id Mesúd; the E'l Saláhu, the Eheáwen Nakíllu, with many subdivisions; the Kél-gúnhan; the Kél-genshíshi; the A'hel Igíwish; the Isharamáten, to whom belongs Najíb; the Id el Háneñ or Kél-esákan embéggan; the Ewuínhadén, with rich herds of cattle; the Kél-jeret; Kél-adhár; Kél-tinharén; Kél-tóndibi; Kél-téjerít; the Kél-emájaus; Kél-gabó; Kél-emássen.

* The latter part of the name appears to me to have some connection with the name of the Berber town Túteк or Tautek, توتك, from whence the salt was carried to Tademékka in the time of El Bekrí (El Bekrí, p. 183).

The Kél e' Súk have for themselves two tribes of Imghád, the Deletáye and the Ibokhánnen.

I now proceed to the large group of the *Tademékket*, who, as I have stated, were settled formerly in A'derár, round the town called after them Tademékka, but were driven from thence by the Awelímmiden about the middle of the seventeenth century, and have since been settled on both sides of the Niger from Bámba upward, regarding as the limits of their territory Bámba on the east, Gúndam in the west, Bú-Jebéha in the north, and Bóne in the south. As I have stated on a former occasion, every merchant arriving in Bú-Jebéha from the north, on his journey to Timbúktu, even at the present day, is obliged to take a respectable man of this tribe with him for his protection. The Tademékket made another attempt to render themselves independent of the Awelímmiden, under their chief Ruméli, about the middle of the last century, I think, and were for a time successful, but were then hunted down by their rivals, and were obliged for a certain period to take refuge in Bámbara.

The Tademékket are divided since about forty years ago into two great groups, the Tingéregef, who dwell north of the river, and the I'regenáten, whose seats are to the south of the Niger. I first proceed to enumerate the tribes constituting the group of the I'regenáten, who are said to have received this name from the circumstance of their mixed character.

Kél-tejíwualet, with the chiefs Kendaye and Súle.

Kél-tebórit, with Khébar.

Kél-éhe-n-sáttefen, "the black tent," or tribe called hógu bíbi by the Songhay, khéme el káhela by the Arabs, with the chief Ingédi.

Kél-tamuláit, with the chief Saúl.

Tejerbókit, with Ermétu.

Ajélletlet.

Abelárlar (Abelághlagh?).

Kél-dejé.

Takétakayen dwell among the I'regenáten, but belonged originally to the Igwádaren. One division, or khéme, of the Kél-bórum also lives among the I'regenáten.

As Imghád of the I'regenáten the following tribes deserve to be mentioned:

The Eháwen A'darak, in several subdivisions: the Kél-efélle, with the chiefs Feréferé, A'den, and Mohammed Eksémena; the Kél-idér, with Bélé, the chief mentioned by me in my journal, who is the principal chief of the whole tribe of the Eháwen-n-A'dagh; the Kéljía, with A'shelma; the Kél-dómberi, with Alaide; the Kél-ténelak; the Kél-dína; the Tázuwy-tázuwy, with Elfodíyi; Kelráshar.

Akótef, with the chief Dalle, with the two subdivisions of the Hágelel and O'zgar.

Ibúrzazen.

Imítteshen.

Imesrérsen.

Imakélkalen, another subdivision of this tribe, with the chief Manzúki.

Kél-rémmat.

Tarbóka.

As Aníslimen or tolba of this group, the following tribes became known to me:

Isakkamáren, and Kél-sakkamáren, the latter with the chief El Kádhi Agge Hámmeten, both these tribes being evidently fragments of the tribe of the Seghmára (however the name may be spelled), described by El Bekrí and other Arab geographers as settled on the northern bank of the Niger, round about Tademékka, and occupying a district of many days' journey in extent; indeed, it must be supposed that the Tademékka at that time were in a certain degree dependent on the Seghmára. The greater portion of this tribe we have found settled at the present time in districts much farther toward the north. See vol. i., p. 605, *seq.* The Ibidúkelen, and finally a group of three tribes which originally belonged to the I'ghelád, namely, the Kél-tárashit, the Kél-kabaye, and the Kél el horma.

The Tin géregef have received this name from the sandy downs, or "ellib," as they are called by the Arabs, bordering on the north side of the Niger. Their chief is A'wáb, whom I have frequently mentioned in my Journal, and they are, as far as I was able to make out, only divided into five sections: Tingéregef éhe-n-tamellelt, or those of the white tent; Tingéregef éhe-n-takáwelit, or those of the black tent, to whom belongs A'wáb; the E'hemed, Enéka, and Telamédes.

In a certain loose connection with this group are the I'ghelád, a very numerous tribe, at present reduced to the position of Aníslimen, who are spread over a large tract of country, but are especially settled in the district Tagánet, between A'zawád

and Timbúktu. Here they have dug the deep wells which distinguish that district, and their clans into which they are divided are therefore mostly designated from these wells. Their chiefs are Mohammed A'hmed ig Hawáli, E' Táher, and Mohammed 'Alí. The following is a list of their numerous subdivisions:

Kél-antsár, Kél-n-wíwaten, Kél-n-Nokúnder, Kél-n-sheréa, Kél-n-agózen, Kél-n-bagsay, Kél-n-tushawén, Kél-n-wárrosén, Kél-n-abéllehan, Kél-n-m'amúr, Kél-n-érazar, Kél-n-gíba, Kél-tintahón, to whom belonged the learned Sheikh Sídí 'Alí in the time of Bábá el kebír, Kél-téneg el hay or Debórió, Kél-n-nettik, Kél-n-tinsmáren, Kél-n-tintazalt, Kél-n-óshef, Kél-inneb, Kél-migágelit on the farthermost well of Tagánet, Kél-n-nárzafef, Kél-tinudékan, Kél-tinckawát, Kel-n-téshak, Kél-hór, to whom belongs the great fáki Táher, Kél-emaihór, Kél-téle, Kél-n-tabarámit, very rich in cattle, Kél-takánkelt, Kél-tadrak, Inctában, Kél-tehórogén, Ibidúkelen, Kél-tághashít, Kél-elhorma, Kél-kabáy, Kél-sakkomáren, Kél-tadár, Kél-n-kézem, Kél-térshawén, Kél-téndetas, Kél-tinhéllatén, Kél-insaid, Kél-eshínkay, Kél-n-álshinen, Kél-n-jarén, Kél-n-áyeren, Ihéwan-nór-eddí, Terbáz, Kél-tegállit.

I now proceed to mention the most easterly group of the Awelímmiden, who, in a political sense, have totally separated from the stock, and are generally allied with the Kél-gerés. These are the Awelímmiden wuén Bodhál, or, as they are generally called along the Niger, Dinnik, whose chief, Músa, enjoys great celebrity. The sections into which this tribe is subdivided I have not been able to learn.

I will conclude this short notice about these southwestern Tawárek by stating, in addition to the facts exposed in vol. i., p. 194, *et seq.*, that I have not the slightest doubt that the Imóshagh are represented in the ancient sculptures of Egypt by the fourth human race, called T'amh'u, or the inhabitants of the country Tem'h, and represented as of very light color, with their distinguishing curl on the right side of the head, and their earrings, for the Mashawash, who are mentioned together with the T'amh'u, seem to be nothing else but the same tribe under a different form of name. See Brugsch Geographische Inschriften Altägyptischer Denkmäler, ii., p. 78, *et seq.*, and Plate I.

APPENDIX XIII.

A VOCAPULARY OF THE TEMA'SHIGHT OR TA'RKI'YE, SUCH AS SPOKEN BY THE AWELI'MMIDEN.

A SHORT PROLEGOMENA, BY PROFESSOR NEWMAN.

The materials accumulated by Dr. Barth, enable us to give a more distinct reply to the question, What relation does the Temáshight (abbreviated in future as Temght) language bear to the idiom of the Kabáil of Mount Atlas, and to the Shilha of Morocco? The replies hitherto given have seemed to a great authority, the Baron de Slane, premature, and, therefore, arbitrary.

I will try to write as one recapitulating facts, so far as I can discern facts, throwing the remarks under separate heads:

1. The system of *Pronouns* in the Temght differs sufficiently from that of the Kabáil to put a broad separation between the languages. The Baron de Slane has already given a valuable table, comparing the Pronominal system in the (so called) Berber tongues; and there is nothing to be added to this. Temght does not differ more decisively from Kabáil in this respect than each differs from Shilha, etc. Nevertheless, in the midst of the diversity, appear obvious and decisive marks of common origin. In fact, the *suffixed* pronouns differ but little.

2. The *Numerals*, in so far as they are not superseded by Arabic, are fundamentally the same in all.

3. So far as Plural nouns can be formed regularly from the singular, the two languages seem to observe substantially the same rules.

4. The mode of *Conjugating* the principal tense of the Verb has no greater diversity in the Temght and Kabáil than that found between mere dialects of the same language.

The modes of forming the *Present* Tense are perhaps imperfectly understood as yet in all these tongues.

It is on the surface of the Kabáil that a Present Tense is formed by prefixing *adhi*, *ayi*, or *aï* to the principal tense. This prefix precedes the pronominal mark of the verb. Similarly in the Temght we have *ehe* or *ege* fulfilling the same func-

tion; and (especially since the suffix pronoun of the Kabáíl, *ayi* or *aï* ("me"), is *-ahi* in Barth) this *ehe* seems to be the same element as Kabáíl *ayi*.

Adhi (in Kab.) often expresses a Future or Subjunctive idea. Yet the element *ara* or *ere* is, perhaps, still more decidedly future. I have found this element, *r*, in Barth, though rarely: for instance, *ubbok*, smoking; and *rabakagh*, I smoke. In Hanoteau, *gh* takes the place of *r*—sounds often confounded. To etymology it is of interest to know which sound is here more correct. If *gh*, then we are thrown back on *aghi* of Kabáíl, which has the same meaning as *ayi*, viz., "this." Also the element *ad* means "this," fem. *ati*. It seems, then, that, prefixed to a tense, they give the idea of Now or Presently.

Besides these external affixes, in an Appendix to my edition of Sídi Ibrahím's Narrative, published by the (London) Asiatic Society, I elicited four internal methods of forming the Present Tense in Kabáíl, viz., 1. by reduplication of the second radical; 2. by prefixing *t* to the root (with the sound of *ts*); 3. by prefixing *θ* to the root (sounded *t* on the lowlands, but English *th* in the highlands); 4. transitive verbs, formed by *s* prefixed to the root, affix *aï* after the root, or sometimes change the last vowel to *ā*. The Temght, with which Dr. Barth's ear was familiarized, disowns the distinction of the thick *t* (*ts*) from the common *t*, as well as the sound of English *th*. We can not, therefore (at least at present), distinguish in this language between the second and third methods just recounted. But we may positively assert that in Dr. Barth's specimens a *prevalent* mode of forming the Present Tense is by prefixing *t* to the elementary part of the verb. Thus: *aniyet*, ride ye (from a root which must be *inay*, he rode); *etinne*, he rides, mounts; *enhi* (or *eheni*), look thou, find thou; *inha*, I have found; but *tehinnen*, they see; *atenhegh*, I find; *inna*, he said, he spoke; *neketēnagh tinárahen*, I spake peace; *iwwen*, he went up; *tewīnagh*, I climb up; *iḳōr*, it is dried; *itōgar*, it is drying up.

On the other hand, where the prefix *t* is not found, but where Dr. Barth, notwithstanding, assigns a present meaning, I am sometimes struck with a broad *ā*, which may perhaps denote present time, as in the fourth method of the Kabáíl above noted; but the materials are so few that this needs confirmation. For example, *yeḍís*, he laughed; *ḍāsagh*, I laugh; *iḳḳel*, he turned or returned; *ekālagh*, I come back.

5. The Noun of Action is formed from the verb by a *t* prefixed, and becomes feminine. In this all the Berber tongues seem to differ little from one another, or from Hebrew and Arabic.

6. The Transitive Verb is formed in Temght, as in Kabáíl, by prefixing *s* to the root. Thus: *arīd*, washed; *saradagh*, I wash (a thing); *ádirif*, a freedman; *siderfagh*, I set free; *idau*, he went in company; *isdau*, he brought together.

7. A Passive Verb, formed like the Hebrew Niphal, is found sometimes, but rarely, alike in Temght and in Kabáíl. Thus, from Barth's *ibóyis*, he is wounded, comes the transitive *sabayasagh*, I wound; and from this again a passive, *an*sabayāsen, they were wounded. Indeed, also *war nebúyis*, he was not wounded; formed direct from the primitive. Barth has *ekshe*, eat thou; *éheri inekshe*, "the money *is spent*;" probably, *inekshe*, is eaten.

8. A Reciprocal Verb or a Verbal Adjective is formed in both languages by prefixing *m* to another verbal root. The practical use of this is comparable to the vagueness of the Greek Middle Voice. In Kabáíl it seems to be oftenest Reflective, sometimes Passive; nor otherwise in Temght. From *yohagh*, he seized, comes *témmihagh* (explained by Hanoteau as the Temght for), she was seized, where the *m* is Passive. But from *isitteg*, he traded, *imisitteg*, he exchanged; from *idau*, he went in company (*idiu*, in Hanoteau), *amīdi*, a comrade; *isharrag*, he fetched water, *amsharrag*, a water-carrier; *iḳḳel*, he turned (generally neuter), *isōkal*, he caused to return, he replaced; *simiskal*, barter thou (cause to replace *mutually?*); *ru*, weep, sob (Kabáíl root), *itru*, he weeps (Kab.), *immerauen*, (persons) weeping together; *irtay*, it was joined; *imirtayen*, mixed; *isken*, he pointed, showed; *emsāken*, they deliberate.

In fact *n* and *m* of these two heads appear to have no sharp distinction. They are joined in Barth's *anemang(h)a*, battle; from *nūgh*, fight thou (Kab.), or from *engh*, kill thou. In Sídi I'brahím's Shilha, *emmaghan*, they fought (for *emnaghan?*).

9. Reduplicate verbs are found in both languages, comparable to those of Hebrew and Arabic. Thus from *inghal*, it leaks (Barth), [in Kab., *inghel*, it gushed], we have, as feminine, *toraft tinghálnaghel*, the boat leaks—*qu.*, is utterly leaky. Many reduplicate verbs occur where we have to conjecture the primitive; as in *eshisheri-*

wuēgh, I trot my horse; *sheresherau*, work the pump-handle, or pull the cord of the well-lever; *imesharlárlarēn* or *ereshaushauēn*, (the water) is boiling.

The Temght sometimes repeats the third radical, as in *skékarash*, to till the ground. That the root is *keresh* we know, since this is the sense of Kabáíl *kerez*; and Kab. *z* often becomes *sh* in Temght. *Ergash*, walk thou; and *yushirgesh*, he took a ride. From *anjur*, the nose-bone (*anzer*, of Kabáíl), by repeating the second radical comes *shinshar*, nostrils; *shinshor*, to clear the nose. Evidently reduplication plays a large part in these languages. It sometimes appears to excess; as from *ishwar*, he begins (*izwer*, he began, Kab.); *sheshwāragh*, I begin.

10. The Temght heaps formation on formation to an extent exceeding what appears in the specimens of Kabáíl which I have met. In fact, I have often had to refer to Kabáíl or to Ghadámsi for the roots of Barth's verbs. Thus he has *sanishlam*, look about; a double formation from *ishlam*, which must be the same as Ghadámsi *izlem* (also *illem*), he saw; *esimmiktagh*, I call to memory; transitive from the Kab. *amekthi*, a thought; from root *iktha*. Out of *Kél* (a tribe, people) the Temght develops *atkēl*, empire; *amanōkal*, ruler; *temanókālen*, government.

11. The Temght, as exhibited in Dr. Barth's specimens, often seems to degenerate into a Negro jabber. When the pronoun nominative is prefixed to the verb, a mere crude form of the verb may seem to suffice, just as though in Latin one were to say *ego reg*, *ille reg*, instead of *rego*, *regit*; and for the third person the element *y* (for "he") is often dropped; as *amūt*, he died, for *yamūt*. Also, apparently from the influence of vulgar Arabic, we find the first person *plural* form used for the *singular*; as *Nek noda(r)*, I fall (ego cadimus); *Nek nuṭṭef*, I take (ego cepimus): sometimes also the Arabic form of the second person singular supplants that of Berber, with the inconvenience of seeming to be third person feminine.

12. In Kabáíl I find a rather rare form of the Passive by prefixing *wa* to the root. Thus from *rebbi*, rear, nourish (Brosselard), comes *itwarabba*, he is reared (Luke iv., 16): from *yūrez*, he chained; *ittārez*, he chains; *itwarzan*, they are chained (Luke iv., 19); though here *w* may seem to be in the root: *issen*, he knew; *itwassen*, it is known (Luke vi., 44); *u atsayalaθ*, *sagha attattusayalam* (Matthew vii., 1), is intended to express, "Judge not, that ye be not judged;" strictly, perhaps, *Non interrogate*, *ne-forte interrogemini*; Sídi Hámed often uses the (Arabic?) verb *isayal*, he asked, for he judged. Here also we have *ittusayal*, he is judged. which yields *usayal* or *wasayal* as the passive root, and *wa* as the passive element. Again, *inwaddar*, it was trodden under foot (Luke viii., 5), compared with *aṭar*, the foot, suggests that (*dd* being euphonic for double *ṭ?*) *n* and *wa* here combine for a passive idea. I have recited these cases because the form is rare, and might seem doubtful. Now in Barth, besides *irna*, he exceeded, surpassed, conquered (superavit), we find *itwarna*, he is conquered, which denotes a like passive formation.

13. The system of Prepositions is not wholly the same in Temght as in Kabáíl. Yet they have in common *en* or *na*, of; *si-*, from or by; *ghūr*, apud (pronounced *rōr*, with Barth); *ʃél*, upon; *ger*, between; *dau*, under; *g-*, in; *degh* or *der*, at or in? *d-*, an untranslatable prefix, sometimes meaning with. This may seem the same as *id*, *d*, meaning and. Behind, *dar*, in Barth, is perhaps a contraction of Kabáíl *daffīr*. Kabáíl *azzaθ*, *zaθ*, front, before, is *dat* in Barth, seemingly the same element. All this shows a very close relation of the two languages.

14. The vocabularies, with very great likeness, show also grave diversities, making it impossible to regard the two idioms as mere *dialects* of one language. Undoubtedly a stranger is liable to overrate in detail the significance of this, and unduly to assume that words of the one are wholly foreign to the other. Thus, when the Tawárek say *ishek* (De Slane) for a tree, which in Kabáíl is *Θasṭa*, *Θasaṭṭa*, we are struck by the contrast. Nevertheless, in Kabáíl, *ishīg* means a branch: hence it is nearly as our colonists say bush for forest, wood. Barth writes *ehishk* for *ishek*, which still more obscures the relation. But, after all allowance, it remains that the two languages have deviated so widely from their original that their identity is only an etymological, not a popular fact. If Negro words be duly ejected from the Temght, and intrusive Arabic from the Kabáíl, Shilha, etc., the remaining portion of the vocabularies greatly illustrate one another, and seem adequate to reconstruct the chief material of the old Libyan tongue. Barth has the high merit, to us, of giving very little as Temght which can be accounted Arabic.

The Arabic words which do enter the Temght are not identical with those of the Kabáíl, not even in religion. Thus prayer in Kabáíl is *tazzallit* (from Arabic صلى); but in Temght *'umad*, from Arabic عمد; Confirmation being confounded

with Prayer, as elsewhere with Baptism. This word may have come from Christianity, since also sin in Temght and Ghadámsi is *bekkad* (once *ebaket* in Barth); which seems, like the Welsh *pechod*, *bechod*, to be the Latin *peccata*. It is curious to observe in Temght the root *ibekket*, he crouched or knelt, perhaps primitively as a religious attitude. (Hanoteau has *ibekket* of a lion crouching; and Barth gives *asibaket* for "sit with elbows on the legs *against cold!*") In this connection we may note that the Kabáíl name of God is *Rabbi*, which in Arabic is "My Lord;" but in Temght, besides A'manay, it is *Mesína* or *Mesínak*, which Barth takes for "our Messiah," a Christian importation.

15. The prefix *am* before a substantive means in Kabáíl *a possessor*. At least Hodgson gives many illustrations of this. I do not know that it distinctly appears in Barth, though there are words thus explicable; as *ahuyye*, the chase; *amahuyyen*, a sportsman. But the Temght has, to express this sense, a very common prefix, *ila*, unknown to the Kabáíl, as far as I am aware.

Thus from *Ehen*, a tent; *ilēhen*, tented (*i. e.* married). It, indeed, seems to me that this prefix has the wider sense of changing some other word into an adjective, nearly as the German suffix *-ig*. Thus from *dar*, behind (prep.), comes *iladara*, (one who is?), behind; from *dat*, before, *iladata* (one who is?), in front. One may even suspect that *ila* here is the element of the verb "to be," from *illa*, he was; *ili*, be thou. (Barth also has *ilē*, "here;" and in Kabáíl and Shilha *elli* is the relative "who," as in vulgar Arabic.)

The general conclusion seems to be that Temght, Shilha, Ghadámsi, Kabáíl, etc., are distinct languages, related as (we will say) Portuguese, Spanish, and Italian.

It may be here added that Dr. Barth unfortunately has not been able (in the rude pronunciation to which he listened) to discriminate *t* from *ṭ*, *d* from *ḍ*, *k* from *ḳ*, *z* from *ṣ* (if there is any ص), while *gh* was perpetually passing into *g*, *k*, or *r*. It appears to me still doubtful how many consonants there are in Temght; whether there is any *Ain*, and whether there is any such distinction as the *ts* and *th* of the Kabáíl. If we knew the sounds accurately, certain families of words might be less confused and confusing.

In general, the pronunciation of words presented to us by Dr. Barth is softer than that of the Kabáíl, and has a fuller and clearer vocalization. In one combination, indeed, the Kabáíl is the softer, and it may deserve attention: it is the English *tch* (written *ch* by Barth) for which he has *ksh* or *tk*. Thus the Temght *ikshe*, he ate, *itkar*, it is full, are in Kabáíl *ichche*, *ichchur*. From Arabic *kheshen*, rough, the Kab. makes *ichchen*, he is ugly. Again: it has *ichchah* and *ichcham*, he was hot in anger (answering to Arabic اجّا and اجم), for which Barth gives the harsher sound *itkar*, meaning, perhaps, *itkagh* or *itkakh*. These cases are of interest, as pointing out that the Temght has sometimes an older form of the word than that found in Arabic.

F. W. Newman.

PRONOUNS, ETC.

I, nek.
Thou, ke, kay; *fem.* kam.
He, enta. *She*, entadi.
We, nekenet [nekeneṭ?]; *fem.* nekénetēt [nekéneṭēt?].
Ye, kawenit [kaweniṭ?]; *fem.* kametēt.
They, entenet [enteneṭ?]; *fem.* enténetēt [enténeṭēt].
[*N.B.*—We, ye, they, in *Tuareg* [Temáshight] are given by De Slane as *Neknīd*, *Kisnīd*, *Entenīd*, with final *d*, and by Ben Músa with final ل or لخ.]
Of me, *mine*, eni, ini, ino, in.
Of thee, inek; *fem.* inem.
Of him, enis, inis.
Of her, tenis, tinis.
Of us, inănagh.
Of you, inăwen; *fem.* inekmet.
Of them, inĕsan; *fem.* inesnet.
I have, nek ila rōri (ego, est mihi).
Thou hast, ke ila rōrik.
—— (*fem.*), kamak ila rori*n* (*m.* ?).
He has, enta ila rōris, etc.
Myself, imānin; *by myself*, simāni.
Thyself, imannek; *fem.* imannem.
Himself, *herself*, imannis.
Ourselves, imannănagh.
Yourselves, imánnawen; *fem.* imanekmet.
Themselves, imannisen; *fem.* imannesnet.
He went, ígĕle, yígĕle.
Thou wentest, tegĕlēt [tegeleṭ?].
I went, egĕlēgh.
They went, tigĕlēn; *fem.* tigelēnet.
Ye went, tigelém; *fem.* tigelémet.
We went, negĕle.
There is, eha [iha?=iga of Shilha]; ehan, *there being*.
There is to me, ehay, ehāhi; *fem.* ethāhe.

There is to thee, ehīk, hīk; (*there being to thee?*) ehan-kay.
There was, illa.
There is, yilē.
There once was, kălā illə.
One (*a certain*), iyen.
One by one, iyen, siyen.
Alone, iyente.
Other (*alius*), iyeṭ, iyeḍ.
Other (*alter?*), yeḍnin, niḍ.
[Compare Arabic root *ayḍ*, whence *ayeḍan*.]
Some, *others*, iyeḍ, iyeḍ.
I alone, iyentnek.
Thou alone, iyentke.
He alone, iyententa.
We alone, iyentănagh.
Ye alone, iyenténawen; *fem.* iyente nekmet.
They alone, iyente nisen; *fem.* iyente nisnet.
I and *thou*, nek *id* ke.
[*And*, e. See 126, 127, and 130.]
Or, mer.
But, hun. [In apodosis, *Hun*, ecce! (*Prodigal Son.*)]
Yes, iya.
No, kalā! kalā kalā!
This thing, ādi (*masc.?*).
This (*here*) *thing*, tetīd (*fem.?*).
This year, tenī, tenēda, tenīdagh
Last year, tenindi.
Two years ago, ténendīn.
This, *that*, awa, ó [*fem.* ata? ἡ].
[*These*, *those*, wīn; *fem.* ch. of īn *ai?*]
This, wādagh; *fem.* tādagh.
These, wuidagh; *fem.* tidagh.
—— idagh [*in both genders and numbers*].
To-day, ashel idagh; *to-night*, ehad idagh.
This is he, enta dādagh.
That (ille), wuēn (illa), tēn [indagh?]. tindagh.
[*This* (*neuter? and absolute*), ādi (?)].
—— also, *tetid* and *tet*, *fem.? Prodig. Son*, (te)selsemastet, tegimastet, imposuistis ei eam.
This and that, wuay wuay.
These and those, wuīn wuīn.
Who, *which*, awa; *pl.* wui (129).
Who? ennagh? mamūs?
Whoever, awwa (129).
Whatever is there, awway ilādihēn (126.)
Those ropes, eréwiyen wadagh.
What trees? innagh ehishkan.
Which *they twine*, *wui* tellĕmin.
What? ennagh awen? endagh? endēgh ma?
What is it? nīshin?
[Num? utrum? awagh, *perhaps*, 56.]
Why? mefit? mefel? mas?
When? me?
On this side, sihā, sihāhe.
On this side, *ilāhen, elādi.
On that side, ilāsehēn, ilāhini.
Here, ilē (*etid?* 138).
There, ilāsehēn, ilādihēn (*dis?* 102).
In this place, ilādiha dagh.
In what place, ennagh edagh?
Where (*is it*) *that*, endagh dihan?
—— endegh diha? (*ποῦ ὅπου*;)
Where? ma ege?
Where, diha, ihe (*relative adv.*)
[*Uterque præteriit*, quò *præteriit*, Erétŭset ika, *diha* ika.]
In what manner? de kawan entág? [degh awwan entág?].
At that place, dar (gh?) *agel*† wadagh.
[*Every*, igen, aigin?]
[In Shilha, kraigen, *every*; *fem.* kraiget.]
Every day, ashel igen.
Then, *at that time*, yawen asígan.
At every *time*, *aigin* kala.
[Kălā, (une) fois?=*wal* of Shilha, =*tekalt* of Kabáíl.]
Once upon a time (*there being*), kalayillen.
Never, aigin kala war.
—— atillen.
Always, harkūk [har=*usque?*].
Formerly, ehingām, ahōja.
Once, arū, ibbĕda (olim).
Somebody, mindam.
Everybody, erétŭsē [*each of two?*].
The whole } rurret, iket.
All }
All the world, rurret eddynia.
All the rivers, eghírriwan rurret.
All of us, iket énănagh.
All of you, iket énăwen.
All of it, iket enis.
About, *nearly*, turdau iket.
Just, *exactly*, adūtet.
Not, war. (So *Kab. Shil.*)
Nothing, war-harret.
Something, harret.
Only, ghas (so *Shilha*), war-har, non nisi.
But only, *with the exception of*, asal (aṣal, *Kab.*).
The whole tribe has been extinguished with the exception of a few lads, tausit ikétenis témminde asel harret iliadan.
Much, egēn; *fem.* tegēt.
Multitude, egōd (129), yegōt.‡
[*Quantity*, ígĕde.
Number, eket.]

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* Initial *ila* seems to convert an adverb or substantive into an adjective, like German *-ig* (root *illa*, he was? yet *ilĕ*, here, crosses us); so *ehen*, tent; *ilhen*, tented.

† *Agel*, perhaps, is Kab. *aghel*, arm, in the sense of side or direction. Compare *arila*.

‡ In Shilha, yeggōt, it is abundant or numerous. In Kab il, *yeshatt* is the same. De Slane treats the latter as the Arabic *yeshedd*, intendit, constrinxit.

How often? merder úgĭda?
How much? ma ígĕde?
At what price? meder úgĕda?
How many? men ekēt? (=menesht of Delaporte's *Kab.*)
Too much, agōteni.
Many of them, awagōt daghsen.
Most of them, awagin daghsen.
[*Somewhat, a little*, in *Ghadámsi*, eket.]
A few, wafarōr; *pl.* wafarōren.
——— awandurren [andurren, *a little*].
——— imadröini [maḍrūīn, *B. M.*].
[Comparing *amáddaray*, younger (*amḍaray* in Ben Músa), and the Kabáíl *adrūs*, a little (of it), we get the root, *drū* or *dru*, for littleness.]
Very, hullen. [*Ghad.*, hála, *much;* hālen, *many;* Hodgson's *Kab.*,* herla.]
Little by little, sullen sullen.
Generally, ordinarily, ennādir.
[*A little*, giak. See 146.]
One day, saagōdi.
Hitherto, har egōdi, 207 (*usque ad nunc*).
—— endi.
Now, egōdi? azarādar [=azal adagh (*this day?*), amarādar (*this time*)].
Soon, agōdedak [egōdi idagh].
Not yet, har egōdi war.
——— heregōdi; endi.
[*Num? anne?* hi.]
{*Adhuc* anne *pervenimus, quò ibamus?*
{Endi *hi* nussa, diha nikka?
[See also *essi* in 65, below; but neither *hi* nor *essi* in this sense is confirmed.]
Before, dat (datāi, dátak, etc.), [=*Kab.*, zath.]
Behind, dar (dar anagh, etc.), [=*Kab.*, daffir.]
[*That which is*] *in front*, ilādata.
[*That which is*] *behind*, ilādara. *Darret*, after (prepos.), in *Prodigal Son.*
At, d. *At the side*, d edis.
By, s.
In, der, degh. *Into*, dag.
Of (partitive), degh.
Under, dau, edēr [=*Kab.*, edau].
Down, sedir [=sedau].
Inside, anaigesh [from egish].
Outside, agĕme, dagăma [from egem].
Without, gema.
Between, ger [me gerassen, *which betwixt them?* i. e. *which of the two?*].
For, rōr [ghur of *Kab.*].
Upon, felle, safelle, fel.
—— ser? 139.
Over, ginnĕgis, ginnĕgish [ginnĕge, 147]. From *Kab.*, ennig.
Around, terlaite (after noun).
Until, har [*Kab.*, ar.].

VERBS ARRANGED ACCORDING TO CONNECTION.

WITH NOTES BY PROFESSOR NEWMAN.

1. Wuēgh, *I was born.*
Where wast thou born? Endēgh akal wādagh wuīt? (*What land that thou-wast-born?*)
2. *The woman is bearing* (*pregnant*), temmat tōren.
3. *The woman gives suck*, temmat tezēdut [tesēṭuṭ].
He sucks the breast, itātet [itāṭeṭ].
4. *The woman suckles her child*, temmat tesánkas rōris.
He sucks, inākas.
5. *I am alive*, edargh.
He is alive, idār. (So *Kab.*)
6. *The boy is ripe* (*of age*), aliad awad.
The girl is ripe (*of age*), taliad tawad.
Ripeness of age, tagat. *An adult*, amawad.
7. *The girl has a full bosom*, taliad tistaurat.
8. *He has grown old*, iwāshar.
I grow old, wāsharagh.
9. *He died, is dead*, amūt. (So *Kab.*)
10. *Look!* enhi!
I have not found, war enhēgh.
Have you found my knife? abĕsar eni tenhēt?
We have found him, menhēt. (*Prod. Son.*)
We have again found him (*we have repeated the finding*), nolis tahănait. (*Prod. Son.*)
I see, aténhegh.
Sight, ahănay.
They see not, war tehinnen.
Nobody sees anything, war ihinne wādem harret.
I saw nothing, war inhegh harret.
11. *I look at with attention*, esagădagh.
Look before you, sageréhe dátak.

* The commoner Kab. *khiralla*, many, much, is explained by Brosselard as a religious extravagance, *Kheir Allāh*, God is good. Perhaps he has proof that I do not know; else it might seem to be a mere development of *herla*, or compounded anomalously of *khirhāla*, "good many."

1. *Yiwū*, he was born? In Shilha, *yu*, a son.
2. *Arau*, offspring, Kab.
3. *Yesūṭeṭ*, she gave suck, Kab.; from *iṭeṭ*, he sucked the teat.
4. Root *inkas?* he sucked.
8. In Ghadámsi, *ūsăr*, old.
10. Ben Músa of Ghadámes gives *ihen*, he saw; and *ehèni*, look! as Tuareg (Temght). *Eheni* and *enehi*, according to Barth, are transpositions ad libitum; also *two* meanings, see and find, appear.
11. Kab. *isag*, he looked at; *iseked*, he observed. *Asijadan* is for *asigadan* (partic.), attending. *Esagrah* is a compound verb, from *isag*, he looked, and *irah*, he loved.

I look at with pleasure, esagrăhagh.
I listen [*to thee*], nek asijădănak.
[*You*] *do not listen* [*to us*], wăr hanagh tesjadet.
I looked around, asanishlămagh.
Let us look around, sanishlămănagh.
12. *I feel with my hand*, tédishagh.
Feeling (subst.), tédisha.
13. *I smell*, insarghagh.
Let me smell (*snuff at*), disaraghagh.
I take a snuff, sărăghagh.
14. *I taste*, etălaghagh.
Taste (subst.), tălagh.
15. *I have eaten*, ikshēgh.
Give me (*what*) *I-may-eat*, ikfăhi awwăkshēgh.
16. *I am hungry*, ilōzagh.
17. *I have enough*, iyūwanagh. (So *Kab.*)
We have enough, naiwen.
Thou hast enough, tiyúwanat.
18. *I drink*, aswēgh.
Drink! asu! (So *Kab.*)
Give me to drink, ikfăhi deswagh.
[*We give you*], nikfēk.
19. *Thou gobblest, no stopping!* ke tenséat war dĭkkĕra.
20. *Hunger kills me* [*smites me?*], inákăhē lās.
I kill you, nek inrēkay [inghēkay].
21. *Thirst overpowers me*, inrāhi fat [fad] [*or*, inghāhi, *kills me*].
22. *I perspire*, orāfagh.
Perspiration (subst.), ímselhā.
The water-carriers sweat, imsharrŏgen imsélhesan [(*there is*) *sweat* to them].
23. *Smoking*, ubbok.
I smoke the pipe, rabăkagh eben.
———, sasagh ebĕni (*I drink my pipe*).
24. *I say*, ennēgh. (So *Kab.*)
You told me, tenāhit, [she *told* it *to me?*]
Tell him, annas.
25. *Utterance*, asókel [asǫkel?].
I answer, asókălagh el jawāb.
Answer me, sokalāhe el jawāb.
Restore to me my camel, sokalāhi ámenis ení.
I restore to you your thing, sókălagh harret enak.
They make them go back, isokalén-ten.
He did not return my salute, war hay isōkal essălām.
I replace the sword, esókalagh tákŏba.
The copying (*of a book*), asăkal.
Shut the door, sókel tefalwat.
I shut the door, sókălagh tefalwat.
[*Properly*, turn *the door.*]
26. *He does not speak distinctly*, ital elis enis [*he has wrapt* (*or involved*) *his tongue*].
He rattles [*stammers?*], enta ahedendán.
She rattles [*stammers?*], tehádendán.
27. *Thou talkest much*, ke hek takalt.
I prattle, nek et-hahe takalt.
28. *I want to whisper*, erhēgh asimmetiktīkāgh.
29. *I am eloquent*, orādagh.
Eloquence, erkōd [eghrōd?].
A speech, meggĕred.
He is eloquent, isrād elis enis [*he made eloquent his tongue*].
I praise, egeriddagh.
He harangues them, imeggĕred dassen.
30. *I inquire*, esistănagh.
Ask him the news, sistent fel isălen. (Ar. saal, *he asked.*)
31. *Seek thou*, unmagh [*Kab.* ūnāg].
He sought for, yummagh, yesummagh.
I seek your advice, nek summaghekay tanhād.
32. *Give us advice*, ager tanhā(d?).
I advise you, egerākay tanhād.
Advice, tanhād.
———, takshit [*secrecy*].
I tell you this secretly, innegnak awādagh istakshit.
We confer between ourselves, neger tanhād gerēnagh.
You must not repeat it to any one, war tíntennit (*or* war tisellit) awādem.
33. *I will, I like*, irhēgh.

Sanishlam, frequentative from root *shalam*, which in Ben Músa's Ghadámsi is *izlem*, and also *yellem*.

12. *Idish*, he felt?

13. *Isăregh*, he smells (Temght of B. M.). If this is a causative form, it implies a root, *iregh*, it has a smell; = Arabic *rihh*. But it must not be too easily identified with *irgha*, it burned.

14. *Yalegh*, he tasted; so Ben Músa's Tuareg (Temght).

15. *Ekshe*, in Kab. becomes *echche*.

18. *Ikfa* [Arab. it sufficed] is *ifka* of Kab. he gave. See 93.

20. Elsewhere Barth has *inakken*, they beat. (Kab. has *nūgh*, fight thou! *enăh*, kill thou! separate verbs.) Heb. *Naka* is either smite or slay.

21. *Inra* (in Shilha, he overpowers, conquers) becomes *irna* (but see 129) in Kab., and unites the senses *superat* and *superest*.

23. The present tense formed by initial *r* or *a* is rare in Barth, common in Kabáil and Shilha.

25. *Isókal*, causative, from *ikkal*, he turned (neuter). *Asoḳel*, utterance, is like *reddere voces* for *edere*.

26. *Dendan*, or *tentan*, to ring or rattle, is Kab. and Arab., and Lat., *tinnio*.

27. *Takalt* is perhaps formed from Arabic. *Awal* (vox), for *kul*, is the Kabáil.

28. Root *tiktik*; the *m* is reciprocal, and *s* causative.

29. Perhaps from Arabic, *ghered*, he warbled, the guttural suffering obliteration.

32. *Ger*, throw, cast, in Kab. and Temght. *Neger tanhād*, we cast advice. In the forms *summaghekay* (31), *egerakay* (32), *irhekāy* (33), *yūfekē* (35), we see that the Tawárek use the nominative *kay* or *kĕ* for (thee) the accusative after a verb [reserving the Kabáil suffix *ak* for the dative (tibi)?], and the final *gh* of the 1st pl. is absorbed by *k*. Thus, irhĕkay = erhēghkay.

33. *Irha* in Ghad. is *ifrāy*, in Kab. is *ira*. The word is evidently the Berber correlative of Arab. *ifrahh*, he rejoiced; which the Kabáil dialect uses side by side with *ira*.

I like, love you, irhēkay.
I like not, wúr terhagh [*or*, wur-t-erhagh, *I like* him *not?*].
34. *I can*, edōbegh, dōbegh.
35. *We surpass him*, nūfe-t. [So in *Shilha.*]
This man surpasses you, halis wādagh yūfekē.
It is better than, yūfa.
36. *It is useful*, yĭnfa. [*Arab.* yinf'a.]
————, ahitenfa.
It is gone, finished, yimmēdi.
It is enough, yúggeda.
It is suitable, [initúëgi?].
It is impossible, awar initúëgi.
There is, yilē.
37. *What shall I do?* ma diknegh?
He who makes *shoes*, wa *yekannen* ibúshegan.
We did it, neknīt.
It may be, imōkan (*is feasible*).
38. *The stars* shine *forth*, itāren *iknān* ebarbar.
This day is very fine, ashel idagh *ikna* téshel dĕje.
It is wonderful, takōnit.
39. *I have done for thee*, egéaghak.
I have committed sin, egégh ébăket.
They have formed a line, égen ăfōd.
I do [*have done?*], iggegh.
I mend *a rent*, tagagh tikist.
Make for me a pretty song, egāhi anaya ihōsken. [*Prod. Son*, ahas nigge, *ut ei faciamus.*]
Thou hast done wrong, tegēt tellĕbist.
I have done (*a good thing*) *for you*, tagaghak.
Thou hast done me a wrong, tagaihi tellĕbist: [she *has done me?*].
Shall I fasten *the horse?* agyagh ais? [*Shall I* do *the horse?*] See 186.
Ye have put this for me, tegimāhi tetid.
40. *Do not do this*, kissinādi?
A good thing, harret ulāgen.
41. *Stand up!* ebde [so *Kab.* and *Arab.*].
I halt, stand still, ebdĕdagh.
Rise! enker [so *Shilha*].
I rise, enkĕragh.
A rising, tennakrat.
Sit down, akīm [agīm, aghīm, *Kab.*].
I sit down, remain, ekēmagh.
We have remained long, nekkīm egēn.
Do not stay! ur tákkĕme.
42. *I bow, stoop*, edunkeagh.
Lie down! gen [so *Kab.*].
He lay down, igen.
Cause thy camel to lie! siggen amĕnis.
I rest myself, insegh.
I pass the night, insegh. [So *Kab.*]
I lie on the side, insegh s alărin.
43. *Sitting with bent legs*, tinekaráft.
Sit thou with bent legs, senekaraffet.
[*He picketed a camel*, ikerāf amĕnis.]
Sit thou with elbows on knees, asíbăkēt.
Sitting with elbows on knees, tasbíkkit.
Sit like Egyptian statues, asirterábărīn.
44. *I lie in bent form*, anékămegh.
I lie on the face, abumbéagh.
The boat is capsized, toraft tebumbay.
I upset (*a boat*), subumbéagh.
I lie outstretched, ezárăgagh.
[(*The head*) *is rested*, irammagh?]
I rest the head, eserámmaghagh.
Resting the head, terámmeghet.
45. *Wink to him the eye*, enrĕrās tēt; ensĕgās tēt.
I twist up my face, asikaniagh edymmĕni.
Blink thou, aunarōnagh.
Blinking, tenirónăghat.
I start up from having a vision, émănomawagh.
I shut my eyes, and have a vision, emaunaagh.
46. *I am sleepy*, tenedōmagh.
I doze(*d*), enuddemagh.
Sleep, ētis, édis (ẹ́tis).
He is asleep, itās, iḍās.
I want to sleep, irhēgh édis.
Sleep is upon me, ehaihe édis.
I dreamed, ehorgeagh.
A dream, táhorgēt.
47. *I start up* (*from a dream*), iggedagh; ebórderit [ebordegh-it?].
I snore, esákhăregh.
Snoring, asakhādu.
I breathe, esínfosagh.
I make a long breath, etagagh infas makkōren.
He put his hands into his arm-pits, ig ifāsenis dag tidardagh enis.
48. *Go thou!* mūs: síkel.

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34. *Idōb* (he is able) must be inferred. Hence, also, *adibīb*, expert, pl. *idábăben;* and a new verb, *idābab*, he is expert.
37. *Ken*, do thou! fac! (Ben Músa's Temght.)
38. *Ikna*, it shone? *Iken*, he made?
39. Aj (ج) is Ghadámsi for do thou! In Shilha, *iqā*, factum est; in Temght it is active, *egīt*. The word seems to be lost in Kabáil. (See *etaqagh* and *ig* in 47.)
40. *Yūlāgen*, good, handsome, is participial; allied, I think, to *yūlche*, it suits, it is like; in Kab., *elhū*, be thou good; with Venture, *ilha*, he was handsome or good.
41. In Kab. *enker* becomes *ekker*.
42. *A lar in*, my side? Elsewhere, *edis*, side.
45. *Asikaniagh* perhaps means *I aim, I point;* as *asikken*, aiming with a gun.
46. In Kab., *nuddam*, slumber, and *ites*, sleep; *yūrga*, he dreamed; *tergīt*, a dream; *tergīt* (or *tergh-it?*), a coal.
47. *Iggedagh* is, I flew (214), I leaped. *Infas* is probably imported from Arabic.
48. *Mūs*, move thou. For in Delaporte I find *itemmusu*, s'agite; *asemmusegh*, je remue. In the Prod. Son, *mus* = *semm*, to name or call. The root *sh-rgsh* seems to me formed from *rgsh*. So *sh-krsh* from *krsh;* the last radical being prefixed.

I go [*went?*], egeléagh.
—— [*traveled?*], esókalagh.
A traveler, amasōkal.
I walk, ergāshagh.
Let him go! éyit errĕgesh!
I take a ride, ushirgĕshagh.
49. *I go on horseback*, egeléagh nāyagh.
He rides, etinne(y).
Mount ye! annĭyet!
Cattle for riding, innemenniyen.
50. *I go sporting*, egeléagh ahuyye.
A sportsman, amahāyen (plur. ?).
I go by water, esákalagh dar eghírrëu [*I travel by the river*].
I go by land, elílagh esalīm; perhaps, *I follow by the shore* (*asarīm* in vocab., but *alim* in 224).
Following, alīlen. (105, 201.)
Straight, isellīlet.
Even, flat, selīlen, nesauel.
Free, alīl.
Freed, nellīl.
51. *I come*, asagh.
I arrive, ussēgh.
———, wāṭagh, wādagh.
We are arrived, newāṭ.
Come! iyu! (*Tad.*); mellīt. (*Awelm.*)
52. *We went* [*we passed*], nikka.
The ball passed *his head*, tesawe *tŏke* eghaf enis.
I wish to go, irhēgh tikaut.
I flee, shun, egewuaṭagh.
He fled, igĕwaṭ.
53. *I go in, enter*, eggĭshagh.
Come in to the tent! eggish ehen!
The rain enters the tent, aman éskăran dar ehen.
He went up and down, imgha.
He went down, imki (in 209).
I go about, tamaghagh.
————, kelīn falánnagh.
54. *I go out* [*went out*], ebarberagh.
The stars shine out, itāren iknan ebarbar.
The moon comes out, ayōr ibarbar.
I come out of the boat, tabárbaragh tóraft.
Set them loose! simbăra!
55. *Run! hasten!* oshal, figgedigdig, akkĕra fedigdig.
I run, oshālagh, olékwualégh.
Come back [*to me*] *quick!* kalāhi shik.
I return, come back, ekālagh [kalāhi, ekālagh (?). So *Kab.*, iḳḳal, *he turned himself*. See 25, above].
Come near! ahaz!
I approach, áhĕzagh.
56. *He started early*, inshaya.
You start early, tinshayat, (subst.) tanshit.
I start early, ismargărēgh.
—— inshēgh semmūt [*semmūt*, cold, fresh?].
Early to-morrow, ashikken semmūt.
I start in the afternoon, eduēgh, (subst.) tádūit.
I wish to start late, erhēgh tádūit.
57. *You start to-morrow morning from Timbúktu*, ke tinshayat ashikke dag Timbutku.
You pass the heat in Kábara, tekĕlét te Kábarāten [*you broil*].
You start in the afternoon from Kábara, ke teduēt dag te Kábarāten.
You lodge in Lenga, temendagh Lenga.
We pass the heat, nikkĕla [*we broil*].
Where do we pass the heat to-day? indegh dihau demāde nikkel ashel idagh.
58. *We lodge for the night*, nemendagh.
I pass the night (*I rest*), insēgh (42).
Where (*is it*) *that we shall rest this night?* endeg dihā *dihennas* ehaḍ idagh? [read *dinennas?*]
59. *Thou dost not keep the path*, war tóherit. [Qu. from *Turco-Arab.*, dōghere, *straight?*]
I lose my way, ebehāhi eberīk.

49. *Ināy*, he rides, is the root suggested by the above, and is confirmed by *amnāy*, a rider, in Delaporte and Venture. In a passage of Zwawa (Kabáil) in De Slane, *ïniq* seems to me to mean *he rode*. Are *nāyagh* and *etinnegh* two forms of the present? Or is *nāyagh* I rode? In 62, *neyagh*, I ride.

51. In Kab., *yūsa*, he came; *ūsīch*, I am come. Here *asagh* and *ussāh* might seem different in tense. *Iuwat*, in Kab., he approached.

52. *Ikka*, he passed, he went; Kab. and Shil.: *arīgh dakaḳ h*, I wish to go, Temght of Ben Músa.

53. *Eskáran*, in Kab., "doing," faciens. *Imagha*, he went *up* (Kab.); he went *down* (Ben Músa's Temght); he went *up and down* (Delaporte's Shilha); and here.

54. *Larbar*, extra, might seem a formative from Arab. *barra*; but the native root is *ebru* in Kab il, which exists side by side with *barra*. There is *ibra*, dimisit, repudiavit; *inebran*, repudium; *aberru*, manumissio; *innabra*, emisit (?); *sinabra*, perhaps the same as *simbara* above.

55. *Oshal* is *ūzal* of Kab., correlative to *'ujel* of Arabic. *Lekwual* is like *leklek* (to trot) of Arabic, for which we have *kelkel* in Kab. *Shik* is *zik* of Kab.

57. *Ikēla* is here *iḳ·la*, Arabic *ḳala*, he broiled. Brosselet gives as Kab. *ekku*, broil thou; perhaps a root common to both languages. *Ekkel* is the imperative for Turn yourself. In fact, to turn and to roast may be modifications of one root.

58. *Edag* or *edagh*, a place: (*edeg iyen*, one place; *annagh edak?* what place?). *Dāj*, house with yard in Ghadámsi, which = Arab. *dār*. *Idegh*, he dwelt? (*Ithan adedekken Bosebango*, they want to dwell at Bosebango.) To this root I am disposed to refer *emendagh*. *Izdegh*, he dwelt, is the Kabáil.

Ehad, night, must be *ehaḍ*. It is *efaḍ* of Ghadámsi, *eghef* of Wadreagh, *yīeḍ* of Delaporte, *yīt* of Hamed, etc. *Tegit* in the Tuareg (Temght) of Hodgson. The root is seen in Arab. ظ, obscura fuit nox.

59. *Yoher*, he has kept the track? *Eberīk*, road, is Temght of Ben Músa; in Kab. *ebrid*, in Arab. *derb*.

He has lost his way, ebehās eberēk [*fefellit eum via*].
[*Ibāhe*, it misleads; *ibehe*, it misled?]
False, bāho.
Liar, wambāho.
Renowned, anesbāho [*boasted of extravagantly?*].
60. *He has found his way*, enta iggĕro abárrăka.
I am tired, ildāshagh.
Weariness, ilídish.
I am very *tired*, ildāshagh húllen húllen.
My bones are shattered, nek tatáktărau eghasánnini.
61. *Exhaustion*, temánkīt.
I repose, ekēmagh dissūn.
——— adehāgegh fessagh.
Let us repose a little, nehāget andurren.
62. *I ride a horse*, néyagh aïs. (49.)
I dismount, ezōbegh. (66.)
Dismount ye, zōbet.
I make the camel lie down, esiggănagn aměnis.
Make thy camel lie, siggen aměnis innek.
I drive my horse on, egedémmegh aïsin.
63. *I go fast*, égelegh shik.
I make my horse trot, eshisheriwuēgh aïsin.
I keep back my horse, esamásănagh aïsin.
I make him gallop, etegeriwuēgh aïsin.
I take a ride, ushírgeshagh; adsummorómaragh.
64. *I will go into a boat*, erhēgh ogish-n-tóraft [*I desire* the entering of *a boat*].
I entered a boat, egïshagh tóraft.
I get on the sand, tarásănagh taméllelt.
We have got on the sand, urannar-n-akal.
I disembark, tabarbăragh tóraft.
65. *Do we cross in a boat?* nisger is tóraft.
Or have we to go on foot? mēr essi sídaránnanagh?
I cross a river, isgeragh.
I ford a river, nek yer teawent.
Take my horse through the river, kuletāhi aïseni.
66. *I pass a town*, kayetánnagh.
Shall we sleep in Kábara, or pass it? awak nemendagh e Kábaraten, mer nokaitenit?
I alight (*and take quarters*) *at the house of a certain man*, ezubbegh rōr halis iyen.
I climb down, nek azúbbegh.
Mohammed E'sghīr [*probably?*] *will lodge with El Bakáy*, Mohammed essghīr kodōsen azubbet rōr El Bakáy.
67. *I change my dwelling*, ehōnagh.
The Tademékket have transferred their encampments at Gundam to Bosebango, Tademekket ijóēnit ahónenit rōr Gundam, irhan adedekken Bosebango.
68. *I swim*, shāfagh.
Do you understand swimming? ke tezay elíshaf?
69. *I dance*, dellillagh.
I play, edellagh.
He understands dancing extremely well, issan dellul yulāghen hullen.
70. *I spring*, tágĕdagh.
I spring over a ditch, agédĕregh átĕras atukkēk.
He jumped down from his camel, egedā-

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60. *Iggera* (*Igra*), it lighted upon, is surely Arabic *jera*. The ō in *iggĕro* may even be the Arabic pronoun *him*. [? H. B.]
Tataktarau seems akin to *karrau* or *kaurau*, to be torn, *t* being inserted as in the Arabic 8th form, not a Berber practice. The root is not unlike *zarau*; see below.

61. *Temankit*. Compare *War itemanākit*, lest it hurt (him). Perhaps from *naka*. *Dissun*, my side? *Edis*, side; *uni*, *eni*, of me.

62. *Zōb* in this sense is found in Brosselard; but the Kabáil and Shilha for it is *uguz*, *ukuz*, *eggiz*. See *ged*, *gōz*, in 70, and oftener *kōz*, in 99.
Egedemmegh, perhaps (Arab. *Qedem*) I cause to go in front.
Aïsin, for *aïs-ini* (see end of 65), is only a clipped pronunciation.

63. *Eshisheriwuēgh*, *etegeriwuēgh*, seem to show *wuēgh* as marking the 1st person of a causative verb, when the root ends in *au*. *Shisherau*, perhaps, denotes frequentative alternative movement, nearly as *shieresherau*, to work the pump-handle.
Esámásan, causative, from *amásan?*
Etegeriwuēgh (I set loose?) has *et* to mark present tense. I make the root *igherau*, it is easy: whence *egherawgh*, I am easier, *yeherowen*, easy; *iharowen*, spacious.
Adsummorómaragh seems to be a causative from a frequentative root *mormor*. *Ad* marks present time.

64. *Tarásănagh* (from *yarāsan*), he touched? he grazed? *Tursar* (211), ran aground.

65. *Essi* may seem to be the Latin num, an, as *is* in Delaporte's Kabáil.
Isger is *izger* in Kabáil, perhaps more correct.
Yer may seem to be for *yegh*, first person of a verb, so as to mean "I keep the ford" (*teawent* is a ford); but *eiyi*, in Barth, means let, leave, being the Kabáil *ejji*.
Kulet, plural, from root *kul?* Compare *ikel*, he marched: or is *t* radical?

66. *Ikáyetan*, he passed. Compare *ikka*, 52, and *yukaine*, 147.
Awak, Latin "utrum?" *Mer*, "an."
Imendagh, he lodged? See 58.

67. *Yehōn*, he encamps? moved his camp? (*Ehe*, *ehan*, a tent.) *Ijóēnit* and *ahónenit* seem two verbs of same tense? *enit* marks 3d pl. fem.
Adedekken = *adedeghghen?* See 58.

68. *El-ishaf*. If *el* is here the Arabic article, *shāf* ought to be imported Arabic. Golius has *zāf*, explicuit alas ac caudam; which easily becomes *natavit*. *Ke tezay* = *tezayt*, it seems. In 89, *ezay* = *esan*, he understood.

69. Kab. *zullel*, to pirouette. In Shilha, *adilalan*, teaching, is from Arab. *dell*, a different root.

70. *Tágedagh* (also), I fly; *igged*, he flew; see 47. *Egedārit* and *agédăregh* are from another verb, *igeder*, or even *ider*, if *ag* here marks tense. Ider, he came down, as in Kab. iṭer.
Ateras = *Ader-as?*
Atukkēk, a ditch.

rit fel tārik. [*Fel* is upon: *down* must be in the verb.]

71. *I climb up* (*a mountain, a tree*), tewīnagh (adar, elíshk).
I limp [*sink down?*], agōzeagh.
I get down? agōzeagh.
The thief climbed up the house in the night, and dropped into the middle of it, amakărad awen tárashām das ehad, atarăkat dar amásenis.
I fall, nōda(gh) (see 104), nistrekegh.
He fell, isĕtrek, atarákătet.
I threw down, satarakegh.

72. *I trip, stumble*, tersellădagh, nek agértătŭf.
I slide down, nek abúrzazawerit. [See *eborderit* in 47.]
I strip my hand of skin, azelébbegh.
I limp, ehiāgagh.
That camel limps with his right foot, amenis wādagh éhiak s aḍar-n-arēl.

73. *I sing*, nek egananásehak.
Do the Tawárek sing? Imóshăghe igananásehak?
They are very fond of singing, irhánne adigérĕshen tárezĕk hullen.
They have their peculiar songs, entenet lan tarezék imánnesen.
Sing me a nice song, auiyāhi asāhak ihōsken; egāhe anaya ihōsken.

74. *I laugh*, dāzagh, tedāzagh.
Thou laughest too loud, ke hik tadís lebāset [*tu, est tibi risus pravus*].
Much laughing is not becoming, tádasit tegĕt war tawége.

75. *I smile*, asibáksagh.
A smile, tibeksit.
I cry out, egerēgh [egherēgh].
[*I*] *moan*, tenétčkĕt, tehénčfĕt.
I weep, hālagh.
Why do you weep? mefel tehālit? mas hālit?
Do not weep, war tellhĕt.

76. *I am silent*, esósanagh.
Be silent, sūsin.

77. *I am sorry*, nek ezenesjūmo.
I [?] *am vexed*, igrawent nisgam.
Do not be vexed, ease your mind [*lift up your heart?*], sūli ulhinnek.

78. *I do not dissemble*, isákănagh imāni [*I show myself*].
[*He dissembles*], war sékĕne imánnis.
You dissemble, tesírmărăday.
I am content, I allow, permit, ekebēlagh. (*Arab., Kab.*)

79. *I trust*, efelāsegh.
Confidence, tefĕlist, tifíllas.
He confided (in *African Arabic*), falash (*seems to be the same root*).
I am merry, nek ellĕwe.

80. *I pity him*, nek egĕras [egĕghas?] tehānit.
I do not pity him, urhas ger [gegh?] tehānit.
Have mercy on me, adenāhi tehānit.
I am angry (*Satan has entered me*), etkāragh, eggesh āhe Eblīs.
Why are you angry with me? mas ke, tĕjés falē (*or* felāhi) atkar.

81. *He dishonored him* before *all the world*, tezĕmit dedēsin idĭnet rúrret.
I slight you, tézĕmegh fellek, nek tezémākay.
[*Slight, dishonor*], tisĕmīt.
He has dishonored me, enta tezémāhi.
I fear, eksōdagh.

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71. *Iwwen*, Ghad., he went up; and Kab. *thasawint*, an eminence. *Auen* here = *iwwen*.
Das? some preposition.
Aṭarak, drop; *isaṭarak*, he threw down, let drop; yet *isetrek* neuter verb.

72. *Irsellad*, he struck the foot against.
Agéyh taṭuf, I have made *a catching*.
Aḍar-n-arēl, foot of the right.

73. *Aséhak* = *azéghak* = *aghézak* by transposition; a song, or singing? Also *anaya*, a song. In *nek eganan* we must see the participle *iganan*, canens; but *eganan* is canunt: for *eghannan?* the root is Arabic, *ghann*.
Tarezĕk, *tarezzek* = taghezĕk.
Irhánne = *irhan*, they love; see 33.
Lan, there were? = *ellan*.
Adigereshen implies *igeresh*, he recited? Compare *gher*; and *ghered*, warble, as Arabic.

74. *Yedez*, he laughed (B. M.'s Temght).
Tadīz, *tádazit*, laughter.
Lebāset must be feminine for *lebāsent*, from *ilabāsen*, bad.
Tegĕt for *tegent*, fem., from *egen*, much. But, in 39, *tegĕt*, thou hast done.
Wége also seems to be a root (compare Arab. *wejeh*—qu. spectabilis est) for decuit. Hence fem. *tauége;* and *war inítŭegi*, it can not be (it will not do).

75. *Gher* (here as in Kab.), is to call, to cry, to read; uniting Hebrew *ḳara*, call, and Arabic *ḳara*, read. The *k* is often found for *gh;* Hodgson says, wrongly.
Ihāl, he weeps; compare Heb. and Arab. *hallel*, and Engl. wail. In Delaporte's Shilha, *allan*, weeping, *isillan*, causing to weep; *h* omitted.

76. In Kab. *sūsim*, be silent. Compare Arab. *ṣamat*, siluit; *ṣamm*, obturavit, os repressit.

77. *Anesgum*, or rather *anezgum*, seems to mean sorrow (as in Kab.); but for the verb nothing nearer appears than Arab. *hazan*, of which I have thought it an inverted corruption. *Nek ezenesjūmo*, for *nek es enezgūm-o*, I (am) *in my* sorrow?
Igrau-ent, see 60.
Sulí, in Kab., lift up, cause to rise.
Ulhi, heart (Kab. *uli*), Arab. *ḳalb*, Heb. *lib*, display the same elements, though in disguise.

79. *Ellewegh*, I am merry. Elsewhere, *illewen*, they were merry. *Teslauit*, lætificasti. *Oleuet*, happy; *olúa*, fem. *tolúa*, wide, spacious; qu. laxus, lagus, liber. Also frequentative, *lúelŭe*, it was let go? See 97.

80. *Tehānit* would recall Heb. and Arab. *ḥann*.
Eger, *ger*, perhaps for *egegh*, I make.
Aden-ahi, spread over me?
E'kār, *atkar*, should be *etkakh*, or rather *etkaḥ*, *atkaḥ*, but the Tawárek can not sound *ḥ*. It is Kab. *echchaḥ*, Arab. *ajjaḥ*. But *etkar* means "full;" Kab. *echchur*. See 103.
Tejés = *tegesh*, enters?

81. *Tesĕmegh*, *tezémegh*. Root, *ezem* (deficiency, Kab.?). *Izem*, he slighted; *itezem*, he slights.
D edēs in-, at side of?

Do not fear, ur teksōk [teksōd].
Do not tremble, ur termāga.
Thou art impatient, unsteady, ke termādet.
I hide myself, efāragh imāni; bikegh imāni; esíddākik.
I cover my face with my hands, hăragh idĕmín.
82. *I take care*, ugăsagh.
Beware of that man, ehéwet halis wādagh, agas-n-niet.
He is of a treacherous disposition, erádar (eghádar?).
I do not care, war ekōlagh.
Take care of the luggage, agis ílălen.
83. *I wait for you*, ezēdargh fillek.
Wait for him, zedar filles.
——— malărēn?
He is impatient, enta war izēdar.
84. *I recall to mind* (*my friends*), nek esimmiktăghēt imaraweni.
I am not thinking at all, war inēhi ábĕlu. (*Thought does not find me?*)
I remember, nek esimmesúyăkal (?) *or* kagh (?).
85. *I have forgotten*, etuagh.
Thou hast forgotten, tetuat.
Forgetfulness, tatat.
I am accustomed to ——, nek esilmadărak isūl-n- ——.
I am accustomed to smoke much, nek eshuaragh almeddak tesesēn taba [*cæpi discam hausium tobacci*].
I teach you, nek esalmádakay.
86. *I know*, sánagh.

I do not know, ur essánagh.
Do you not know? ke war tessīnat?
I am puzzled, nek amdéggēg.
87. *I understand*, egerāhagh.
I have not understood what you said, war egerāhagh meggerīt.
I understand a little Tarkíye, egerāhagh andúrren da Temáshight.
I can not speak it, war dōbegh assokel enis.
88. *I am learning Tarkíye*, etátăragh almud en Temáshight [peto doctrinam].
I know the Kurán by heart, ikfāsagh el Kurān; etāfagh.
89. *Teach me Tefínaghen*, agimékkăhe Tefínaghen.
I acquaint, inform you, elárĕghak.
I read, nek raragh [gharagh].
Read, tégĕri [téghĕri].
I have read with the most learned of the Kelissūk, nek égĕrék rōr el fakkíren Kelissūk ezay (esan) tégĕri hullen.
90. *I write*, katăbagh. (*Arab.*)
Written, iktab.
I count, esedanagh.
Counted, isĕdan.
Are these cowries counted, or not? timgel ídagh isédănen, mer war isédănen?
What is the name of this in Tarkíye? wādagh, innagh ismennis se Temáshight?
Your name? isménnek?
91. *I pray*, umādagh. [From *Arab.* *'amad*, which degenerated from the idea of *confirming* into the ecclesiastical *baptizing*.]
Have you finished your prayer? ke tesýmdet timadénnek?

Termāga: but *terimmek*, anxiety (with *k*), and *termādet* (with *d*). In Kab. *ergīgi*, tremble.

Esiddakik (-kigh? -ghigh?). From *sideris* (sideghis?), "secretly," we might lay down *sidegh*, as the root. But *ised eghaf ĕnis*, "he hides his head," gives us simply *ised*, he hides, and *esiddakik*, I hide *thee*.

Idemin, perhaps, is dual, Two cheeks; Barth has *idénuwen* (139) for faces, pl.: root *udem*, cheek, face, Kab.

82. *Ehewet* = *egewet*, of 52, "shun."

Niet? [In Delaporte's Shilha the word means "even," *nême*.]

Ikōl, he cares. Compare the Hausa verb *kula*, to care, in the Rev. Mr. Schön's vocabulary, and *ekull* in 104.

84. *Iktha*, cogitavit, seems to be the Kab. root. Hence *imekthi*, secum reputavit; and here, *isimmikti*, the causative.

Imarau-eni, my friends? my sorrows? Elsewhere *immerauen*, mutual weeping: root *ru*, sobbing, Kab. But *imidaueni*, my friends (Prod. Son); *imīdi*, a friend.

Esimmesúyakagh suggests a root, *suyak* or *uyak;* but *esimmesúyughuk* (I remember *thee*) a root *suya*. Both are strange to me.

85. *Itu*, he forgot, Kab.

Ilmed (Arab. and Heb.), he learned; *isilmed*, he taught; here, he learned.

Esilmadărak has a syllable too much; read *esilmadagh*. Then *akisūl* or *isūl* means custom?

Almeddak = *Almeddagh*, (ut) discam.

Ishuar is for Kab. *izwar*, he began. So *teshuar torau*, incipit pariat = parturīt.

Tesēs en taba; én is the prep. "of?"

87. *Egerah*, understand thou? So *agrūhet*, science. It seems to be a pure native root, as *isen*, he knew.

Meggerīt is explained by Barth as *me gerīt* = *me gherit;* or, rather, *me teghrit*, what thou hast called out. *Meggered* (*meghered*) is a harangue. See 29.

Da, not certain *Temáshight*, as *Imóshaghe*, for Kab. *Temazight*, *Imózagh*.

Assokel; see 25.

88. *Itar*, petiit. In Kab. I know only the causative *isuthar*, petiit, which is common. De Slane, in a Berber (Shilha?) poem, has *idder* and *iter;* viz., *iwellik iddernin*, toi que l'on implore (τοῖς σε λισσομένοις?); and *win itran*, he who wishes (ὁ ζητῶν).

Ikfas is corrupt Arabic. *Ḥafiẓ*, حفظ.

Etafagh, I have caught or held fast, often has *w*, as though *wataf* were the root. It is Arab. حطف, whether native or imported. Common in Kab. See another *etaf* in 208.

89. *Agīnek*, teach thou?

Ilar, he informed? *Ilagh?* compare Arab. *lagha*, locutus fuit.

Ezay, peritus fuit; as appears by comparing this with 68. *Esan* is *isan*, scivit, as in 86. The verb should be plural here? *Egerek* = *eghĕregh;* and the vowel of the penultimate distinguishes the past tense from *gharagh*, present tense.

91. *Tesymdet* belongs to an important root, *imĕda*, it is finished (36); *imda* in Delaporte's

92. (*I*) *fold* (*my*) *hands* [*fingers*], asimmĕkeris isíkkăden.
Fold ye your hands, simmekerissit isíkkadenawen.
I fast, ezōmagh. [*Arab. ṣōm.*]
Are you fasting? ke tazōmet?
93. *I have had, once I had*, kălā ille. [*Kălā*, once upon a time; *ille*, there was? *rōri* or *ghōri* seems wanting.]
I have not, war rōr ille [read, *war rōri ille*].
I have nothing to eat, war iktĕfagh akshegh [*non sufficio* (*quod*) *edam*].
94. *I add, give more*, esewādagh.
Add to me a little, sewadāhi andúrren.
I arrive, wādagh [wāṭagh].
We are arrived, nuat [newāṭ].
(*The cold*) *decreases*, efenās.
I lessen, nek afenis-tennet (?).
——— (*of fluids*), esodĕbăragh.
95. *Bring me something*, auyohĕĕt harret.
I bring it to you, waueghakit.
I leave, let, nek ōyagh.
Let him go (*walk*), eyit érrĕgesh.
96. *I set free a slave*, sidderfagh ákeli.
A freed slave, ákĕli néllil.
A freedman, adĕrif.
I divorce a woman, ezimmízeagh támate.
I marry, itidíbonagh.
He has divorced his former wife, izímmăze hannīs, tādagh rōris tille [*quæ ei erat*].
(*And*) *has married a young girl*, awe taliad andúrret. (On *awe*, see 95.)
97. *I hold fast*, etāfagh.
We take [*lay hold of*], nuttef.
Catch it, hold it, ótturt. (See 88.)
Hold fast the cord, ātef írriwi.
Let go the cord, selluelūe írriwi.
I let go, sellueluĕragh.
98. *Pluck off*, ekas.
I take off, pluck, ekăsagh.
Raise, take away, [tolle!] atkal.
I carry off, átkalagh.
I put the load on the camel, otāgergh ilălen fel ámĕnis; nek etajejjegh ilălen. [*He heaped things upon him*], egag fellas ilălen.
99. *I take the load* (*from the camel*), etakōzagh ilălen; ezózebagh ilălen (fel amĕnis).
I put on the (*horse's*) *saddle*, nek ekĕral alakīf; nek esewăragh alakīf.
Put the saddle on, sūar elakīf.
I take the saddle off, ekássagh elakīf. (98.)
100. *I seek, look for*, étăragh. (88.)
What do you look for? ma tetúrret?
Search well, ummagh hullen. (31.)
I entreat, beg, etāragh [another form of the present for etétăragh?].
101. *I send*, esōkegh.
I call for, ágaragh [ágheragh?].
Call him, ágĕret [agherĕt?].
I show, esekĕnagh [point out].
Show me the road, sekenāhi abarraka.
I do not show you, nek war esekenaghak.
102. *I collect*, etawaragh.
I hid [*stored up?*] etwăragh.
I cover (*my face with my hands*), haragh.

Shilha. Barth has *ejumádade*, (the nights) are passed. Causative, *isimda*, he ended. Also *imende* [= imemde?], (our food) is finished, gone. See farther under 103.

93. *Kălā*, une fois; Kab. *thekkilt;* Shilha, *wal.*
Iktefa seems to be the Arabic 8th form, from *kefa*, and not to be connected with *ikfa*, he gave, unless this is itself only a corruption of the Arabic verb.

94. *Sewad* [*sewaṭ*] seems to me the causative of *iwaṭ*, a root common in Kab. Thus *iwaṭ*, accessit; *isewaṭ*, addidit.
Andurren, a little, combined with *madrūn*, small, gives a root *dru*. In Kab., *edrus*, a little. The *s* must once have been a pronoun: *edrus*, a little *of it*. See also *endurret*, in 96, for young.

95. In Kab., *awīd*, bring to me hither; *yūwi*, he brought, led.* *Auyohi* must be formed of *auwi*, bring; *āhi*, to me. In 96, *awe* (=*yūwi*) duxit, for *married*.
Oyagh is a different verb, imperative.
Eyyi, let, leave; in Kab., *eiji*.

96. *Néllil*, freed, from *alīl*, free. A root of very like sound is in 105, and another in 50. *Izímiz;* see in 81, *izem*, he dishonored.
Hannīs, wife, and *halis*, man, are peculiar to Temght. [Qu. *halis*, a "fellow;" *hannīs*, "his mate?"]
Taliad, lass; *iliad*, lad, are very like Arab. *welad*, son, which in Temght also appears as *abarad*.

* In Prod. Son, *tauyem*, tulistis; *ahauyet*, agite ferte! *Etwayamas* [read *etwuayamas?*], educatis ei.

97. *Sellueluer?* But see 79.

98. There are *four* roots in Kab. with the radicals *ks*: (1.) *Ekkes*, aufer, exue; *ikkes*, exuit. (2.) *Eks*, pasce (pecus); *iksa*, pavit; *ikes*, pascit. (3.) *Ikes*, pupugit, momordit (serpens). (4.) *Eksu*, plica; *iksa*, plicuit; *ikessu*, plicat. To the 3d I refer Delaporte's *confregit* arbores ventus. I have tried to resolve (2) and (3) into *vulsit*, *carpsit*. See also *iks* in 167; *ekos*, 213.
Atkal at first seems to be the Arabic *thaqal;* but Ben Músa spells it with simple *k*, not *ḳ*. Yet *atkēl*, government.
In Ghad. *jejāq* means laden. We have here a root *gag, gak*, or *gagh*, meaning to heap or load; frequentative, *jejegh*. *Otāgergh* is present tense (for *otāgeghaghi*), and *etajejjegh* apparently the frequentative.

99. *Etakōzagh* might seem to mean, "I come down," but it is here causative: as *ezózebagh* for *esózebagh*, because (I suppose) *s* becomes *z* through the proximity of the other *z*. The roots *kōz*, *gōz*, *zob* are named in 64.
Fel (upon) is used both of taking down and putting up.
Ekeralagh? *ekeral*, gird? In 160, *ireled*, he girded, which perhaps should be *igheled*.
Sewar, put on; and *et-awaragh*, I collect (102), seem to be akin. But see *owar*, in 113.

101. *Isōka*, he sends, is possibly the causative of *iska*, he passed; fem. *tóka*.
War esekenaghak. Here, as in 105, the power of *war* to attract the accus. pron. is neglected. Elsewhere, as in 106, 129, we have the Kabáil or normal order.

102. *Imōkas* is the only instance I have observed of *s* and *r* interchanging. In Brosselard we read *imugger* and *imūger*, convĕnit. In Delaporte the *g* becomes *ḳ*. There is also in Kabáil *imger*, he reaped, and *imger*, it was thrown; passive, from *ger*.

[*We met there?*], memōkas dis.
Where did ye meet him? kawenit ēdagh atamókasem rōris? [*Vos, quo loco convenistis ad eum?*]
The people gather in one place, idĭnet yemókăsen s edeg íyen.
103. *The market is full*, ewúet yétkar.
The people go asunder, idĭnet íbbedā.
The tribe is scattered, tausit tesímande.
104. *I* [*we?*] *salute you*, nigerak es sălām.
Salute him, ágĕras es sălām.
I seize your hand, aṭāfagh afōs enik.
I embrace him, ekúllĕghas.
He fell on his neck, and kissed him, yūdar fel erinnis ahāsi timullut.
I embrace his knees, (*and*) *kiss them*, nekŏdēgh fel fadénnis, ahāsen e timúllut.
A kiss, tamōlit [tamōlirt: tamōlight?].
I kiss, emólĕragh [emólĕghagh?].
105. *I follow thee*, nek elkamākay.
Follow him, elkemt.
I obey or follow, nek elilal [elilagh].
Does El Khadīr obey the orders of Alkúttabu? El Khadír elīl Alkúttābu?
He does not obey him, war ýilkĕmit.
I refuse to submit to thee, nek ugarăghak sérhu.
That tribe has revolted against their chief, tausit tādagh (tindegh) *irhēt* amanōkal nissen.
106. *Help me!* dehelāhi.
I help you, edehelaghak.
107. *Make place* [*for me*], shinkĕshin félle.
108. *I honor you*, esimgharăghak.
He has not honored me, warhi isimghar.
109. *I bear witness to you*, egehăghak.
Bear me testimony, gehāhi.
I swear, ehādagh [*I swore?*].
I swear, ohādagh.
I swear falsely, ehādagh-s-bāho.
He swore falsely, yehad-s-bāho.
I make peace between them, etĕnagh tináhăren [*I speak goodness? protection?*].
110. *I go to law*, esherragh. (*Arab.*)
————, nek amisten.
I overcome you at law, irnēghak se sheríat.
I am cast in a suit, etiwarnagh; (*the money is lost*), ehĕri inekshe.
111. *I praise*, egeriddagh.
———— (*thee?*), nek elakádăkay.
I praise God, gōdēr Mesí [gōdēgh?].
I promise to you safe conduct; I engage to you my faith, egishĕrak alkawel.
I will not betray (*you*), war ighadaragh.
I break faith (*with thee*), nek irkshēdak alkawel.
He has broken faith (*with me*), enta irkshedāhi alkawel: arzar da alkawel.
112. *I have made him confess by some means or other*, nek esleákak estiwit tézar alaretāhi gaway ōkar.
I deny, odelagh.
(*I refuse to you?*), nek odélakay, odélagh el khēr innek.
I refuse to you, nek endarākay.
I punish you, nek akazábăkay.
He has refused (*to*) *me*, indarāhi.
[*He refused to me speech concerning it?*], indarāhi meggered sirs.
113. *Pardon me!* enshāhi.
I pardon you, enshāghak.

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103. Elsewhere, *asímande*, with a torn dress; *témminde* (the tribe) is extirpated; *ezzud immende*, our provisions are gone. These three suggest that tearing and rending are the essence of a root *imende*. But as this word means (the food) *is finished* (see 91), possibly all belong to the root *imēda*, 36.

104. *Ager-as*; either "*throw* salute," from *ger*, or "*cry out* salute," from *gher; aghĕras*. See 101.

Ekull, cherish thou? See *ekōl* in 82. Different are *ikel* (?), he marched, *iggel*, he turned aside, *igla*, he broiled: roots liable to confusion. Also *kūlet* in 65.

Odēgh, I fall? *nōdagh*, we fall (71), *war tidu*, lest thou fall; if to be so written denote a root. *Idu* (compare *dau*, under). But if *tidu* is untrustworthy, *adar*, or rather *aṭar*, is the root; in Kab. to go down.

Fuden (*ifaden?*) pl. of *afōd*, knee?

Aha-sen. *Aha*=*Aga* of 39?

Imōler (*imōlegh*), he kisses?

105. *Elkem* in Kab. "arrive." Qu. may *ilkem*, "pertinuit," explain the double use?

Serhu, victory, primacy. *Yūgar* (Shilha and Kab.), "it exceeds," and so once (I think) in Barth. Thus *ugaraghak serhu* may seem to mean "supero tibi præstantiam."

Irhēt. Barth suspects it should be "*war irhēt*," loves not. Final *t* is then useless. May not *t* be radical, and *irhat* mean *dejecit, excussit?*

Amanōkal, chief. *Tinmokolen*, they invest their chief, 125. *Atkēl*, government (spelt تكل by Ben Músa). These words, with the term "*kél*," seem peculiar to Temáshight.

106. *Idēhel*, he helped?

108. *Isimghar* (he made great), as in Kab., is from the root *mekkur*, great; the *k* becoming *gh* in the causative, as in some other verbs.

109. *Geh*, "testify thou," shows the root of the Kab. *iniger(h)*, a witness; in Shilha also *engi*.

Tináhărĕn is explained by Barth as "protection," and also "goodness." Combine it with *ehĕri*, wealth, and perhaps with Arab. *kheir*, good, since *khīr* is common in Kab.

110. *Irna* (Kab.), superavit, *irnu*, superfuit; two verbs which are hard to keep separate. (*Irna* in Venture is il triomphe.) Here we have active and passive *irnʷgh*, superari, *etiwarnagh*, superatus sum. See the preliminary remarks.

Inekshe, strictly, I think, "is eaten;" a sort of Niphal passive, from *ekshe*.

111. On *egerid* (*egherid?*), see 29.

Elakádăkay, from *ilakad?*

Egisherak, or *egishegh-ak?* I enter to thee.

Alkawel is corrupt Arabic. *Ghadar* also is Arabic.

Irkshed seems a mistake for *ighshen* (a participial form), "deceiving" (see 115), from Arabic *ghesh*, decepit.

Arzar: irza, he broke.

112. *Yōdel*, he denied?

Indar, he refused. So 218.

Azab, seems to be Arab. *'adab*, torment; but what is *ak* before it? Does *k* replace lost *aïn?*

113. *Insha*, he pardoned, recalls Arab. *nesa*, he forgot.

Pardon me, O Lord! e Mesī, takfūt felle.
Ransom him, sókălas téffĕdaut enís.
I wrong you, nek ówaradakay [ówaranakay?].
Thou wrongest me, tówaradāhi.
114. *I doubt, hesitate, am mistaken*, nek amdíggeg.
I am not mistaken as to what I said, nek war amdíggeg tidid, au annēgh.
Sins, pl. ibakkăden.
I commit sin, nek eger [egegh] ebăketṣ. [*Ghad.* Bekkăden, *sins.*]
I am authorized, egelāyegh.
I have been longing for you, ezóweragh.
115. *I disturb you*, nek asheláakay.
You disturb me, ke teshledāhi: ke tekesadāhi makăna nawa kannak.
Let me alone, aiyāhi; (*trouble me not*), war shillāhi.
I tickle, nek akerittegh (témandan).
116. *I envy thee*, nek munshéghakay.
'Abidín envies Bakáy on account of [*the Ulíye*], 'Abidín emunshagh El Bakáy fel temust innis.
I cheat you, betray you, nek ghadárakay (*Arab.*), nek ighdáraghak.
Thou hast cheated me, taghdarredāhi.
117. *I steal*, ókăragh. (So *Kab.*)
Theft, tōkar (and *tékărak*, below).
A thief, amkarād. (So *Kab.*)
Thieves have stolen my camel, imakarāden ōkaren amēnis eni.
The Kel-ulli are expert in stealing, Kel-ulli idábabén dag tékărak.
I seduce (?), nek takárăsak.
That man has seduced the woman (?), halis adagh etákaras tamándant.
118. *I take vengeance*, nek azālagh erāni.
Vengeance is sweet, tamăzilt-n-era tazēd.

He has revenged on them the blood of his father, izel dassen áshĕni-n-shís.
I beat you, nek wātak.
He beat him, till the blood came out, yawat, har tegmad áshen.
119. *I imprison*, ergellagh (awādagh iyen).
A prison, ehe-n-errĕgal.
I put in chains, egegh ásĕsar dar erinnis [*I do a chain on his neck*].
I put a waistchain on his back, a handcuff on his hands, gegh teshim dar darannis, gegh tiyat dar afasánnis.
120. *I circumcise*, nek emánkăden, (*particip.*).
Circumcised, imankad, *pl.* imankăden.
I castrate, nek emeleāgh.
121. *I wound somebody*, sabáyăsagh awādem.
He is wounded, abōyis (?).
Wounded, anasbāyas.
122. *I box the ear*, asíttegh.
I slap the face, edebarāhagh.
I kick, stamp with the foot, tersĕllădagh.
I strike with the knee, nek tesmen kássădagh.
I give a foil, nek esíllăras [esíllăghas].
123. *I wrangle*, nek táyĕragh shélkīkān.
I cut (off) his head, nek tesúggŏrast [tesúggŏgh-as-t].
Strangle thou (him), orĕa-s.
I strangle (him), nek oréägh-as.
124. *I go to war*, iggelēgh dagh égĕhen. [Egehen, *an inroad*, or *military expedition.*]
The people gather, idínet tidauen.
They intend an expedition, yebōken égĕhen.

Takfūt, "thou hast forgiven," as from *akfū*. The *k* is a corruption of *aïn*, from Arabic *'afu*.
Teffedaut, ransom, from Arab. *feda*.
Sókălas, return (repay) for him. See 25.
Owar, injure thou (?). *Towarat*, 2nd pers.
114. *Tidid*, true? truth?
Au = *awwa*, that which.
Ezoĕragh, from Arab. *zōr*, violence?
115. *Shela*, disturb, bustle. See *oshel*, 55. *Akeritti* (tickle thou?). In Kab. *ekreṭ*, rake, scrape. Below, *karrauet*, is torn.
116. *Imunshegh*, he envied; *amōshagh* (*amonshagh?*), envious.
Fel, upon; *temust*, affair.
117. *Yūkar*, *yōkar*, he stole, seems to have secondary verbs, *yekarad*, *yekarak*, *yekaras*.
Temandant = *tamattut* of Kab.? The form does not seem to recur.
Ikaras in the Prod. Son is used for *igharas*, he slaughtered.
118. *Erā*, the debt of blood. *Azal* was at first written by Barth as with ض. I suspect is is here سال, and means demand. *Zal* is of many roots in Kab.
Azĕd, *azīd*, sweet.

A'shĕni, blood, is nearly as in Hausa. In Kab. we find *idemmin*, as if Arabic pl.
Shi or *ti*, father.
Yawat, "he beat," is the root, as in Kab. *Tegmad* (with adverbial *d* final), from *igem*, he went out; Temght, not Kab.
119. *Irĕnel*, he imprisoned?
Erī, neck (in Kab.); *fel erinnis*, on his neck (Prod. Son). *Dar* (= *daffir*, back? see the prepositions). *Ifasan*, hands. I infer that *ásĕsar* is a collar or neckband, *teshim*, a waist-chain, *tiyat*, a handcuff.
121. From 129, *buyis* (or *aboyis?*), a wound. The causative verb is *sabayas*, wound thou; the passive, (or Niphal), *inebuyis*, he was wounded. Also *anasbāyas* (particip.), wounded.
Awādem, from Heb. and Arab. *adam*, man.
122. *Ibarāh*, he slapped? (*Ibarāgh*, he treated insolently?) See *Abārāgh* in 138.
123. *Isugg*, he cut off?
Orĕa, strangle, may be compared with *erī*, neck, Kab., and in 119.
124, 125. *Igĕle*, he went or set off, seems to me the same root as *tekĕli*, starting, setting off, which in Kab. is *tikli* or *thikli*. I ventured to propose writing the verb *ikĕli* (see 232), and regarded *sikel* (travel) as its causative (viz., cause to go, *i. e.* make the beasts start); as Arab. *sūk*. But Barth insists that *igĕle* is necessarily sounded with *g*, and *tekkĕli*, *sikkel*, with *k*.
Idīnet; Arab. *dunia*, world? The word pervades North Africa.

They deliberate, emsākan mēden.

125. *They are about to start*, yebōken tékĕli.

The expedition takes horse, égĕhen írkeb. (*Arab.*)

They invest their chief, tinmókolen amanōkal nissen.

The expedition left, egĕhen égĕle.

We shall fight, adeneknés. [Eknās, *battle.*]

126. *The expedition attacked*, egĕhen óhak.

They fell upon the cattle, ehōkan ishítan.

They plunder the tents, ásfeken ihánnan.

They take away every thing, atáfen auay ilādihen *der* rurret (*they seize whatever* (*is*) *there* of *the whole*).

They take the male and female slaves, ígfālen íkĕlan e tikélāten.

127. *They lead away the horses*, wottan íyesan. [*They bring up?* See *iwat* in 94.]

They drive away the cows, óhăgen iwan.

—— *the woolly sheep*, óhăgen tikíndemén.

—— *the* (*hairy*) *sheep*, óhăgen tíhatēn.

—— *the goats*, óhăgen ulli.

128. *There was nothing but weeping of the women and children*, war akímu har tidĕdēn e iliádeni mmerauen dag timshagh. [N.B. e, *and;* as 126, 130.]

They fought hard, úsāsan ágāzar.

They would not flee, war ebōkan égewet. (52.)

129. *They vanquished them only by numbers*, éntenet war tanárnen har s egōd.

Died, who died, amūt, awa amūt.

Was wounded, who was wounded, égeshēn búyĭsen, awa būyis.

Was speared, who was speared, égeshēn tídik, awa gíshen.

Was smitten, who was smitten, égeshēn tíwit awa gíshen.

The whole tribe was extirpated, tausit ikétĕnes témminde. (91.)

Except a few lads who were absent, asel harret ilíaden, war hadarīn.

There was not one who was not wounded, war tílle dakhsen ĕrē war nebūyis.

130. *Men were broken and crushed*, idĭnet arzan e dígdĕgen.

They ransacked their villages, atíkfĕlan emazāghe nissen.

They took it and went away with it, eluent, éngĕlen dĕris.

The enemy despaired, íshĭnge aráhăgén.

I despair, nek eheráhăragh.

The whole town burns, aghĕrim ikétĕnes irrar. (170.)

They fled into the forest, imár rasan ígeshen ehíshkan. [*They were broken, and entered the bushes.*]

I flee, nek arzēgh. [*I am broken?*]

They make a stand, ibdĕdan. (41.)

131. *They gather*, isártăyen har emókăsan. [*They caused to join, until they assembled mutually.*]

Their chief addressed them, emegered dassen amanōkal nissen. (29.)

132. *He exhorted them to defend their women*, innāsen hawánim auādagh akawen igeráwen tídĕdēn ennawen. [*He said to them . . . . that* (?) *to you they set free your women.*]

And your children, ezafnet d íliaden nawen.

Emsākan seems to have *m* as a reciprocal form.

Mĕden, men, as in Kab.

125. *Ibōki* is clearly used, just as in Kab. *ibgha*, he will, he is about, he means; and seems to be the same word. Yet the latter is identical with Arab. *bagha*, decuit, from which I think it is borrowed. See 125.

Inmōkel for *Imnōkel?* See 105.

126. *Ohak*, *ohag*, in Temght, are the root *awagh* of Kab., but take a stronger sense. *Awagh* is "sume," but *ohag*, "cape, rape."

Ehōkan in 127 is *óhăgen;* but perhaps they differ in tense.

Asfeken, I conjecture, should be *asfeghen*, they empty; from *fagh*. See 174.

Igfal may seem to be the same word as *ikfel*, he ransacked. 130.

127. *Tihatēn* seems to be the same word as *tighaten*, goats, from *taghat*, she-goat, in Kab. Barth also has *tarat* (=*taghat*), she-goat; yet he is sure that *tihatēn* means (hairy) sheep; and that *ulli* (which in Kab. is a flock of sheep or goats) is the Temght plural for goats. In 137 *ulli* is sheep (?). [There is no doubt that *ulli* comprises occasionally both sheep and goats.—B.]

128. *Akimu* is from *ikīm*, it rested or remained (41); also, it remained *over*. *Har*, except.

Immerau, reciprocal verb, from *iru*, he sobbed; *immerauen*, they sobbed mutually.

Agĕzar, war. *Usāsan* (perhaps), "they made obstinate;" Ar. *'asa;* which might generate a causative verb, *isasa*. But for the Arabic root, we have in Kab. *azzay*, heavy. See *azŭen* in 150.

129. *War tan-arnen*. The negative *war* attracts the pron. accus. *tan* (them). *Arnen*, they overcame, as in Kab.

Egōd, multitude, as in Shilha *yeggūt*, it was numerous.

Egishen seems to come from *egish*, enter or pierce. (So *egishāhi terjadauten*, cup me behind the ear, *i. e. pierce* to me the back-head.) *Idak*, he pierced with a spear, Heb. *dakar;* Ar. *dakk wat*, *the* struck, smote. Hence *tidik* and *tiwit*, feminine nouns.

Erē . . . qu. *war-erē*, ne-pas? So Kab.

130. *Irza*, he broke; also, he was broken; but for the passive we seem presently to find *imarraz;* in Kabáil *imrez* and *irrez*. *Idigdeg* or *idiggid*, he crushed; frequentative. Compare Heb. *dakak*, Ar. *dakk*, to pound, etc.

Itikfel, present tense from *Ikfel?* See *Igfal*, in 126.

Amazāghe. Compare *Timshagh*, in 128.

Yelu, he took? (not again.)

Ingel, Niph. from *igĕle?* (not again). But *inghel*, it gushed out; qu. *enghĕlen*, cruperunt?

Irahagh, he despaired. *Ehe* initial, marking present, is *aï* of Kabáil.

131. *Irtay* (neuter verb), it joined; *isertay* (active), he joined; *imirtayen* (things), mixed.

132. *Izaf*, naked; *izafnet*, they (fem.) are naked?

Igerauen, they deliver, set free? rather, *eghĕrauen*, "laxant." See 63.

133. *That you may not get a bad name among men* (?), ámehak wásăsen téšĕlim dar mēden.

Up! and let us fight till we penetrate to their tents, awar hawenjen har tasne ehanne nassen.

134. *Till we fight them at their very tents*, har dirsen tirteyam dar ehenne nessen.

Till you drive out their women, tesiffem tídedēn nissen.

Take as hostages their children, termissen arrásăsen *a*lroren nissen.

Their children are your prey, ilíaden nissen ewunawen.

135. *They raise the war-cry*, esaraurawen.

They beat their shields, etedérzen érehe [ághĕre] nissen.

136. *They form a line*, égen ăfōd.

They make an assault, óshĕlen insírsen.

They have surrounded them, raleénten, kūbēn falássen.

They break through them, ibelaggénten, azraurawénten.

137. *They have dispersed*, ábbĕdén.

These were broken and those were broken, arzen wuīn, arzen wuīn.

They fled like hares, egéwuaden shynd égewat átek temarruëlt [*instar fugæ* (*quam*) *præterit? lepus*].

Like the sheep or goats before the wolf, shynd ulli ishāk ebak [*instar gregis* (*quam*) *invadit lupus*].

138. *They are both afraid*, éntčnet anemétesen ingarmanissen.

Let the proud champions fight, ayet inasbarāghen ademánghan.

(*Let*) *the champions step forth*, síggemet étid inasbarāghen.

(*One*) *champion the son of Naber* (*Nabegha*), anesbarāgh ineg en Nabegh.

And (*the other*) *champion the son of Agwi*, d anesbarāgh ineg el Agwi.

139. *Their countenances are as the countenances of lions*, idemawen nissen shynd idemawen éheran.

Who are about to spring on their prey, ainemeharnānīn abōkan ademókāsen.

They fight hand to hand, amáwăten.

The son of Agwi has cut him through the left shoulder, ineg el Agwi istak sers gerē dézar wa-n-téshĭlgĕn.

140. *He parried that blow*, úhag arasset.

(*They encounter;*) *their swords are broken*, tamókasen, tikabawen erzĕmet.

They throw the spears, anemiggĕren s alăghen.

I throw the spear, nek egāragh alăghe.

One and the other throw it, igart wuay, igart wuay.

This pierced him and that pierced him, idakt wuay, idakt wuay.

141. *Both of them are wounded*, asen enissen ansabayāsen.

The blood gushes from their wounds like a torrent, ingay áshĕni dar búyĭsen nis-

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133. *Amehak* (*ameghaḳh*, anquisivi, 31).

Wásăsen. See *usásan*, 128; also *tewĭsit*, tribute.

Tesílim, áudistis.

Ihannen, tents.

134. *Tirteyam*, jungamini. See 131.

Tesiffem, exire faciatis? See *ifay*, exiit, 141.

Termissem, prehendatis. *Irmes*, prehendit, as in Ghadámsi.

135. *Nek esrauraweġh*, I break through, should be *ezraurau-egh*, 190, 136. *Isaraurau*, he shouted, may be frequentative causative from *ru*, to sob, Kab. (128).

Iderez, he rattled?

136. *Afōd*, the knee! *Egen*, see 39.

Oshélen, they hurried, 55.

Insirsen, they made a descent? Kab. *ires*, he went down; *sirs*, bring down.

Raleyen, from *iralay*, he surrounded: whence *terlaite*, around.

Kubé, form a circle? Compare *ḳubba* (Heb. and Arab.), a (vaulted) sleeping chamber, an arch.

Fal-assen, against them.

Ibelaġ, pervasit? (Ar. *belaġh*, pervenit.) *Azraurau*, freq. to split (190), from *irza* (130).

137. *Abbeden*, read *abbeten*, or *abbeden*. Kab. *ebtu*, divisit.

Shynd, in Kab. and Shilha, *zund*, *zun*, instar.

Egewuad, *egewat*, see 52.

Temarruelt, a hare, from *imerewel*, run away (Hodgson's Kab.), which is from *irwel*, he fled; Arabic, *rahhel*.

Ebak or *ebēg*, a jackal.

Ishāk, invadit? Afterward (220) *ishek*, "(the lion) attacks." Compare *shik*, quick; Kab. *zik*.

138. *Imettes*, he frightened? (Not again.)

Ingarmanissen, inter se? In Kab., *gar*, between; also *gaigar;* and *gaigarasan*, inter se.

Ayet, let ye, 95.

Abārāgh, proud; *tebarōghit*, opulence; *anesbārōgh*, man of wealth and grandeur. In Venture, *ābŭlāgh*, bien, richesse.

Ademánghan, subjunctive. *Imgha*, he killed; *imangha*, he killed mutually, *i. e.* he fought.

Siggemet, exire facite. *Igem*, exiit, 118.

Etid, hither? [*Etid*, (the cold) increases.]

Ineg or *inek*, son; only in Temght?

139. *Udem*, cheek, in Venture; face, in Kab. generally; pl. *udemin*. It is also *akādūm* in Kab., which suggests Heb. and Arab. *ḳedem*, front, as akin. See 81.

Eher, lion, is *afur* in Ghad.

Iharna seems to mean "he crouched," see 22; although Barth has it otherwise in 222: *meharnan*, particip.

Aina, article or relative plural?

Ademókasen, occurrant (to encounter). *Ad* marks subjunctive, as in *ademanghan*, 138.

Iwat, he struck: *imawat*, he struck reciprocally.

Istak, has gashed? has inflicted? Arab. 8th form of *sūḳ*, impulit?

Sers, on him? So in Kab.—Delaporte, etc.

Gerē, between? Kab. *gar* (or, a wound? Arab. *jurhh*).

Dézar, collar-bone? or, *ezar?* vein.

Wa-n-téshilgēn, which (is) of the left.

140. *Uhaġ*, he caught, 126.

Arasset? before (him)? See 238.

Tākōba, sword, as in Hausa.

Erzemet = *Erzenet*, 3d fem. pl.

Iger, he threw; *igār*, he throws, *inemigger*, he throws reciprocally; neuter verb: hence *s*, *with* the spear.

141. *Asen enissen*, two of them.

Ingay, gushes, *engi* or *enji*, a torrent, must be akin. In Kab. *inghel*, it gushed; see 174.

sen ifay shynd enji [*it comes out* like, etc.].

142. (*They*) *lead them from the place*, itkellénten dihen anemanghan [*they cause-them-to quit where they have fought mutually*].

They bind up their wounds, etellénten ibúyïsen nissen.

They put to them remedies, egenassen isĕfrā.

They die, amūten.

143. *They drive them back*, yékĕnten, isokalénten.

They have extirpated [*crushed?*] *their tribe*, irzan terērt nissen.

I lay ambush, nek estĕdaf.

They have razed the whole town to the ground, irzan ághĕrim ikétĕnes har amós shynd ákal.

144. *I draw my sword from the scabbard*, erkăbagh takobāni dagar titar.

I throw down the scabbard, asíndaragh titar.

I replace the sword in its case, esókălagh tăköba dag titar ennis.

I draw the arrow (*at him?*), erkábăgh-as essim.

I let fly the arrow, egeragh s essim (*I throw* with *the arrow*).

I replace the arrow in the quiver, esókălagh essim dag tatánghot.

145. *I load the gun*, tasáksagh el barūde.

Is the gun loaded or not? el barūde asíksek? mer war asíksek?

The left barrel is loaded, éman teshílge tezéksak.

The right barrel is not loaded, éman arēl war ezéksak; *or*, war teha harret [*there is not any thing*]; *or*, war ekémăret.

146. *Give me a little powder for the eye of the gun*, ikfāhe égil gíak, dag tēt-n-el barūd.

I fire the gun, sínkăragh el barūd.

I hit, wātagh.

He has hit him (?) *just under the left eye*, wātagh s el barūd dag tagūmast-n-tét tan téshĭlgēn.

147. *The ball did not enter him*, (*but*) *passed over his head*, war tiggisht tesawe, toke eraf [eghaf] enis; ukaine tezáwaten gínnĭge eraf enis.

He has not aimed well, war asíkĕne és innémehel; war esnámehel; war ésín esinnéměhel. (See 172, 195.)

He does not know how to aim, war esín asíkken.

148. *His* arm *trembled*, afōs enis ishikátkat. (*His* hand.)

The ball has swerved, tisáwaten akúrret.

149. *I trade*, asíttĕgagh.

I am not a merchant, war estĕjjagh.

I exchange, éstĕgagh; meséttegh.

I barter, simískălagh.

150. *I buy*, nāzagh.

Thou hast bought dear, tāzet azúen.

—— *cheap, indeed!* tāzet erakēsen, beshōr!

I provide myself with (*store up*) *millet* (*corn*), esātagh énĕli (alun).

All the Arabs of A'zawád buy their guinea-corn in Timbúktu, Arāben-n-Azawagh

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Ifay, it comes out, replaces the Kab. *ifagh* (see 174): hence, *tufay*, (the sun) comes out; *tufit*, diarrhœa; *ofayen*, effundnntur (grandines).

142. *Ikelli*, he caused to quit? see 124. The form reminds one of Arabic.

Itta', he swathed, wrapped, folded, wound up (so Kab.). Compare Arab. *fetel:* whence *iftel*, *ittel?*

143. *Yékĕn*, they pass? (*cause* to pass).

Isókal, see 25.

Terērt, tribe: also, a cup! (Is a tribe *Terīght* = *Tarīket?*)

Estédaf, Arab. 8th form? *Esdef*, obscura fuit nox, Golius.

Agherim, town. *Ikétĕnes*, all of it. [*Some* of it, or, *much* of it, one might have judged. But Barth is positive and consistent.]

Har amós, until it becomes?

144. *Irkeb*, evulsit, is native (180): see 125 for the very different Arabic.

Dagar, *dag;* read *dagh.*

Isíndar, he threw down? Yet *índar*, he refused (112), and *ennādir*, often. Rather *asindaragh* is for *asintarakgh*, from root *itarak*, he fell (71); or for *asintaragh*, from *itar*, he went down, which is Temght as well as Kabáil.

145. *Tasaksagh* for *tasaksakgh.*

Zéksak, careless for *seksak?* root *saksak*, cram, press. Comp. Greek, σαγ.

Teshílge, differently accented in 139, 146.

Arēl, the right. (These two words differ from the Kab.) *Aríl-n-eshel* is the *noon* of day, *i. e.* the *upright?*

Ekémăret is filled? It seems to me an Arabic feminine form, corrupt for *'amaret*, which Delaporte uses.

146. *E'gil*, powder (in the vocabulary).

Giak, a little?

Sínkar, cause to rise? (*cock* the gun?) *Inkar*, he arose; 41.

Tagūmast, a tooth? [So, it seems, in Barth's vocab.] *Tughmas* in Kab. Qu. He hit me in the *left eye-tooth?*

Tan, fem. demonst. = *tinni* of Kab. Elsewhere, *tĕn* and *tindagh*, illa.

147. *Toke*, 52; *ukaine*, 66.

Eraf = *eghaf* (or *ikhf*), head.

Gínnĭge, above, from Kab. *ennig*, amplius, with Kab. prep. *g*, in. In Kab. also *sennig*, aloft. In Shilha, *ĭgi.*

Isíkkĕne, he points, aims.

Mehel? wait, expect, Kab. Elsewhere *anámmĕhel*, operæ pretium.

148. *Ishikátkat*, trembled; but *shekántat*, shiver.

Tísawaten, plural? *Akurret* = *akurrent*, also plur.? Compare *akérăren*, round.

149. *Isitteg* and *istejja* must be variations of one verb. They remind us of Arabic *tājir*, merchant. *Meséttegh*, unless particip., is a reciprocal verb.

Simískal, complicated form, from *ikkal* (*ikkal*), he turned?

150. *Ināz*, he buys; *inz*, he bought?

Tāzet, for *tanzet?* This shows the root of *izínz*, he sold, in Kab.

Erakēs is Arab. *rakhīs*, cheap. Elsewhere Barth has *ibkhas*, cheap.

Isat, he stores up?

iketenessen ikāten énĕli dak Timbýtku.

151. *I sell*, eshinshēgh (= ezinzēgh).
Sell me your horse, shinshāhi aïs innak.
I do not sell my horse, war shinshēgh ais in [= ais eni].
I wish to sell something, irhēgh adĕshinsh [adĕshinshagh] harret.

152. *I borrow* [rotolegh?].
Lend me, sirdelāhi.
I lend you, esirdelaghak.
I have from you money on loan, nek ehánātay esirdalínnek.
You have from me —, ke ehánkay esirdál eni.
He has from him —, enta ehant esirdal enís.

153. *His debt is large*, amárwas enís ĕgēn.
I have a trade debt with you (*I am in debt to you*), nek ehánātay amárwas innek.
Return me what I have lent you, sokelāhi awāhak ismarwásagh. [*Redde mihi quod tibi commodavi.*]

154. *I begin*, sheshwāragh.
——— asíntagh.
I have begun copying the book, asíntagh asākal el kitáb.
He begins an harangue, ísint méggered.

155. *I finish, end*, simdegh.
He has finished reading the Kurán, isimde (*or* yirtem) el Kurán.
(*And*) *celebrates the day*, ashel egel elyulímat. (*Arab. walīmat*, epulum.)
My salutes to you for having finished the reading of the Kurán, ulímĕtun ujíbĕtun.
It is finished, yímmĕder [yiměda].

156. *Repeat*, ólis ádak [adagh] sōril.
Repeat this verse, ólis aghas (*or* smālis aghas) téghărēn.

Until you know it by heart, har tílmĕdak [tílmĕdat?].

157. *I fasten*, ēkanagh.
Are the camels picketed, or not? immĕnās ikerāfen, mer war ikerāfen? (43.)
Shall I tie the horse or loosen (him)? agiagh aïs, mer aregh? [Shall I *do* the horse, or undo him?]
Let him eat that fine herbage, áyit adíkshe téshe tindegh tahōsket.
Set (*ye*) *the horses free*, símbarit íyesan.
I set free, asímbaragh.

158. *Shut the door*, sókel tefálwat.
Open the door, arīd tefálwat.
I open the door, ūregh tefálwat.
I cover, ushikámbashagh.

159. *Lock ye up*, agfeltet.
I lock up, agfeltagh.
I knock at the door, edágakagh tefálwat.

160. *I put on* [*change?*] *my shirt*, insákalagh rishabāni.
I reverse my shirt, abiregwalegh rishabāni.
I gird my loins, ehereldegh bessa; egebessagh.

161. *I put on fine clothes*, elāsagh temálsātēn ihōskātnēn.
The Tawárek every where, in their encampments (*tentoria sua*) *put on their worst clothing*, Imōshagh kodihén ehánan nissen sassáharen áshelróhĕra annĕsen.

Azŭen, dear; also hard (meat). Kab. *azza*, to be heavy.

Ikāt, he measures? 193.

152. *Rotel*, in Arab. to weigh, is in Kab. lend or borrow.
Ehanat-ayi, sunt mihi? (fem. pl. ?)
Ehan-k ay, sunt tibi (masc. pl. ?)
Isirdalen, may be pl. "loans."

153. *Amarwas*, a debt, is also Kab., for I find it in Luke, vii., 41, though not in Brosselard. *Ismarwas*, he lent (a thing).

154. *Ishashwar*, frequentative; from Kab. *izwar*. So *ishwar*, 85.
Isint, he begins (not Kab.), strangely like in sound to *isimda*, he ended. Since the latter is causative (from *imda*, *iměda*), *isint* may denote a root *int*, cœptum est. Compare *indi*, not yet; *end* (in composition), next; in Kab. *net* or *ned*, alter. In Ben Músa's Temght, *nedin*, next to me.

155. *Imda*, see 91.
Yirtem, he completed? (Arab. confregit.)
Egel = *arūl*, noon? (*Aghel* may be the true spelling.)

156. *Oril* = Ar. *akl*, intellect? So we have *arēl*, he thinks (223), for *'aqal*. *Adak* = *adagh*, this.
Olis means "repeat thou." So in Prod. Son, *nolis*, we have repeated; *tulis* (adverbially), again.
Smālis and *aghas* need fuller explanation.

157. *Iqan*, Kab., he tied, fastened.
Agiagh is pres. or fut. of *iga*, 39.
Irra means "to shut" in Kab., but "to loosen and open" in Temght. Two verbs seem to be confused, namely, Ghad. *efer*, shut thou, Temght *eher*, which represents Kab. *err*, related perhaps to Shilha *iwerri*, he returned (*w* is the *r* of Ghadámsi?), Kab. *irra*, he brought back, came back; but Ghad. *er*, loosen thou, which is Temght *ar* or *ur*; connected perhaps with *eheru*, *egheru*, loose. See 63.
Teshe = Kab. *teje*, grass, etc.
Isimbara, he set free. See 54.

158. *Tefálwat* = *tafurt* of Ghad. = *tawurt* of Kab.
Sokel, *i. e.* turn the door; as in Kab. *err*, turn, for shut. It is strangely like Arab. *sekker* el bāb.

159. *Agfelt* seems to be a corruption of Arabic *kofl*, a lock. The final *t* is anomalous.
Dakak is Hebrew and Arabic *dakak*.

160. *Ireled*, he girded. *Aralād*, a circuit fence (a girding). In Kab. *aghalād*, a city wall. A simpler root is *iralay*; see 136.
Ehe- and *ege-* mark present tense, as *aï* of Kab. In fact we have *ahi* in 166.
Bessa, waist? Kab. *ames*, middle. See *amos*, 143.

161. *Elis*, clothing (of gun); *isilse*, man's dress; *ilās*, he dressed himself, put on; *temalsat*, garment. This root is also Kab., where it is apt to be confused with other roots: *illes*, he touched; *illes*, he sheared sheep; which I have not found in Barth. "A fleece" combines the ideas of shearing and clothing.
Ihōskatnēn is fem. pl. from *ihōsken* (a participial form), handsome.
Isdau, he collected, from *idau*, it was collected: whence *tidauen*, they congregate; *amīdi*, a friend. In Kab. this root is replaced by *idukkel*, whence also *amdukkel*, a friend; *isdukkel*, he collected.

I assume all my weapons, isdawagh tazólinin ikétenes.

162. *I sling on my sword*, shélăgagh takobāni.

I (we?) lay down arms, nekes tazólinin. (98.)

I undress, nekes rishabāni. (*We* take off *my* shirt?)

163. *I wash*, sáradagh.

Washed (not new), arīd.

[*It is washed*, ired.]

I wash my face, rádebagh ídemín.

I wash my hands, rássemagh ifassin.

I wring out the water from my shirt, zymmogh rishabāni.

164. *I dry my shirt*, básăragh rishabāni.

My shirt is not yet dried, rishabāni indi tibsărit.

I hang in the air, nekes orĕkagh ígetan har tejmat innikkāl, *or* abelánbak [*I hang (it) flying, until the moisture comes out?*].

165. *I cover*, ushikámbashagh. (See 158.)

Shave my head, sarsāhi eraf in [eghaf ini].

I shave (myself?), erarsegh.

I clean, tekárkăragh.

Clean this, aferit den, amīs.

I look into the glass, sággehagh awánín der tísit.

166. *I mend*, nekānagh (nek ganagh? 157).

I will go to the blacksmith, irhēgh tíkautn-ēnhad (*volo profectionem fabri?*).

That he may mend what is spoiled in my gun, ahíyeken away íkhsheden dagh el barūdin.

167. *I cook, boil*, esangnegh.

Well boiled, ripe, yignān.

Not sufficiently done, ur ignān.

Boil water for me, íksahe áman.

I broil, nek ekánafagh.

Roasted meat, ísan nekănaf.

168. *Make a fire*, awet éfeü.

I make a fire, awetagh éfeü.

I kindle the fire, sáhedagh éfeü, akenásseragh éfeü.

Kindle the fire, sóhad éfeü.

169. *That it may not go out*, war etémmekatit.

I put out the fire, nek ismákket éfeü.

The fire is going out, éfeü tísmăket; éfeü war ikenásmăket; ákkenes asísmăken éfeü.

The fire has gone out, éfeü temmūt.

The fire revives, éfeü helígle.

170. *Light the candle for me*, sokāhi téfetelt.

I light the candle, sekōgh téfetelt.

I burn, nek neserragh.

You have burnt your shirt, ke teserret rishāb innek.

171. *I break, destroy*, nek nirzagh, nek edíggidagh.

Broken, irzar [irza?].

172. *I throw*, nek asánahel.

I threw it on the ground, and crushed it with my foot, satárakegh dar akal adarábăragh.

173. *I cut*, nek nékkĕtas.

Mince the meat for me, akelisāhi ísan.

I cut a pen, ekárădagh.

—— tekárkăragh (but 165).

Tazōli, iron, weapon; from Kab. *wezzāl*, iron. Root, *gzl*, to cut, etc.

162. *Ishelaq*, he put over the *left* shoulder? *Teshálge*, the left.

163. *Ired*, *sired*, are also Kab.

Irādeb, he bathes with the hand?

Irāsem, he besprinkles? pours upon? Kab. has *ireshshu* for this; but so Barth, *reshresh*, rain-drops.

164. *Ibsar*, he dried, or was dry?

Tibsarit seems to have Arab. fem. termination? (*ikiu* in Kab.)

Nek esoregagh? I hang up?

Igetan, poles? *igetan*, flying.

Tejmat = *tegmat*, with Arab. fem. termination. See *igem*, 138, 118.

Innikkāl, *abelánbak*, moisture?

165. *Sars*, shave thou; *ars*, be thou shaved? *Ikárkar*, be cleansed?

166. *Ēnhad*, compare Arabic *khadīd*, iron.

Away ikhsheden, *τὸ φθαρέν*, article and participle. *Ikhshed*, it is spoiled, *nemakhshad*, wasteful, in "Prodigal Son."

167. *Inqne*, it is cooked, fem. *tinqne*, partic. *iqnān*. Perhaps the true spelling, then, is *iqne*, and causative *isaqne*. In Sidi Ibrahim (Shilha) I find *isenu*, he cooked.

Iks, boil thou. Compare *ekōs*, hot; *akūs*, a dish. Also 98.

Iknef is also Kab.

Isan = *aisūm* = *aksum*, meat.

168. *Awet*, make, build, arrange. In Shilha, *yegat*, he placed.

Sohad, stir thou?

Akenassăragh is a compound verb, from *ken*, make, and *iseragh*, he burned, which is shortened to *iserr* in Barth. See 170.

169. *Imekat*, it is extinguished?

Ismakket, he extinguishes?

Ikenasmăket, compounded with *ken*, make.

Asismaken has no final radical *t*.

Helígle = *ahíligle*, present tense, from *íligle*, it revived?

170. *Esōkegh*, I send, in 101. Yet here *sok*, light thou, and *sekōgh*.

Iserra, or *iserragh*, is causative, from *irrar* or *iragh*, it was burnt; Kab. *iragh*, *ihhragh*, identical with Arab. *hharak*.

Neserragh, *nirzagh*, with *n* superfluous, is an anomaly not rare in Barth, apparently from the perplexity introduced from Arabic, where *n* initial vacillates in sense between 1st pers. *sing.* and 1st pers. *plural*.

171. *Idiggid*, he smashed! See *Daqak* in 159.

172. *Asanahel* and *esnámehel* of 147, have something in common.

Isatarak, see 71.

Erāber, (the horse) kicks, 216.

Irbar, (the river horse) *upset* (the boat), *qu.* stamped on? crushed? Then *ad* marks subjunctive, and *adarábăragh* = (ut) confringam.

173. *Ekkĕtas*, cut (189); *ikarad*, he cut (a pen?). Heb. *karat*.

I slit a pen, shoféfaragh ēm aránibin; suttékĕragh [*I scrape?*]
Catch thou (*what is thrown*), ekbel.
I catch, ekbēlagh. [Ar. *Receive*, as in 78.]
174. *I fill with water*, atkăragh s' áman.
You have filled this cup, tétkărat terērt.
Till it runs over, har titfak.
I pour it out, nek esáttĕfit.
I empty, esíngălagh [esingh-].
175. *I upset it*, subumbĕägh-at. (44.)
I scoop water, elkawagh áman.
I draw, nek teshereshérawen aran. (63.)
I water the garden, sáswagh eshíkkărash; sángralagh áman der eshíkkărash. (186.)
I give to drink, esiswēgh.
Give the horse to drink, sissu aïs se beléas.
176. *I go to fetch water*, eshárrăgagh áman.
The water-carriers, imsharrŏgen.
Let us pitch the tent, nektar (?).
I pitch the tent, nek takanegh ehan. [*I fasten or fix?* 157.]
I drive in the pegs, tetaităyagh.
177. *I draw the ends of the leather covering of the tent*, tarerĕägh tísĕdas.
I draw the ropes of the tent, tarerĕäs erĕwiyen ĕhen (*he tightens* to it?).
I spread the carpet in the tent, nek fātagh der ĕhen: úwetagh tisíftak.
178. *I hang up the dishes*, nek sĕlik íkesan.
—— *the waterskin, the saddle*, edid, elakĭf.
I take down the tent, bassëagh ĕhen.
Take down your tents, ĕbsiet ehennanawen.
These slaves work hard, íkĕlan idagh arelēnan egēn [aghelēnan].
Work (subst.), árălay [ághălay].

179. *I dress* (*?*) *a goat*, agerassăragh tāghat.
I draw back his neck, semelwagh-as.
I cut his throat, agerássagh-as.
I skin him, óshegh-at.
180. *I shear a fleece*, nek téliak télsak.
I pluck the bird, rákabagh tiságădēn. [*I tear off the feathers.*] (144.)
He wrested it from me, irkáb deri.
I peel the fruit, tekedímmegh.
I pasture the camels, dānagh imměnás.
181. *I milk the cow*, azĭkagh tēs.
Milk thou, azĭk.
Has (*this*) *cow been milked, or not?* tēs tezak, mer war tezak?
I shake the milk (*for making it sour*), autíshagh netíshnit eshāhi akh.
182. *I make ropes*, nek attálemagh.
Hold me the rope, sennikfāhi.
The Tawárek are very clever in making good ropes of leather, Imōshagh adíbăbén dar érŏnan.
Those ropes—from (*the bark of*) *what tree do they make them?* eréwiyen wādagh innagh éhishkan wuí téllĕnin (*or*, wuí dígmăden).
I weave woolen blankets, zātagh tibbergentin.
Which understand weaving better — the Fullán or the Songhay? endekway ísan [endegh way isan] tézi tehōsken, jer Afūlan ped (?) E'hatan? *or*, emállĕten wuín E'hatan du wuín Fūlan megeressen yúfa tézetí?

Em, the mouth (nib?).
174. *Itkar* = Kab. *ichchur*.
Titfak = *titfagh?* Yet for *iffagh* (it came out, Kab.) we had *ifay*, 141. Also *efŏket*, fem. *tefŏket*, present tense (207), it comes forth. Below, *titfar*, (the boat) leaks; where *r* shows *gh* to be the true spelling, as in Kab. *See A'sfĕken*, 126.
Esáttefit, see 209.
Isingal, read *isinghal*, causative, from *inghel*, it gushed. *Sangralagh* should be *sanghalagh*.
175. *Elkau* (Kab. *elkay*), deep; hence *telak*, deep channel; *telkayat*, (the boat) founders. But this root is probably different.
176. *Isharrag*, see 63.
Itaitay, he drove in pegs; he pricked (as a scorpion).
177. *Oreă* (root?), tighten; *oreās*, strangle him; *oreāghas*, I strangle him; *tarereāgh* (frequent), I tighten.
Ifta, he spread; corrupt Arabic, from *fatahh*. In *tisíftak* the lost ⵜ reappears as final *k*. *Ifter*, mat, for *iftahh* and *suftakht*, carpet, in 226, 227.
U'wetagh, I arrange; see 168.
178. *Sĕlik*, for *selikgh?* Sidi Ibrahim (in Shilha) uses Arabic *'allik* for "hang up;" hence, perhaps, *selik* as a causative.
Ebsĭ, *ebsĭh*, take down? Another verb is *besay*, vomit.
Árălay, work; *arelēnan*, they work. *Nek ára-*

lĭn, I sow (a field), seems to be *aghalun;* root, *aghalay*. But *iralay*, he surrounded, 136.
179. *Igharsa*, he cut the throat (Shilha); *agharās*, or *emgharās*, a butcher, Ghad. But Venture gives *aghzār* for butcher, which points out a relation to Arab. *jezzār*. Observe that *agharās* is "a road" in Delaporte's Kab. and Ibrahim's Shilha. [I suspect that *agerássaragh* should be *agherásagh-ak*, I butcher for thee.]
Semelluagh would seem related to *emelĕagh*, I castrate (120), if the sense agreed better.
Oshe, skin thou, is for *oze;* in Kab. *uz* or *azu*.
180. *Teliagh*, I cut (corn, rice); *alihet*, cut ye, yield; *alihe*, cut, shear?
Teságădēn, from *iged*, he flew; *agadīd*, bird. In Kab. *ighetāt*, birds.
Ikedim, he picked?
Idan, pascit or pastus est; hence, *amădān*, a shepherd; Kab. *amaksa*.
181. *Azĭk* is *zeg* or *zegh* in Kab.
182. *Yellim*, he spun, Vent.; Ar. *lemm*, glomeravit. Presently, for *tellĕnin* read *tellĕmin*, they twine?
Sennikf; root *nikf?* or *ikfa?*
Aran, leather rope: pl. *erŏnan* (vocab.)
Erewi, a (hempen) rope; so Kab.
Izat, he weaves; *tezit*, weaving. In Kab. *zet*, weave thou.
Way-isan, who knew.
Emálleten, the cloths? the garments? the tissues?
Wui-n-Ehatan, etc.
Du, and?
Me-ger-assen, which betwixt them; *i. e.* which of the two?
Yufa, surpasses, excels.

All of them know good weaving, esanántet iketenéssen tézit tchōsken.

183. *The women pluck the cotton*, tídědēn ítafash fáscnit, *or*, ítafash tíkurukarēn.

184. *I spin thread*, tarérayagh.
The women spin thread, tídědēn rerémat.
I weave cotton strips, ezātagh tabádokēn.
I sew, azamāyagh.
I cut out (*a shirt*), arăwagh.
I fold (*a shirt*), téddhagh.
I roll up, ekemíngkĕmégh.

185. *I beat* (*a shirt*), titĕbōgh.
I beat it well, until it becomes bright, tádĕshagh, har tékkĕne síggeniūgish.
I dye, sádalagh.
Dyeing, tesadālit. [Yet, tesădalt, *an egg.*]
I mend my shirt, tágagh tíkist dar rishabāni.

186. *I work the ground*, shekárashagh.
I make a fence to the field, egātagh áralād yeshikkérishín.
I saw, nek 'aralūn [=aghalun.] (178.) [Nekegēgh alūn? H. B.]
I root up weed, tikŏmagh téshe.

187. *I plant a bush*, adōmegh chíshk.
I dig in a pole, esúktagh ájid.
I cut rice, téliagh táfakat. (180.)
Cut (*ye*) *for me this, and put it for me in the boat*, alihetāhi tetīd, tegimāhi tetīd der tóraft.

188. *I gather fruit*, isírtăyagh (131) árăten ehishkan.

I pound, edāhagh.
I pound rice, tifúkkogh táfăkat.
I winnow, kintihēgh *or* tesabirtit rĕgh-at.

189. *I tie up the bundles of Guinea-corn*, akitteléagh ashíkkerashín-n-enĕli [*the* fields *of corn?*].
I knead it, nek osáksăk-at. (145.)
It is not well kneaded, war tíkkĕne isūs.

190. *I hid*, efāragh (*abdidi*, so *Kab.*); etwāragh (*condidi?* see 102).
I cut wood, ektāsagh íggĕtan. (173.)
I split, esraurawēgh [ezr-, 136].
I grind the knife on the stone, emsādagh absar is tahōnt.
I whet my knife, sátăragh ábsarin.
Whet for me, esterāri.

191. *I hammer*, tádeshagh. (185.)
I saw, tezezawagh.
I chip, square planks, nek átĕki.
I dig a well, rāshagh ānu [ghāshagh].
I build a well, nek ázăraf ānu.
——— *a house*, áwetagh tárashām.
——— *a boat*, áwetagh tōraft.

192. *I sew a boat*, azeméagh tōraft. (184.)
I repair a boat (*by renewing the ropes along the junctions of the planks*), asídagh dar ázamay.
I stop holes along the junctions of the planks in the boat, asídagh anăbay; *stop the holes well*, adegíndĭgi.
I scoop out the water, ákis áman, sunkel áman.

193. *I make pots*, egātagh telikkan. (186.)
I measure, ekātagh erēlan. (150, 178.)
I weigh, tawézănagh. (*Arab.*)
I divide, nek ebdēkan.
We divide, nébbĕdud.

194. *I join*, asírteagh (131); nek asmokkasákkănet [comp. of *mōkas* (occurro) and *ken* (facio)?]
I press the limbs (*to give them relief*), *shampoo*, rábăzagh.
I anoint, ashawagh; shágeagh.
I fan, awilíngwālēgh; azúmmegh-at.

Esanantet must be fem. pl. from *isan*, he knew.

183. *Itafashfas*, he plucked (cotton).
Tikuruk urēn, cottons; sing. *takerōkerit*, from *-enīt*, 3d pl. fem.

Ikărkar, he cleansed? See 164.

184. *Ireray*, he spun. *Rerēmat* = *Rerainat*, fem. 3d pl., as elsewhere.
Iz imāy, he sews. In Barth's vocabulary, *ázamay;* in Venture, *tismi* [tizmi?], a needle.
Irau, he cuts out. Ghad. *'ira*, he shaved.
Ideh, he folded? But *idā*, he pounds, 188.
Ikemin(g)kem, he rolled up, must be frequentative, from *ikemin?*

185. *Ĭ-ĕbu*, he beat?
Idesh, he hammered.
Siggeniūgish, from *siggéni*, indigo; *ūgish*, entrance? or from *sīg*, aspect?
Tikist, a rent? (In Kab. a prick, sting.) Or, rather, it means *a patch.*

186. *Ishekarash*, he tilled, *shekarash*, garden or field, are frequentative, from root *karash;* in Kab. *karaz*, to till, work the ground. It answers to حرث, χαράττω.

Yegāt, he placed (found in Shilha, Tale of Saby). Also, he made (a hedge, a pot). *Tagāt*, she laid (eggs).
Nek maget, I what do?
War ged ādi, do not this.
Aghalūn, participle? [*Alūn*, corn?]
Ikom, he rooted up?

187. *Idom*, he plants. (Ar. *dīm?*)
Tegimāhi (39), from *iga*. Two imperatives joined by *and* are expressed as if we said *secate posuistis* for *secate et ponite.*

188. *Arāten* (*arata*, a crocodile), read *arāten-n-ehíshkan;* or even *arāden?* In Kab. *irden* (*fruges*), wheat.
Ehishk, a tree, is in De Slane's Temght *ishek.* I think it is the Kab. *ishīk*, a branch; *branch* for *bush.*
Idah, he pounds? Arab. *dakk.*
Inkinteh, *isabir*, he winnowed?

189. *Ikitteleh*, "he sheaved?"

190. *I'gĕtan*, sticks, poles.
Imsād, he grinds; also, sharp. It is from Kab. *zed*, grind thou; and, perhaps, better written, *imzād.*
Tahōnt, *tehūnt*, rock (Temght).

191. *Izezau*, he saws?
Irshu should be *ighsha;* in Kab. *ighza*, he dug.
Izăref, strictly, *he built;* but *awet*, arrange, etc., 168.

192. *Isid*, he closes?
Akis, take out? 98.
Sunkel, read *sunghel*, cause to spout, empty out; 174, 175.

193. *Ebdēkan* is against analogy. On *ibdu* see 137. *Ibdud* may be frequentative. But *ebde*, *ebded* of 41 are quite different, allied to Arabic.

195. *It is wonderful*, tejūjab (*Arab. 'ajeb*) takónit. (38.)
Thou must go to Gúndam, ahūshel ke che temeshālit is Gundam.
It is worthy, anímmchel dirs.
Straight on, sinnémčhel.
This is worthless, wādagh anímmehel ahastauyet yewulāghen.
196. *Our provisions are gone*, ezzud ímmende. (91.)
The money is spent, éhĕri ímmčhesh.
That is lost, wādagh aba.
That is its character, immek ídagh áfal íkĕne.
197. *It pains* (*me*), ikmāhi; uzerāhi.
It itches, chāhi ókŭmash. [*There is to me an itching.*]
It is swollen, eray; ekāf tasánnist.
This smells nice, wādagh *ada* yehōsken. [Adunn, *smell?*]
This meat smells bad, ísan wādagh insāgak [insāragh]; ísan wādagh adunnis irkē.
198. *The meat is well boiled*, ísan ingnē. (167.)
The loaf is mouldy, tágelet tebúnkat.
The shirt is torn, rishāba anzarrawet (211); rishāba karrawet.
The iron is rusty, tazōli war te tennēk.
—— *makes sparks*, tikkĕne teshōri.
—— *hisses*, ishirarákrak, ishibarákrak.
199. —— *is red-hot*, tazōli tūwas.
—— *is melting*, tazōli timshelárlag.
—— *hisses in the water*, tazōli ísan afdar fáddar dar áman.
The water-skin leaks, edīd esínge; edīd itadēm.
—— *is torn*, edīd erarrawet.
—— *has a hole*, edīd imbek.
200. *The house lets in the rain*, tarashām teshínke.
This well never dries up, ānu wādagh aigin kalá war itōgar (*or*, war ikōr).
It is always full of water, har ḳūk hant áman.
The water soaks in, áman inses.
The pond has dried up, tibengrawēn inshéshnet.
201. *The road divides*, abárraka tabarrat tíbbeda.
One branch going to the left and another to the right, alílen íyet fel arīn wa-n-arīl, íyet telaudat teshelgēn.
202. *The sun rises*, tafōk tíggemāt (118); tafōk berber desīn enis.
—— *has mounted the heavens*, tafōk taségĕde ishínnawen.
(—— *has begun to decline*, tafōk tezíwal. *Arab.*)
—— *is about to set*, tafōk tabōk égĕdel.
—— *has set*, tafōk tōdal.
203. *The year is fertile*, áwatay íkkĕnátēnī.
—— *is sterile*, áwatay igamánna.
204. *The rainy season is come*, ákase yūse.
—— *is gone*, ákase ígĕle, *or* yímmĕde.
The cold increases, asemmēṭ ētid.
—— *is strong*, asemmēṭ íkkĕne tigawet.
—— *lessens*, asemmēṭ efenās. (94.)
—— *is over*, asemmēṭ ébĕgbag.
205. *The* (*forty*) *dark nights are passed*, éhaden isáttefen, *or* esáttafnén, ebarbar, *or* ejumádĕde.
The black winter is gone, tágerist takaúelit tabárbar.

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195. *Ahūshel*, it is necessary? *ke*, thou; *che temeshālit*, shouldest travel? (verb *imeshal?*).
Animmehel dirs, (there is) an aim in it, an *object* in it? See 147. *Issimahal*, it is worthy (Parable of "Prodigal Son").
196. *Wadagh aba*, read *wadagh abad?* In "Prodigal Son" we have first *abad* for "was lost" (which is Hebrew, *not* Arabic), and next *abat*, in same sense; verses 24 and 32.
197. *Okŭmash* = *ekmez*, rub, scratch, Kab.
Adunn, corrupt Arabic.
Irkē, dirty? So Venture. In Brosselard, *irka*, it is decayed. In "Prodigal Son," *egĕgh irk*, I have done evil.
Innek, is bright? is clean?
199. *Esínge* (rewritten from faint pencil marks), qu. *isínghel?* 174.
Yadim, it leaked?
Imbek, it is pierced?
200. *Ishínke*, it admits water?
Aigin kalá, at every time.
Ikor, Kab. it was dry. The *ḳ* is liable to become *gh*.
Har kūk, usque ad *æternum?*
Hant, there are; fem. pl.?
Inses, is drunk up?
Tibengrawēn, the tanks? fem. pl.
Inshésnet is 3d fem. pl.
201. *Abarraka*, road. *Tebarrat* for *tabarrakt* appears a diminutive for the same.
Alílen, following, 105.
Iyet, alter, as Kab., *yeḍ* in Shilha. It is Arab. ايض. [Here it would seem fem. of *iyen.*]
Arīn seems to be plural. Afterward we have *arē* in like connection. *Er* is "branch" of a river. Also *seri idemennis* seems to mean "toward his face." I interpret *arē* or *erei*, direction. (Also *eri*, neck.)
Arīl, right, is also the "noon" (of day), = "upright." Since in Kab. *afūs ayyafūs* or *awifūs* is the "right hand," I conjecture that *arīl*, right, is the same word as Kab. *aghel*, arm. See 228.
Telaudat? telilat? or telilant?
202. *Desīn* (*edis*, side).
Del, to stoop? *Aheḍal*, is humble; but *ḍel*, to cover, darken?
203. *Ikkenátēni*, from *iken*, it makes; *tĕheni*, dates? *tenī*, dates, Mozabi and Wadreagh. Also *ofūtēni*, barren (land). [*Ikkena* is productive; *tēnī*, this season?—H. B.]
Igamanna, barren, and *emannet*, fertile, and *manna-n-áwataỳ*, famine-year, need fuller elucidation.
204. *Tigawet* for *tikuaet*, strength; Arab.?
205. *Ehad*, night; Ghad. *eṣad*; Wadreagh, *eghed* (compare Arab. *ghea*, obtexit); Kab. *eṇṇat*.
Asattef, (with *t* in Ben Músa), black (or dark?).
Akáuel, black, is *aghogul* in Wadreagh, for which Venture has *inghāl*.
Ejumádade, freq. from *imeda?*

The white (*i. e. mild part of the*) *winter is come*, tégisht taméllelt tágerist.

206. *The leaves are fallen*, ālan atarākat (71), ālan āmin.

The boughs are stripped, afélliga ákāsen.

The tree is getting new leaves, aheláklak ehíshk.

—— *blooms*, ehíshk ínshar.

—— *is bearing fruit*, ehíshk aboriārak.

—— *is not full grown*, ehíshk war idūil.

—— *is dead*, ehíshk akkōr [*is dried*].

207. *The dates are ripe*, téhěni tingne. (167.)

—— *not yet ripe*, téhěni har egōdi war tingne.

The herbage is coming forth, tēshe ebarbar *or* tafōkat [tafōghat, 174].

The guinea-corn comes forth, énĕli efōkat.

The guinea-corn gets reed, énĕli ena kógĕri.

The reed (*stalk*) *bristles* (*in stubble*), kógĕri yikhtā.

208. *The corn is making large leaves*, énĕli éje fárkĕtēn.

The guinea-corn is ripe for harvest, énĕli itáfărat (efĕrat).

The herbage is drying up, tēshe takkōr [taggōr].

The ear of the corn comes out, tíggemat tegēnt énĕli.

The ear is ripe, tegēnt tingná. (167.)

209. *The river is rising*, tédĕfit egish eghírrĕu [flood *enters the river?*].

The water stagnates, áman íbdăden.

—— *soaks in*, esintátărār.

—— *is sinking*, áman abukiūrel.

The river is very full this year, étaf áman tenī.

It will not sink at all, war obakímbi.

The rivers are joining, eghírriwan imókasen *or* írtāyen. (102, 131.)

210. *Almost all the rivers run into the sea*, eghírriwan rurret imókasen rōr eghírrĕu wá symmed [*meet at the salt river*].

The boat is leaking, tōraft nákal [nághal]; tōraft tinral [tinghal]; *or* tinrálnarel [tinghálnaghel] (*see* 174, 192, sunkel); tóraft titfagh (174).

[*The boat is foundering*], tōraft telkăyat (175); tōraft tibbenekway.

* *The people who row* (?) *the boat get out* (?), ídinet audetánnăret tōraft titfar [titfagh.].

* *The people perished, some swam in the water*, ídinet abăten iyeden yeshaffen dar áman.

* *Another rolls the boat sportively* (?), íyat ināfar tōraft sehūyam.

* *The people who are* (*of the?*) *village, under the water deep* (?), ídinet auéhan amăzagh dedu áman lagat.

* *Those people lay goat-skins in the middle of the water which* . . . . ídinen wuīn degen ídeden der mézen dor áman auay tímăntēn.

211. *The boat is upset*, tōraft tebumbay. (44.)

—— *breaks asunder*, tōraft takaurawen.

The boat ran on rocks, tōraft tikkeséast tahōnt.

And sunk, and remained on the ground, tursar, telkăyat, tekkel édir-n-áman [*became under-of-the-water*].

212. *The water enters the tent*, áman íggesh éhen.

This water stands still, is stagnant, áman wādagh ibbédăden.

It does not hasten much (*has no current*), war óshel hullen.

This river has a strong current, eghírrĕu wādagh óshel hullen.

213. *The water is boiling*, áman imesharlárlărēn.

—— áman ereshaushauēn.

—— *is not yet boiling*, áman indi imesharlárlărēn.

—— *is very hot*, áman ekōs hullen.

Boil [*heat*] *water for me*, iksāhe áman.

Let it cool in the skin, éyit yesmat dér édid.

214. *The bird flies*, égĕdīd ígged.

The young bird will fly [*wishes to fly*], akirt abŏk tégad.

Tegisht. as *tiggemăt* in 202, etc., seems to have final *t* as feminine mark, like Arabic.

206. *Āmi*, is faded?

Iláklak, budded forth?

Inshar, is beautiful? *Inshagh?* compare *amonshagh*, envious, etc., 116.

Idūil (not again). In Kab. *iṭulan* or *idhālan*, kinsfolk, softened from *iṭegulan*, as I think.

208. *Eférat*, yields harvest? In vocab. *téferten*, salary, *qu.* revenue? Heb. פֶּרַע.

Tégĕnit, spike of corn (vocab.).

209. *Tetĕjit*, flood? swell? from *etaf?*

Abūki yurĕl, is about to *sink?*

Obaki imghi, chooses to go down. See 50.

Etaf, it pours or runs freely (not the same as *eṭaf*, to seize, with ظ): hence causative, *isattef*, he pours, 174. In Kab. for *etaf* we find *effid*, and also *effi*, the *d* being pronominal.

Tenī, this year, = *tinēda*. With *tin* compare Arab. *sene*, year.

210. *Wa* symmed, *the* salt. I observe that *wa* retains the meaning of *the* before an adjective as well as before a participle, though it is lost with a substantive.

* All conjectural.

211. *Ibbenekway*, pres. from *Ibbeneka?*

Ikaurau and *ikarru* (tear, rend violently), remind one of *ezraurau*, 190, 135, 136. Also *tatáktarau*, is shattered; with *t* interposed, as in Arabic 8th form.

Ikkeséas-t, pierced it? frequent. from *ikes?* *Tursar*, for *turza?* was broken? Yet see *yarasan*, 64.

213. *Isharlarlar, ishaushau?* it boils or bubbles.

214. Kab. *iqṭaṭ*, birds (sing. agadet, Hodgson: read *aqaṭeṭ*); but in Brosselard, *akṭeṭ*, pl. *iktaṭ*, a *little* bird. We have here the root *iget*, it flew, it sprang aloft, 47, 70; whence *iseggel*, it mounted (202, 216), and *tesaggal*, a feather.

The bird sings nicely, égĕdīd elemísli yehōsken.
The hen cackles, tákĕshilt rar middennis.
—— *lays eggs*, tákĕshilt tagāt ésărek.
—— *is screaming*, tákĕshilt tegabătolt.
215. *The egg is not yet hatched*, tesădalt ur tisfákket.
The egg is spoiled, tesădalt tíggĕded.
The eggs are spoiled, tesádălen egadídděnad.
The young bird picks (*at the egg*), akaukautet akirt.
He will come forth, ahad efóket.
The cock is crowing, ákes egetarōren.
216. *The horse neighs*, ais etehinnít.
—— *prances*, ais ōskar.
—— *goes backward*, ais érăren.
—— *rolls*, aïs abelánbălet.
—— *kicks*, ais erābar *or* isākat.
—— *is lame*, ais ehiak.
—— *rolls in the sand*, ais ināfar.
—— *has mounted the mare*, ais asúggĕdit tábăgōt.
217. *The camel is crying*, ámĕnis éjĕu.
—— *growls*, ámĕnis abéggeg.
—— *throws up the nose*, ámĕnis etishburdel.
The she-camel has brought forth, tólamt tórau.
—— *is about to bring forth*, tólamt teshwar tórau.
218. *The camel is lying down to receive the load*, ámenis egen, égag fellas ilălen [*one* heaps *on him the luggage*, 98].
The camel refuses to rise, ámenis tindăras ténnăkrat.
Too much load on him, égan fellas ilălan agōtĕni.
The camels graze, immĕnàs idānan.
The she-camels cry, they want to be milked, tólemín egéwănet, irhānet tázit.
219. *The bullock lows*, ámăke eníjju.
The cow lows, tēs aníjju.
The cows chew the cud, iwan afarádĕnit.
The cows are sated, íwan iwănet.
They lie down, ikaráměnet.
The cows are returning from the water, íwan asúwanet, iktárnet fel áman.
The cows return the food, íwan isókalnet. (25.)
220. *The he-goat bleats*, eshōlak ahílĕlet.
The she-goats bleat, úlli essiláfnet.
The ram bleats, abákkar ásilef.
The sheep bleat, tíhatén esiláfnet esmedanésnet.
221. *The lion roars*, eher eníggu, eher eríkku.
The lion is crouching, eher ehérnen abók fellauen ehe.
—— [*will attack people*], eher ehádíshek idinet.
—— [*tears in pieces?*], ashmaraurauest ídinet.
—— [*destroys them*], eshmahíshten ídinet.
222. *The dog snarls* [*crouches? see* 139], ēdi tehárna.
The dog bites, ēdi tād.
—— *barks*, ēdi itíshut *or* itérŏas.
The scorpion bites (*me*), tataihi tasírdant.
223. *The ostrich runs fast*, énnehel ehāsar hullen.

Elemísli may seem a derivative or compound from *isla*, he heard, *amísli*, a voice.
Tákĕshilt, a hen; elsewhere, *takĕshīt*, which seems more correct, as it is the feminine form of *ákes*, the cock, which again perhaps is more correctly *akez*, the *z* in Temght changing to *sh*. In Kab. the forms are *ayazīt*, a cock, *tayazīt* or *thayazīt*, a hen; for *aghazīt*, *thaghazīt*, it seems. Even in Temght it may be inquired whether *gh* is not more correct than *k*; *i. e. aghez*, a cock, *taghĕzīt*, a hen.
Rar, *i. e. ghar*, cries; קרא. *Midden-nis*, her cackling. On *den* or *denden*, see 26.
E'sārek, a litter (of eggs)?
215. *Tigĕded*, is birded? (214), *i. e.* is quickened. It is fem. sing., and the fem. pl. *egadídděnat* (not *-nad*). Elsewhere, *ikhshed*, it is spoiled, 167.
Kaut (for hack, hew, cut) seems a widely-spread root. Arab. *kat'a*, and above, *ektas*.
Ahad-efóket, may be future tense. See 174 and 220. Final *t*, feminine mark?
Egetarōren = igetaghōren, present partic. from *ighār*.
216. *Ihinnēt*, nearly Latin *hinnio*.
Oskar, prances. In Kab. *isekkar*, he caused to stand; *iskar*, he made; *aksar*, the lower part.
E'rar, goes backward? Kab. *'arūr*, the back.
Irābar, perhaps, "stamps:" 172.
Isākat, kicks.
Isāggeț, as in 214, 202, etc.; unless final *-ț*, *ț* is here frequentative.
217. *Ejĕu*, is crying; = *igewa*, and fem. pl. *egéwănet*. Hence in Niphal, *iniggu* or *inijju*, it bellows.
Tólamt or *tólamt*, camel, fem. for *alōm* or *elgham*, words not used in this dialect. Evidently *elgham* = Heb. *gemel*. It also makes *aram* in Shilha.
Teshwar, Kab. *tezwar*, she precedes or begins, 85.
218. *Indar*, he refused, 112. It differs from *asindar*, throw down (which is perhaps *asintar*, from *itar*, he went down), and from *emendar*, to lodge for the night, which is *emendagh*.
Egan, it lies.
219. *Afārad*. See *efĕrat*, in 208.
Iwănet, from root *iwa* or *iwan*, to satiate. In Kab. *thayawant* or *thawant*, satiety.
Iwān, cows, may be shortened from Kab. *yugāwen*, steers. The root *yūg* is, as in our tongues, a yoke; whence *thayūga*, a pair.
Asú-ānet, they have drunk.
Iktar seems to be Arab. 8th form, from *kar*.
220. *Ahĭlĕlet*, from *elīl*, to cry aloud. Ghad. *eslīl*, Kab. *eswel*, from *awal*, voice. Barth has also *asilel*.
Asĭlef, bleat, is more specific.
Iherna, he crouched. See 139.
Ishek invasit (137); but future (215) *ehadishek*, invadet.
Imĕhesh, (my money) is spent; whence frequent. with causative sense, *ishmahish*, he annihilated.
222. *Tasírdant*, more correctly *tazerdemt*, scorpion, as in 227. In Kab. *tegirdumt* and *tegeremt*.
Tataihi, has stung *me*? from *tatay*, drive in a peg, 176.
223. *Ennĕhel*, so Hodgson; not *ennĕhe*, ostrich.

The ostrich hides his head in the bush, énnĕhe ísed arāfĕnis [aghāfĕnis] der ehíshk.

He thinks nobody sees him, arĕl war tehinnĕn ídinet.

224. *The man was sitting on the shore*, ahālis akīm rōr alīm-n-áman.

Suddenly a crocodile seized him by the leg [*knee?*], *and went away with it* [*him?*], azūed arāte irmast safód, ilmar deris. (*Dĕris*, under it?)

225. *The river horse rose in the water* (*to the surface of the water*), *and snorted*, ajámba áskaket dar áman isáfărad.

The river horse has upset the boat, ajámba irbar tōraft.

The river horse has shattered the boat, ajámba tárzar [tarza?] tōraft.

226. *The vulture hovered over the gazelle*, elullen ilay gínnigis ashinkat.

Until it pounced upon it, and tore out its eyes, har asgen felles ístaras, íkas tettáwennis.

Lay the pillow upon the mat (*carpet*), sins ádāfōr fel isífter [fel isiftakh].

227. *I this morning found a scorpion under my carpet*, nek tifaut idak enhagh tezerdemt dau tesúftakhtēn.

Lay a cloth under your saddle, ége tashíshwart dau mĕdásh.

Lest it hurt the back of your horse, war eráshădēt (*or* itemanākit) arōrin aïs innak.

228. *At that place the river runs upon rock*, dar agel wādagh áman óshālen fel tihōn.

He fell along the [*gallery? landing-place?*], enta etarákatet fel sōrō.

Till he came below the staircase [*steps of the gallery?*], har óse dau íbtalen sōrō.

All the day he sat in his tent, ashel rurret ekēm der ehénnis.

229. *He put it in his pocket*, enta egēt der elshēb.

Do not enter the house, war tégĕshit tárăshām.

Stay outside, ébbedīd dágămа.

Outside the town, ágĕmē-n-ághĕrim.

There is nothing but mere sand, war ehet har ákal mellen.

230. *Thou hast not given me my* (*full*) *right*, war he tawēdet el hakki.

He went before me, íggĕle iládatāi.

Look before you, that you may not fall, sagerĕhe dātak, war tídu.

I went behind him, égelēgh iládăras.

Let us look behind us, sanishlámanak dáranak [sanishlámanagh dáranagh].

Lest these men betray us, war hanak [hanagh] ighádernit ídinet ídagh.

231. *All round this mountain*, ádar wādagh terlaite,

there is fine pasture, éhe téshe tehōske.

At the side of the mosque, tamizgída d' edisennis [*the mosque, at its side*],

is a large well, ehe ānu makkōren.

Sit down at my side, arem d' édisín.

232. *Opposite each other*, inéhăsan gerēsan.

Sit opposite to me, thy face to me, arim dihādar annādīd seri idiménnek.

He sat opposite, his face to me, ekēm annādíd seri ideménnis.

To your right, dek arīl innek. (201.)

Keep to your right, akel sibberīn arílinnek [go keeping *your right?*].

To your left, fel teshelgínak.

233. *When you go from Timbúktu to Gúndam*, ke tesékalak dak Timbýtku kēk Gúndam.

Leave the river at your left, óye eghírrĕu fel arē wa-n-téshilgēn.

Ised. See 81.

Arĕl. See 156.

War et-*ehinnen*, non *eum* vident?

224. *Alīm*, edge, border? In 50 we have *esalīm*, shore, and *asarīm* in vocabulary. Elsewhere, *alīm* is skin, for *aylīm* of Kab. Also *alim*, chaff, straw, in Kab.

Azūed, sudden (heavy).

Irmas, seized. *Afod*, knee, in vocabulary.

Ilmar, not again in this sense.

225. *Irbar*, crushed with his feet, 172.

Tarzar: compare *Irzar in* 171.

226. *Har asgen*, until; *felles*, upon it; *istaras*, it pounced, from *iras*, it descended. Thus *asgen* seems to mean "a time," "a while." In Kab. *azgen*, half, middle, part.

Sins, cause to rest? from *insa*, he rested? 42, 58.

Isiftakh, evidently from Arab. *fatakh*. The ح is presently corrupted into *kh*.

227. *Ege*, make, for, put.

Erashādet seems to be subjunctive from *ishad* or *ishadet*. Compare Arabic *shadha*, he harmed.

Itemanākit, root *naka? Temankit* is exhaustion.

228. *Agel*, place? (Is it the same as *aghel*, Kab. arm? See 201 on *aril.*)

229. *El jīb* is Arabic.

Dagāma, on the outside, *agĕme*, outside, are from *igem*, he went out, 118, 138; whence also *gĕma*, without (sine).

Mellen, white; here for pure.

Akal, mould, soil, as in Kab. Elsewhere in Temght it is land or country.

230. *El hakk* is Arab., and final *i* the Arab. pronoun "my." *Tassedet*, thou hast made even, æquasti. See 168.

Sagerĕhe, if it is one word, would seem by 11 to mean "look with pleasure."

Tidu (rather *tidut?* or *tidurt?*). See 104.

Sanishlam. See 11.

Ighádernit, fem. plur., because *idinet* (*duniat*, Arab.) is fem.

231. *Arem* = *aghēm* = *aqīm* = *ekem*, sit, stay.

232. *Inéhăsan* = *inéhāzan*, from *ihaz*, 55, he was near. *Gerēsan*, inter se.

Dihadar, from Arab. حاضر "present."

Annādīd, παράλληλος? from *ned*, αλλος (as Kab.). Ben Músa gives *ghīm nediu*, sit near me, as Temght. So *endi*, nearest, next. It is spelt with *d* or *t* thick in Kab.

Akel, go thou? see 124; or, turn thou? See 25.

Sibber, from Arab. سبر?

233. *Tesékalak*, read *tesékalat?* 2nd pers. sing.

And you have open country on your right, d-óyak bóderār fel ărē wa-n-arîli.

234. [*Ordinarily the river is shallow, below the place of this year*], ennādir eghírrĕu adejāsal, éder ádiget tenídagh.

This exceeds that, wādagh yūgar wādagh.

There is nothing left of it, war akímēn ders harret.

235. *That is a different thing*, wādagh amūs harret.

It is rare, war agīt.

Similar, amélehen.

It is like, yúlehe, yúle.

Like, shynd, sund [zund?]

All the same, berīsh.

236. *Whichever way you take, every where you find water*, atif tígedi titetaffet, dags attiggeraut áman (*take straight which-you-take, on it you alight* (*on*) *water?*).

Keep straight on, áttil tígĕdid ghas (*keep straight* only).

Straight, tígĕdid.

237. *Do not* [*trouble yourself?* or *run?*] *this way, nor that?* war *has* tishlet, sīhā, wolla sīhā.

The river runs between mountains, eghírrĕu yūshal ger adāren.

The road leads through a thick forest, where are plenty of lions, abárraka teha (igesh) arkit ŭrmā; ihe tawăkast; ehant éwokhsan.

238. *I arrived before him, and had to wait for him*, nék ésagh arássit awādagh índeë dawat shwārakĕdás.

I arrived after him [*thee?*], nek ósegh dārak.

After the corruption of the whole earth, Jesus will descend, dāret adígdig-n-ákal íkétĕnes, adezūbet ʿAísa.

NOUNS.

God, { A′manay. / Mesí.*

By the great God, se A′manay mákkaren *or* imakóren.

Our Lord, Mesí-nak.

The great God, Mesí-nak imakóren.

God the ruler, Mesí-nak yitkāl.

The one God, { Mesí-nak enta ghás. / Mesí-nak íyen ghás. / Mesí-nak iyéntinten.

God, who has no fellow (*companion*), Mesí-nak war ilamídi,

nor has shape? (*bounds?*), war ilára,

nor measure? war ilĕhit.

God has no measure neither of space nor time, Mesí-nak úri hehéndek war ilédek war ihédek, war ihédek wá, wolladar wá, war ihehéndek, war úgedi tíketi.

Lord of the wonders, { imekéder-n-talrewēn. / Mesís-n-talrewēn.

The Uncreated, wardikhalíg. (*Arab.*)

The Creator, amakhalāg. (*Arab.*)

Cultivator of the soul? amákarash imman.

Lord of the soul, Mesís imman.

The Merciful Shepherd, amadān-n-tahánint.

The Victorious, emirni.

The Extirpator, amáng.

The Living, emay (from Arab. *hay*).

The Judge Supreme, ntarna tógerit (?).

All the creatures of the Lord are to gather in (*in the court of*) *Jerusalem on the day of resurrection*, timákhlukēn-n-Mesínak rurret didaunet istérrabat-n-bét el Mákkadus áshel wá-n-el kiámet.

One part of them enter the hell and remain there, others enter paradise and remain there, wuī tajéshen témsi ajíshente, wuī tajéshen aljennet ajíshente.

The evil spirits, alghafáriten. (*Arab.*)

Devil, eblís. (*Arab.*)

Angel, anyĕlus,* *pl.* anyelúsen.

Demon, alshín, *pl.* alshīnen. (*Arab.*)

Female demon, talshín.

The paradise enter the people who (*have been*) *good, the hell those who* (*have been*) *bad*, aljennet atajéshen ídinet wuī yolāghnin, témsi atajéshen ídinet wuī labásen.

The throne (*of God*), { al kurshi. (*Arab.*) / algharsh. (*Arab.*)

The day of resurrection, áshel wá-n-el kiámet.

Oyak, elsewhere, is "I left."

Bodĕrār, open country.

234. *S ennādir*, in custom?

Adejāsal, pres. tense from *gazal*, to be short? (gzl *or* wzl.)

235. *Amūs*, moves, changes?

War agīt, it does not *do* (it)?

Yúlehe, yūle. See 40.

Sund is *zund* and *zun* in Kab. (Arab. *zain*, comely, elegant.)

236. In Kab. *tidīd*, true, seems to be here *tigĕdid* or *tidĕgid*.

* Mesí, perhaps originally the name of the Messiah, although *mes* means master in Temght.

Attíl, be thou? = *íli?*

237. *War ash tishlet: has*, for him? *tishlet*, from *yushal*, runs, or from *shela*, disturb, bustle, 115.

Ihe or *diha*, where.

Ehant, 152, there are.

Wokhs, wild beast; Arab. *wahhūsh*.

Tawak(h)ast, wild beasts collectively.

238. *Esagh* = *esegh*, from *yose*, he arrived. *Arasset* = Kab. *azzeth*, before? See 140. *Indi*, (not) yet.

Dawat, from *awat*, he arrived? 51.

Shwaragh-ed-as, I anticipated him?

Daret, for *dar*, after; so *darret* in Prod. Son.

Adígdig, crush, in 130.

Adezūbet, from *zōb*, 62.

* Anyelūs, the Greek αγγελος.—H. B.

The world, eddúnia (rurret).
Heaven, ashínna.
The seven heavens, say ishínnawen.
Sun, tafōk.
The sun warms his face hot to-day, tafōk tenádit idéminis wakúsen áshel dín. [Comp. tenedēt, *fever heat.*]
The sun burns, the people are perspiring, tafōk tarra, ídinet tufay dersen tíde [exit per eos sudor].
The strength of the sun's heat, tisenánit (n-takós enis).
Sunbeams, ezéreran-n-tafōk.
Dawn of sun (*of day*), enaréren-n-tafōk.
The sun is eclipsed (*to-day*), tafōk témmere áshel ídagh.
Moon, ayōr.
The moon is about to come forth (*rise*), ayōr abóki ebárbar.
The moon rises, ayōr ebárbar.
The moon is setting, ayōr abóki éjedel.
The moon sets, ayōr ódal.
Full moon, ahadōr (akókehat?).
Moonlight, timelle-n-ayōr.
Halo, áfarak-n-ayōr.
The moon has a halo, ayōr yuwát áfarak.
The moon is eclipsed to-night, ayōr amére éhad ídagh.
Galaxy, mahellen.
Star, átar; *pl.* ítaren.
The stars shine forth, ítaren iknán ebarbar.
The stars shine brightly, ítaren iknán ashishíllwak.
Lucifer, tátari.
Vesper, { amawen-n-éhad. / ashímmelesh.
Pleiad, shéttahat.
Cross (mejbúa), amanár.
Light, { tafaut (*of sun*). / temēllolot (*of moon*). / tisákhsarēn (*as thrown through lattice-work, etc.*).
Darkness, tíhay.
Fata morgana, éle.
Shade, shadow, téle.
Heat, { takōs. / ténede.
Cold, { iredēm. / asammēṭ.
The cold has penetrated to my bones, asammēṭ ejáserín darrim eghás ení.
North, afelle.
South, agūs.
East, amaina.
West, atāram.
Northeast (*between east and north*), ger amaina ge de felle.
Air, hawa. (*Arab.*)
Summer, iwílen.
Beginning of rainy season (*called* awára *in Timbúktu*), asherágu.
Rainy season, ákase.
The rainy season is over, ákase íbse.
Cold season, tágerist.
The dark nights (*the worst part of the cold season*), éhaden esáttefen.
Spring (*called* tifísko *in Timbúktu*), { afásko. / fatáfet.
Wind, gale, témadálet.
I see there is rising a heavy gale, ánhiagh dehén denákar temadálet imakkóren.
Storm, whirlwind, teshigwálet.
Storm gathers, { teshwálet teshigwálet. / tegéd ders teshigwálet.
Heavy rain-clouds, tamsíggenaut.
Red clouds, tíggerakīn.
Lightning, ésan.
Thunder, éjaj.
It thunders, etájij.
Lightning (*thunder*) *has struck the tree and split it*,* éjaj ódagh fel ehíshk atákhtak áfarás farás.
Rain, { ajínne. / ákonay.
It is raining, ajínne égat.
The rain is coming, it is dripping, ákona ízay, dekun tabákhtabek.
Raindrops (reshresh), tídam.
Moderate rain, ahīs.
Heavy shower, tabéut.
Long-lasting rain, now ceasing, then beginning again, tahaléhalay.
Hail, igidirshān.
The hail falls, beating and tearing the tents, igidirshān ófayen, ishohárnin nábajen ihánnan isararawen ihánnan.
Rainbow, agagónil (ajejénet?).
Fog, abínnag, ebénnag.
To-day is a foggy day, nobody can see anything, áshel idagh íja ebénnag, war ihínne awádem harret.
Dew, táras.
Much dew has fallen this night, éhad ídagh íja táras tejēt.
Time, elwakkat. (*Arab.*)
Year, áwatay.
Five years, summus útien.
Century, temēde-n-áwatay.
A year of famine, manne.
Month, ayōr.
Three months, karád ayōren.
Day, áshel.
Four days, akōs eshílan.
This is a fine day, áshel ídagh íkkena teshéldeje.
Dawn, énarēr.
Morning, tifaut.
Dhahar (*about* 9 A.M.), agidélsit.
Heat of the day, tárahōd.
Noon, { aríl-n-áshel. / ammas-n-áshel.
Zawál, azíwal.
Dhohor (*about* 2 P.M.), tézar.
'Aser, tákast.

* The Tawárek attribute this effect to the thunder.

Sunset, ágadel-n-tafōk.
Time of prayer after sunset, almos.
Evening, táduit.
Prayer of 'asha, tesótsin.
Night, éhad; *pl.* éhaden.
Midnight, { ammas-n-éhad. / tazúnne-n-éhad.
To-morrow, ashikke.
Early to-morrow morning, ashikken semmút.
To-morrow at noon, aríl-n-áshel ashikké.
The day after to-morrow, áshel wuēn shel ashíkke.
Yesterday, endíshel.
Last night, endáhed, endód.
The day before yesterday, { áshelendín. / ashelnád. / áshel wuén ásel endázel.
This year, { tenī, tinéda. / áwatay ídagh.
Last year, { inhād. / tenínde.
Two years ago, { tenendīn. / essīn útien.
Next year, áwatay wué 'lkamén éwuanen had.
This month, der ayōr ídagh.
Next month, ayōr wá yílkeme ayōr ídagh.
This month is about to close, ayōr wādagh ishwar íbbeded *or* amūt.
Saturday, Essébbet. } *Arab.*
Sunday, Alhád. } *Arab.*
Monday, Elitnín. } *Arab.*
Tuesday, Eltenáta. } *Arab.*
Wednesday, Lárba. } *Arab.*
Thursday, Elkhamís. } *Arab.*
Friday, Eljýmma. } *Arab.*
Week (*seven days*), sá shílen (eshílen).
Moharrem, Tamasíddig.
Safar, Téurt tatézaret. } Turēn sanátet.
Rebia I., Téurt tatílkamat. } Turēn sanátet.
Rebia II., Azíma zarén.
Jumád I., Azíman ammas.
Jumád II., Azíman térirdēn.
Rejeb, Tinemégerēn.
Sh'abán, Janfo.
Ramadhán, Azūm.
Háj, Tésubdār.
Shawál, Tesissi tatézaret. } Tésist sanáten.
Dhu el Heje, Tesissi tatílkamat. } Tésist sanáten.
Echo, { émsewel. / tākoy.
Fire, éfëu.
Flame, táhist.
Spark, temántest; *pl.* temántesīn.
Fire-coals, tezózan.
Ashes, ézit-n-éfëu.
Smoke, ahū.
Water, áman.
Land, earth, ákal.
Country of the Awelímmiden, ákal wá-n-Wuëlímmiden.
Island, aútel.
Wilderness, arkit.
Clear forest, éhishkan amitarétaréen.
Impassable covert, árkit urmá.
Dense forest, arkit arú, *or* akóren.
Desert, afélle (*prop. North*).
Hammáda, desert plain, tanazrúfet.
Plain, étaras.
Large valley, erárar.
Valley with a torrent, eghásher=eghzer *in other dialects*.
Small torrent, egherrēr.
Mountain, ádar; *pl.* ádaren.
Inaccessible mountain, ádar urmá war teh' abárraka.
Hill, tádakt.
Sand-hill, tégift; *pl.* tégefēn.
(*Range*) *of high sand-hills*, tégefēn ogidáhenet.
Small sand-hill, teneshmór.
Rock, tahónit.
Stone, tahōn.
Source, tét; *pl.* tittawen.
Well, { *shallow*, { ebenkōr. / tíris. / *deep*, ānu.
River, eghírrëu.
Branch of river, { ér, / ádar-n-eghírrëu.
Current, ámanen (*waters*).
Wave, tínezémmart.
Deep place of channel in river, télak-n-áman.
Bank of river, ásarīm, *or* ésalīm.
Ford, teawent.
Torrent, rivulet, anghi.
Sea (*the salt river*), eghírrëu wa symmen.
Temporary lake, pond, abéng.
Black naked soil round a pond, tifárrawen.
Green surface on stagnant pool, tahízzak.
Cavity, hole, terárart (*dim. of* erárar).
Sand, témelilt.
Lime, tálak.
Mud, íllebék.
Stones, or, rather, round masses of lump (*called* áfaray *in Timbúktu*), *for building*), ebélghetán.
Black soil, ákal ikaúelit.
White sandy soil, ákal iméllen.
Field, shékarash.
Stubble-field, tédik; *pl.* tedkēn.
Hedge, fence, áfarak. (*Arab.*)
Slight fence, táfarak.
Road, { abárraka. / tábarit.
Tree, ehíshk; *pl.* éhishkan.
Young tree, bush, { absag. / tasúgit.
Root (*of tree*), tékewén.
Wood, ésaghēr.
Bad spot in wood, ikerísh keráshen.
Branch, ílleket; *pl.* ílliktān.
Splinter, tímetaut; *pl.* tímetawen.
Leaf, ālan ehíshk.

Large leaves (?), tefárketēn-n-ehíshk.
Dúm-leaves, takílkaten-n-akōf.
Bark, tissífuft.
Peel, husk, kékkabēn.
Flower, tábuit.
Fruits, (*pl.*) áraten-n-ehíshkan.
Seed, seeds, ísambān.
Thorn, ísinnān.
Talha, ésaghēr (tésaghart).
Mimosa gummifera, auwárwar.
A thorny tree in the river, tagerábba.
E'tíl, aghar (taghart).
Duwé (*variety of ficus*), tedúmumt.
Sídderet el hoë, akéllefe.
Tamarind (*tree and fruit*), busúsu.
Monkey-bread-tree (*baobab*), tekúdust.
Fruit of monkey-bread-tree, tefíngora.
Tree called ásabay *in Timbúktu*, ána.
Nebek-tree (*zizyphus*), ferkénnish.
Nebek-fruit, tabákkat; *pl.* tibakkáten.
Siwák, *El irák*, } *Capparis sodata*, téshak.
Root of siwák, éke-n-téshak.
Dúm bush (*sgillem*), akōf.
Dúm palm, tagait.
Fruits of dúm palm, tibélkukawēn.
Seed of dúm palm, tibargárrarēn.
Date-tree, tashdait.
Date, téheni.
Date-stone, egeft.
Delēb (*Borassus flabelliformis?*), tekúkat; *pl.* tekúkatēn.
Herbage, {*fresh*, téshe. *dry*, téshe yekōr.
Pennisetum distichum (*eníti*) úzak.
Hád, tashāret.
Talubbút, teliggít.
Bú rékkeba (*Panicum colonum*), arárfasu.
Young, tender herbage, ínghalas.
Reed, kógeri.
Knot of reed, tekárdofēn-n-kógeri.
Pennisetum typhoïdeum (*héni*), éneli.
Sorghum (*sába*), {*white*, abórak. *red*, kelénki. *black*, síbi.
Bran, {tellúmt. dú. ábid.
Ear of the corn, tégenit.
Seeds of the corn, tezawēn.
The large seeds (?), igénshiten.
The small seeds (?), isemaráten.
Crops about to come forth from the ground, sibbergábelāgh áfagh.
Corn of all kinds, alūn.
Various species of krēb (*Poa*). {asáka. asralt (asghalt?). táshit. téjebalt.
Rice, táfakat.
Wheat, elkáme. (*Arab.*)
Barley, farkasúbu.
Cucurbita melopepo (*el hadésh*), beráberá.

Water-melon, kaukáune.
Onion, takhfar; *pl.* tékhfaren.
Cotton, takerókerit; *pl.* tíkurukarēn.
Indigo, síggeni.
Nymphæa lotus, kalókaló.
Endairi, tikíndi.
Senna (*fálajit*), abellenját.
Saffron, tenármet.
Æsclepias gigantea (*turja*), túrsha; *pl.* túrshawēn.
Colocynth, lému.
Bundle (*bawíye*), bánguru; *pl.* bangurúten.
Two small bundles, ákas.
Tame animals, erezégen.
Camel, ámenis; *pl.* ímmenās.
She-camel, tólamt.
Herd of camels, tólemīn.
An active camel ('*omali*), errígga.
Old camel, 'amál.
Young camel, {áwara. álagód.
Herd of 100 *head of camels or cattle.* {wuásigen. témedent.
Ox, assau; *pl.* eswanen (*Hausa*, sah, *pl.* sanu).
Cow, tas; *pl.* {híwan. (*Tademekket.*) shítan. (*Awelimmid.*)
Fattened cow, not bearing young, tamzak.
Ox of burden, audis; *pl.* audísen.
Bullock, amáke.
Calf, {ések. éhedel. alóki; *pl.* ilókian. abárkau. ilíngeya; *pl.* ilingéyaten.
All kinds of animals for riding, sawát; *pl.* sawáten.
Horse (*common good horse*), aïs; *pl.* íyesan.
Horse of excellent qualities, (aïs) anákfōr (*brave?*)
Horse of inferior qualities, ibéggo.
A favorite horse, tásenit (*well known?*)
This is my favorite horse; I do not allow any body to mount it, wādagh tásenítin; war ikbēlagh ateténne awādem.
Nag, {afákkarem. kókorō.
Horse of peculiar color, ashúlag.
Gray horse, with spots of brown, amúlas.
Other variety, áderi.
Gray, ágelán.
Gray, with a shade of green, idémmi.
Brown horse, {áharas. átelak. aïs neggōr.
Horse with white feet, aïs wá-n-ásabōr.
Mare, tábagōt (*fem. of* ibegge?).
Foal, áhogi.
Filly, táhogít.
Ass, íshed; *pl.* íshedan. [*Ghad.*, azīd; *Ben Mūsa's Temght*, ahīd.]
Female ass, teshéd.

Full-grown ass, ázar [azagh?]; *Hausa*, saki.
Full-grown female ass, tázaut, tézaght.
Old male ass, adánki.
Young of ass, { temainúk. / ahólil; *fem.* tahólilt. / tamay.
Sheep, tekhse, *pl.* { tíhatēn. / téheli.
Sheep with long wool, tikíndemēn.
Young of sheep, { kíruwan; *pl.* kíruwatēn. / ajaímara; *pl.* ajaímarátin.
Ram, ábbegug. *pl.* íbbegān.
He-goat, ashólak.
She-goat, tághat; *pl.* úlli.
Dog, édi; *pl.* íyedan.
Cat, mús.
Mice, akōr.
Field-mice, adō.
Fáret el khél, araránga.
Rat, irallen.
Wild animals, { temáregesht. / tiwaksēn, táwakast.
Lion, { éher; *pl.* éheran. / éwukshan.
Young of lion, aledásh.
Surnames of lion, { bubánti. / budegaye. / intende.
Leopard, awáshit, elwáshil.
Surnames of leopard, { ashebógel. / gérrier.
Hyena, arídal.
Surnames of hyena, { énadár. / erkínni.
Jackal, ebég; *pl.* ebeggán.
Surnames of jackal, { intainót. / intaine sóso. / intangrén.
Elephant, élu; *pl.* éluan.
Giraffe, amdar; *pl.* imídderen.
Erkemūn (*buffalo*), asaráke.
Lymhe, *Leucoryx*, ashamál; *pl.* íshemál.
Úrik, *antelope*, ésham.
Urkíye, *the female*, tésham; túrik.
Ar, *other antelope*, agíngara.
Oryx, téderít; *pl.* tederáten.
Other species of antelope, ábeshaw; *pl.* tebeshāwen.
Gazella mohor, énhar; *fem.* ténhar; *pl.* ténharén.
Young of mohor, alímmu.
Gazelle, ashínkat.
Young of gazelle, aushím.
Resting-place of gazelle, abatōl-n-ashínkat; *pl.* ibtál.
Wild sheep, ulli-n-arúk.
Porcupine, *hedgehog* (*dhurbán*), támarait.
Gamfúd (*squirrel?*), tekenésit.
Hare, temáruwelt.
Small animal like the hare, áshan ábarōm.
Bú el gedemāt, akazáse.

Monkey, { haya. / fonóten. / ibíddawen, *pl.* / abárdawil (?).
River-horse (*called* banga *in Timbúktu*), agámba.
Crocodile (*ákaray*), { aráta. / akátel.
Smaller species (سقنقور, *Lacerta monitor?*), zangway.
Chameleon, tahau.
Frog, égar.
Manatus, ayū.
Fish, ámen.
Largest species of fish (*Perca Nilotica?*), tehéddelt-n-áman.
Large black fish, déshir.
Other species, { tashéllin. / tagónit.
A species of white color and great thickness, tagursíyat.
Other species, { tagúndirit. / tehéddadash. / saríya.
A fish with four large teeth and red tail, zawegíru.
Cyprinus Niloticus, dá.
Mormyrus oxyrinchus, wusí.
Other species of fish, { horá. / ejíjra. / marámbana. / hánjerít.
Malapterurus electricus? tarlíbambó.
Smallest species of fish, íshenrá.
Snake, táshilt.
Large species of snake which devours the gazelle, tanároët.
A large snake, between green and black, tagíber.
Tabelénke, tajébdāret.
Other kinds of snake, { imégegel. / emellel katetúngu.
Scorpion, tezérdemt.
Lizard, magédar; *pl.* imegédaren.
Bú-néna (*small black lizard*), agaráyan.
Turtle, { *large*, yúma. / *small*, akéyun.
Bird, agadíd; *pl.* íggedád.
Young bird, ákirt; *pl.* íkirtán.
Cock, ákes; *pl.* íkesan.
Hen, tákeshít.
Chicken, íkirtán-n-tákeshít.
Pigeon, teddebérat; *pl.* idebíren.
Egg, tésadalt; *pl.* tesadálen.
Ostrich, énnehe (énnehel?); *pl.* énhal.
Empty egg of ostrich, placed on the top of the huts, átakís-n-énnehe; *pl.* itkás.
Vulture, ágadīr; *pl.* ígderān.
Hadaya, tegardímmat.
Rahme, tarálgi.
Guinea-hen (*called in Timbúktu* el kabésh), tailelt; *pl.* taílalēn.
Young of guinea-hen, isuwíten.

Kumarén, tének.
Crow, *pl.* tíbkakēn.
Stork, walíya.
Spoonbill (*ádanay*), gelgútta; *pl.* gelgut-títen.
Sparrow, ákabōr.
Little red bird, sheterjénne.
Fly, *pl.* éshan.
Horse-fly, azarúwal.
Bee, isimbo; *pl.* isimboën.
Musquito, tadést.
Small black ant, téatuf.
Large red ant, ádehik.
Large black ant (*el kós*), kíldekó.
White ant, temmédhe.
Ant-hill, arámmin.
Worm, ibékkebék.
Worm whose bite is painful, ekímdal.
Mukhét el ardh (*venomous*), agaraye.
Earwigs (*amaroës*), asis.
A white worm that penetrates into the nose of the camel, tózera.
Corn worm, mulúl.
Leather worm, túkemat.
Beetle, ákhshinshēr; *pl.* takhshínsharēn.
Lice, télik; *pl.* tilkīn.
Camel lice, tesalúfet; *pl.* téselfīn.
Caterpillar, tázelit.
Tail of horse, cow, camel, etc., tedémbut.
Hair on the front of horse, täunshut.
Mane, azak.
End of mane, tul azák.
White spot on the front of horse, tesénnit.
Hoof, éskar; *pl.* éskaren.
Trot, teréggit.
Peculiar kind of trot, tághala.
Gallop, asháwenk.
Various kinds of diseases of horses, { táhaja. / tikínkarēn. / árashād. / tillík.
Ulcer of horse, etc., tefédit.
Dry scab, áshiyūt.
El mebbár, amsérarágh.
Sudden death, rárat.
Place where the horses usually lie down, ásabel-n-bal.
Chest of camel, tásgint.
Horn of ox, ésok; *pl.* ískawen.
Hoofs of ox, tínsawen.
Udder, tezé.
Teat, ifáffar.
Footprint, ésem; *pl.* ísmawen.
Place of former cattle-pen, adánda.
Dead body, makhsúlj. (*Arab.*)
Bill of bird, ákamkōn.
Wing, *pl.* aferéwen.
Feather, tesággad; *pl.* tesággadēn.
Nest, ásakōk.
Crest of cock, arárkob wá-n-akés.
Gills of cock, tilághlaghēn.
Fins of fish, sasángun-n-ámen; *pl.* sasán-guten-n-ámen.

Man, husband, ális, hális; *pl.* méden.
People, { ídinet. / ítidim.
Woman, { tamtut, / támat, } *pl.* tídedén.
Wife, partner, hannis.
Mongrel, shankōt.
Father, { ti, shi. / oba, aba.
Mother, amma.
Grandfather, tís-n-tís.
Grandmother, ammas-n-mas.
Ancestor, ámaren; *pl.* emárrawen.
Brother, { *elder*, ámakār. / *younger*, amádaray.
Twins, { íknewen. / imakkerésen.
Sister, { *elder*, támakart. / *younger*, tamádarait.
Maternal uncle, { shitmás. (?) / téshikkár.
Paternal uncle, { más. / angathmán.
Sister's son, tagéshe, tagése.
(*His*) *aunt*, { *from father's side*, ulátemas-n-ti(s). / *from mother's side*, ulátemas-n-ma(s).
Elder sister of father, támakart-n-aba.
Cousin, ábubásh.
Son of aunt, ará-n-dedén.
Niece, ará-n-medenét?
Mother of family (*múla el khéme*), mesís-n-ácha.
Family, ágadish, égedesh.
Widow (*during the first three months*), támat tetáf alhuddet. (*Half Arab.*)
Embryo, ára.
Child, { róri, / áliad, } *pl.* ilíaden.
Son, { íneck. / róri, rúri.
Boy, { ábarad. / alaróren.
Lad (*adult*), amáwad; *pl.* imáwaden.
Daughter, welet.
Girl, táliad; *pl.* tilíaden.
Full-grown (*handsome girl*), tamásroït; *pl.* timísroyáti.
Old man, ámghār (pronounced *amrār*).
Elderly woman, támaghast.
Orphan, (?) / *Heir*, } agóhil; *pl.* ijóhelēn.
Son whose father is unknown, { inemádas. / ákasay. / anákharám. (*Arab.*) / anóbe.
Grandson, rúri-n-rúri.
Father-in-law, ádegal.
Mother-in-law, tádegalt.
Son-in-law, áleges.
Daughter-in-law (?), ahánnis.
Brother of wife, tílusīn.

Brethren-in-law, ilúsanén.
Bridegroom, *Young husband*, amázelay.
Young husband, amáselay? *Kab.*, isli.
Bride, temázelait, temáselait? *Kab.*, tislit.
Foster-brothers, animáttaden.
Chief, amanókal.
Great chief, liege lord, amanōkal imakóren.
Commander-in-chief, amáway-n-égehen.
Great warrior, champion, ehé-eshār; *pl.* wuīn-eshār.
Chief counselor, ú-tánhad; *pl.* méden wuī-n-tánhad.
Followers, party of chief, kél-tamanókala.
Freeman, amáshigh; *pl.* imóshagh. alíl; *pl.* ihíllal.
Degraded man, serf, ámghi; *pl.* imghād (*irreg. for* imghān).
Slave, ákeli; *pl.* íkelān.
Female slave, tákelit.
Concubine, tawéhat; *pl.* tawéhaten.
Son of a female slave, rúris-n-tákelit.
Son of a slave and a free woman, abógheli; *pl.* abóghelíte.
Freed slave, áderif; *pl.* ídirfān.
Son of a freed slave (*hartáni*), inedérfi; *pl.* inedúrfa.
Eunuch, agōr; *pl.* igórawen.
Countryman, man of the same tribe, hális nának (*prop.* our man, *the pron. accordingly to be changed*).
Their countrymen, halis nissen.
Stranger, young man who goes abroad to study, el mo'aza; *pl.* kél*-el-mo'aza.
Guest, ámaghár; *pl.* imágharen.
Friend, imīdi.
Fellow, ámandén.
Enemy, eshínge; *pl.* íshinge.
Neighbor, ímharāg.
Rivals, pl. anírkeben.
Learned, holy man, aníslim.
Scholar, ettáli (ettálib), ettálaba.
Herdsman, shepherd, ámadān.
Sportsman, amaháyen; *pl.* imáhoyen.
Townspeople, kél-ágherim (*the final* m *is sometimes changed to* b).
Boatman, azímsur; *pl.* azímsera. isakkayúmmo.
Fisherman, ásurka. (*Surk.*) íkorungáyenan. (*Kórongoy.*)
Husbandman, anásdamu; *pl.* inísdumā.
Smith, a man of a great variety of occupations (*m'allem*), énhad; *pl.* ínhaden.
Female smith (*m'allema*), ténhad; *pl.* ténhaden.
Saddler, bámbarō.
Shoemaker, way sanne ebúshege. way kannen ebúshege.
Sandal maker, way rággeden tífedēlen.

* The syllable *kél*, which occurs in many of these compositions, means people, inhabitants. See vol. i., p. 278.

Merchant, imashénshit; *pl.* iminshinshān. e' Shillúkh (*prop. a Berber from the North*). *pl.* kél-innezan.
Retail dealer, pl. efoforéten.
Broker, amsíttig.
Traveler, amasókal.
Tailor, anázemmaye.
Weaver, akaikay.
Barber, wai-zarzén.
Medical man, wai essanna ássafar (*he who knows a remedy*). inéssafar.
Drummer, ajatíṭkart e' thobl.
Horseman, ag-áís; *pl.* kél-íyesan. ennamenne; *sing.* amnay?
Cavalry, ashírgish.
A body of horsemen, áberig.
Footman, ameríggish; *pl.* immeríggisen.
Camel rider, ag-ámenis; *pl.* kél-immenás.
Singing beggar, ásahak.
Rich man, anésbarōgh.
Thief, amákarād.
Highway robber, amáktas-n-abárraka, *from* ktas = *secare, just as* ḳt'a el ṭriḳ.
Swindler, arrabakherrabákh.
Outcast, ark-méden.
Whore, tin-ámedist. tin-asbakkad. tin-ázene. (*Half Arab.*)
Witness, tagóhi; *pl.* tigóharen.
Hostage, ádamán. (*Arab.*)
Messenger, anemáshal; *pl.* inemíshalen.
A body of people, temágelait.
(*Great*) *army*, tábu.
Tribe, tausit; *pl.* tiúsi.
Nation, terērt.
Pagan, akáfar. (*Arab.*)
Pullo, Fullán, Afúl; *pl.* Ifúlan.
Songhay, Ehet; *pl.* Ehétane.
Arab, 'Arab, Gharab; *pl.* Gharábe.
People of the North, Kél-afélle.
Kunta, Kél-borasse.
Berabish, Kél-jaberíye.
Kél-geres, Aréwan.
Awelimmiden wēn Bodhāl, Dinnik.
Gúndam, Sasáweli.
A'rawán, Eshíggaren.
Head, ákaf, éraf, éghaf. kárkore.
Eye, tēt; *pl.* títtawén.
Eyelid, abílhad.
Eyebrows, íleggān.
Eyelashes, ínharen.
Small hair in eyelashes, élewen.
The pupil, eríbbe; *pl.* íraben.
Eye-water, tahéri; *pl.* tihéretīn.
Tears, iméthawen.
Corner of eye, óreg.
Ear, temázug.
Earlaps, tilághlaghēn.
Earhole, téseli.

Ear-wax, téltak.
Nostrils, atínsherīt; *pl.* shínshar.
Nose-bone, ánjur.
Mouth, ēm.
Lip, ádalōl.
Dimple over the lips, ábatōl-n-ádalōl.
Mustaches, améssowān.
Whiskers, ikáraren.
Tonsils, izílmas.
Dimple, ámader; *pl.* imódal.
Grain de beauté, áhalu.
(*Dog-tooth?*), taghūmest.
Tooth, teeth, ésen; *pl.* ísinen. (*Arab.*)
Cheek-tooth, tar-ésen.
Palate, tewallakáten.
Gum, { tesákkent. / tehaináwi.
Space between the teeth, timeziyen.
Tongue, élis.
Chin, *Beard*, } támart.
Forehead, tímin.
Back of the head, takardáwit, terjadáwit.
Crown of head, tekarkorit.
Temples, elékalék.
Region near the temples, ikílmamák.
Hair of man, tegawét.
Hair-pad, ábagōr.
Gray hair, tishóshoën.
Bald pate, tétarait.
Curls of women's hair, téshikkāt.
Neck, erí.
Throat, { akúrs / takúrsit.
Breast, tigírges.
Nipples, imgígaren.
Female breast, efef; *pl.* ifíffan.
Full female breast, tagurátfaft.
Heart, úlhi.
Flesh of heart, chiktēn.
Lung, turawén.
Spleen, tíggezan.
Liver, amálakīs.
Soul, íman.
Breath, únfas (*Arab. Sem.*).
Bowels, tessa.
Stomach, tabútut.
Paunch (*?*), abárkōt.
Kidneys (*?*), afédaren.
Pericardium, tékafénkafōk.
Navel, tezítān.
Bones, éghas; *pl.* éghasān.
Marrow, adūf.
Nerve, árinmīn.
Blood, ásheni.
Veins, ázaren.
Pudenda mul., ánabāk.
—— *fem.*, táboka.
Womb, ígillān.
Shoulder, tegírgest; *pl.* tigírgas.
Arm, { *upper*, ákshar. / *lower*, ámazar.
Flesh on arm, akshál.
Armpit, tídirdāgh.
Hair of the armpits, ámzaden-n-tídirdāgh.
Elbow, tághemirt; *pl.* tíghamār.
Joint of hand, tesíndert.
Hand, afūs.
Palm of hand, adíke.
Fist, tímzogōt.
Finger, asúkkod; *pl.* ískad.
Thumb, ikmésh, égemesh.
Forefinger, asúkkod-n-átarak.
Middle finger, síkkerit benna.
Little finger, mádera benna.
Nail, éskar; *pl.* ískaren.
Skin on nail, téllegest; *pl.* tellégesen.
Back, arúri.
Backbone, taneshrómi.
Ribs, irrédishān.
Haunch, tásege; *pl.* tísseguwīn.
Hind-quarters, téz.
Fat backside of woman, tebúllodēn.
Fundament, tágheme.
Rectum, ámesi.
Knee, afōd.
Fetlock joint, tagár-n-afōd
Lower part of leg, *Foot*, } ádar.
Sole of foot, itéffar.
Heel, tauzézit.
Ankle-bone, agōsh.
Toe, tinsa; *pl.* tínsawen.
Skin, élim.
Perspiration, ímzelhā.
Dirt, irda.*
Mucus of nose, ínsherán.
Spittle, tisóta.
Vomiting, íbesan.
Urine, áwas.
Excrements, éder.
—— *of child*, tarshat.
Fart, { torēt. / tákharast.
Sleep, étis.
Snoring, asakhādu.
Sleeping of limbs of body, élbabésh.
Hunger, lās. Enák ahe lās, *I am hungry*.
Thirst, fād.
Dream, táhorgēt.
Fatigue, ellíddish.
Exhaustion, temankīt.
Hearing, tísseli.
Seeing, áhanay.
Taste, tembe (temde? yumdi, *he tasted*).
Life, tamúddere.
Maturity, taghad, tawad.
Virginity, talbákkart.
Death, tamántant (*sic*, irregular).
Burial, tímmittāl.
Agony, íneshan.
Health, éssahāt. (*Arab.*)
Sickness, tolhínne.
Fever, tókos.

* The *d* seems to have taken the place of a *k*. Compare *irk el hál*.

(*Merár*), tehánfīt.
A cold, tesúmde.
Catarrh, gobórit.
Cold in the chest, áhegim.
Liver complaint, ausa.
Itch, amágheras.
Swollen belly, kikkar.
Diarrhœa, { tókhma. / tufīt.
Dysentery, tághenaut.
Swollen eye, tehádadait.
Swollen face, azelálam.
Worms, { aíbonen. / ikanákanén. / izolíten.
Guinea-worm, íkewen.
Syphilis, náni.
Wound, ábuyís.
Fainting, ákates.
Medicine, éssafar.
Purge, alawa.
Poison, essim. (*Arab.*)
Old age, tágerist (*prop. winter*).
Intellect, tëite.
Intelligence, temósne.
Knowledge, úgerē.
Science, tisúnet.
Anxiety, terimmēgh (termágha?).
Mirth, ease, tedawit.
Happiness, smile, tebégsit.
Sorrow, anásgom.
Meditation, imindúden.
Love, tarha.
Goodness, tináharēn.
Compassion, tehanínet.
Wrath, átkegh.
Bashfulness, { awan. / tekeráket.
Shame (*envy?*), alrār. (*Arab.*)
Slight, insult, tezemíten.
Humbleness (*shyness?*), amagéwat.
Tradition, tardart (tahdart? *Newman*; teghdart, *H. B.*).
Valor, akfōr.
Cowardice, amútso.
Word, méggedhed, méggered.
Voice, amísli.
Eloquence, erkōd.
Slowness of tongue, tílist.
Tale, tánfost; *pl.* tínfosen.
Gossiping, tehadéndan.
Business, tahōre.
Thing, harret.
Object, tetūk.
The multitude, { áyakīn. / tabídisht.
Manners, custom, algháda. (*Arab.*)
Tattooing, tegías.
Mark by burning on arm, tédi.
Circumcision, tamánkad.
Salary, téfertēn.
Tribute, tēusit.
Present, takōt.
Government, temanókalen.
Empire, sovereignty, atkēl.
Protection, { tigímshen. / tináharēn (*goodness*).
Imána, { árkewel. / álkawel. (*Arab.*)
Peace, el muslékh. (*Arab.*)
Feud, ágezár.
Expedition, war, égehen; *pl.* íg-hanen.
Fighting, { ánemángh. / énikmás.
Line of battle, afōd.
Victory, sár-hu.
Attack (*?*), afti.
Ransom, { téffedaut. (*Half Arab.*) / 'adíyet.
Occupation, eshshughl. (*Arab.*)
Trade, essibbáb. (*Arab.*)
Deposit, tagaléfet.
Profit, alfaidet. (*Arab.*)
Debt, { amáruwás (*of goods*). / áserdāl (*of a money loan*).
Wealth, money, éheri.
Expense, tettūk.
Journey, essíkel.
Departure in the afternoon, tádwit.
Promenade (*search?*), úmak.
Stay, tarémet, taghémet. (*Arab.?*)
(*Terike*), takásit.
Wedding, áshel nedúbu.
Play, eddil.
Dance, adellūl.
Danger, tamúttis.
On this road there is danger, tábarak tídagh éhe tamúttis.
Clapping of hands, tékast.
Snapping with the fingers, asissárakē.
Humming of women, tarlíllit; *pl.* tírlelāk.
Great holiday, tesúbbadár.
Birthday of Mohammed, áshel wa díwen e' nebi.
Prayer, 'amúd. (*Arab.*)
Religious bow, edúnket.
Prostration, asíjet. (*Arab.*)
Call to prayer, akó.
Charity, { temáséddega. (*Arab.*) / takōt (*a present*).
Charity on occasion of the death of a person, tíkkefrēn.
God's will, ítus Mesí-nak.
Divine power, égi Mesí-nak.
Divine permission (prop. *supremacy, from* irna), tarna Mesí-nak.
Unity of God, tísit.
Sorcery, ashérik.
Charm, talisman, tekárdi.
Talisman against wounds in battle, gurūken.
Food, ashékshu.
Breakfast, segímgim.
Supper, ámansi.
A drink, tésis.
Dakno (*the favorite Songhay drink*), tedaknōt.

Rejira (*a drink made of cheese and dates*), arêire.
Common hasty pudding, asínk, ashínk.
Pudding of Indian corn, ashínk-n-sába.
Boiled rice, tárarī.
Rice boiled with a profusion of butter, abílolō.
Rice boiled together with meat, markhfé.
Mohamsa, tekhámmezīn. (*Half Arab.*)
Soup, { aliwan. ábid.
Bread (tákelit *in Songhay*), tegílle; *pl.* tígilwīn.
Meat, ísan.
Bit (*a cut*) *of meat*, tamínkēt.
Megatta, a celebrated dish of meat, { taléfakét. alabégge.
Dried meat, ísan yekór.
White fat, tádhont.
Broth, esīn.
Honey, tárauț.
Milk, akh.
All sorts of milk, ékhawen.
Sweet milk, akh wá kafayen.
Scum of milk, takāfīt.
Cream, áfarār.
Sour milk, silla.
Very sour milk, esillay isýmmen.
Sour milk mixed with water, akraihéme.
Curds, { áftentēn. áboshit.
Butter, údi.
Fresh butter, tésedūt.
Cheese, chikómaren.
Vegetable butter, bulánga.
Salt, témesīț.
Salt incrustation, ahárrar.
Pepper, ijékembē.
Black pepper, íli.
Cayenne pepper (*zózet e' sherk*), tishúshatēn.
Kamún, akāmil.
Sweetmeats, tasódin.
Kola-nut, étafat goro.
Tobacco, tába.
Snuff, ísarak.
Kohol, tazólt temellelt.
Cotton strips (*tári*), tábeduk.
Benige (*one strip of a shirt*), tásuwit; *pl.* tísuwat.
Dress, ísile.
Small shirt, rishāba.
Small white shirt, rishāba emellen.
Small black shirt, rishāba esáttefen.
Shirt of divers colors, áwi yáwi.
Large shirt (*derr'a*), tekátkat.
Checkered tobe, called filfil, or shahariye, tekátkat tailelt.
Sort of shawl thrown over the shoulder (*feruwál*), { arásuwē. tesíggebist.
Long, black, narrow shawl wrapped round the face, { átel. ánagūd. tesílgemíst.
Túrkedí, or mélhafa, áleshūk.
Shawl of divers colors, átel lejen tamáwet.
Shroud, tamarzēt.
Silhám, abernūsh.
Caftan, tekárbas.
Buttons, ibónien.
Trowsers, breeches, kírtebe.
Red cap, takúmbut.
Girdle, timíntke.
Belt, tágebist.
Outside of shirt, afélle-n-rishāba.
Backside of shirt, édin rishāba.
Sleeve, shanfas.
Fringed border, tibekaukawēn.
Embroidery with silk, timkárrawen.
Pocket, alshīb. (*Arab.*)
Embroidery on the pocket, tekárdi-n-alshīb.
Other sort of embroidery, idígon.
A peculiar embroidery on the shoulder, tiljām.
—— *on the back*, telejúmet.
Rags, tabárde.
Small leather pocket (bét) *for tobacco, worn round the neck*, énnefe.
The covering of the same, abóshig.
Lace to support it, tẽulil.
Firestone, tefarráset.
Firesteel, énnefet-n-éfëu.
Tinder, tásgirt.
Bowl, ebēn.
Tube of a pipe, tellak.
Bone for smoking, adūf-n-tába.
Mouthpiece, { tísdant. asikárkar.
Dirt in the pipe, tídi.
Snuffbox, { tákebat. tahatīnet.
Tweezers, irúmmedān.
Kohol box, akōk.
Brush for the kohol, emárruwet.
Grinding stone, tásit.
Knife, absar.
Razor, { absar-n-azárres. ismáhil azúrdum.
Needle, { anázemay. ístanfōs. elmintúl. (*Kél e' Súk.*)
Twist, tenelūk.
Scissors, timáldash.
Looking-glass, tísit.
Key, { teserárift. ásayār.
Lock, tasúgfilt.
Rosary, isédanen (*pl. of* tasédit, *a single bean*).
Pen, áranīb.
Ink, amídde.
Paper, elkát. (*Arab.*)
Sheet of paper, táswilt.
Writing table, aséllun.
Book, elkittāb.
Ornament on book, tarítten.

Talisman, Letter, { tekárdi.
Writing, ákatab.
Writing with large letters, izaurawáten.
Writing with small letters, { tekarmátet. atóren.
Line, essúdder; *pl.* essúddereu. (*Arab.*)
Alphabet, ágamek.
Single letter of alphabet, elkharf. (*Arab.*)
Dot on or under the letter, tidebákka.
Arm-ring worn by the men, áshebe.
Arm-ring worn by the females, { ishínkotēn. ishibga.
Foot-ring of females, ázabōr.
Finger-ring, tád-hot.
Ring worn in the hair of females, tebellauten; *pl.* tubellawēn.
Ear-ring, tesábboten; *pl.* ísabān.
Necklace, tasghált.
String of beads hanging down from the head of the females, tesíggort.
Khallála, a ring used by the (*Arab*) *females to fasten their robe,* tesákkanast.
A sort of small cover, or umbrella, worn occasionally by females to protect the head, áhennēk.
Shoe, ebúshege; *pl.* búshegan.
Sandal, tefédele; *pl.* tifedélen.
Weapons, tazóli.
Sword, tákoba.
Long sword, ebéru.
Dagger, télak.
Long dagger, gózema.
Sheath, títar.
Handle, áraf- (aghaf-) n-tákoba.
Spear, agōr.
Iron spear, { asgar. ésar.
Spear with many barbs, kákarak.
Small barbs, timsínnaren.
Barb of spear, tamaya.
Shield, ághere.
Bad sort of shield, ágheressíl.
Bow, taraya.
Bowstring, aságim.
Arrow, assím.
Quiver, tatánghot.
Barrel of gun, éman.
Gun, elbarūd.
Pan, ánabāg.
Covering of gun, élis-n-elbarūd.
Cock, astel-n-elbarūd.
Bayonet, shabúle.
Ramrod, asetáktik.
Powder, égil.
Shot, tesawai.
The sound of firing, tezággatēn.
Pistol (*kabús*), temághedart. (*Arab.*)
Saddle, elakīf.
Tershe of the saddle, timóldash.
Saddle-cloth, élis-n-elakīf.
Girth, asháshif.
The buckle of girth, táwinist.
Cord in the buckle, tafillwit.
Stirrup, inérkeb.
Bridle, { aljam. (*Arab.*) errába. (*Awel.*)
Mouthpiece, { télakāt. tésirsān.
(*Shkála*), ázanis.
(*Derket*), simdi.
(*El haske*), tefárrwit.
Foot-cord, téfart.
Nose-bag, tágerik.
Spur, mími; *pl.* mimítan.
Camel-saddle, étterīk.
Small piece of leather under the saddle, ashebótbot.
Leather tassels ornamenting the camel-saddle, agárruwēn.
Nose-cord of camel, { sheríhet. teríhet.
Head-ornament of camel, ádelák.
A broad camel-saddle for mounting, takhawít. (*Arab.*)
Camel-saddle for luggage, arúku.
Nose-cord of ox of burden, áshau.
Saddle of pack-ox, ádafōr.
Donkey-saddle, ástik.
Whip, abárteg.
Stick, tabórit.
Shepherd's hook, ajékar.
Rope, írrivi.
Rope from dúm-leaves, írrivi-n-ákōf.
Rope for securing the calves during the night, asíddi.
Leather rope, áran; *pl.* éronan.
Small leather rope, tárant.
Hoe, itédimūt; *pl.* itídimun.
Hoe for sowing, akōn.
Axe, tútale.
Hammer, afáddis.
Iron hammer, asáwa.
Bellows, táshart.
Anvil, tahōnt.
Any sort of support whereupon to beat any thing, abarésha.
Tongs, { irámmedān. assessawen.
Nail, ástel; *pl.* ístelen.
Peg, oegárar.
Iron ring, tazóbut.
Chain, tasúggenist.
Guitar, schárdenīt.
Horn, tesínsak.
Drum, attibbel.
Drum-stick, itkar.
A kind of flute, ararīb.
Boat, tóraft; *pl.* tórefi.
Small boat, takarámbet.
Oar, { tinezámmar. asálte.
Pole for the boat, ágit; *pl.* ígetān.
Prow of boat, akarankōn.
Covering of boat, girrim tóraft.
Bench, karbíndu.

Net, tétart; *pl.* tétaren.
Large net, tétart amákkarit.
Harpoon, zú (*not prop. Temght*).
Harpoon furnished with a barb, hama.
Harpoon with three or four points, hargíta.
Long thin iron chain for catching fish, tegérgerīt.
Trap for catching the gazelle, tendírbat.
Mat { *of reed*, tausīt. / *of grass*, teselat.
Matting round the tent, tedáwanet.
Carpet, { afákkos. / ahwar. / asóso.
Other carpet, called el getífa, tagedúnfist.
Bed, asífter.
Bargó, or coarse woolen blanket, áberūk.
Pillow, ádafōr; *pl.* ídefrān.
Sort of diwan of reeds, tawidarát.
Portable bedstead, teshégit.
Poles forming the teshégit, isegūge.
Supports of teségit, tigíttewēn.
Mortar, tínder.
Pounder, áshakal.
Cooking-place, ésid.
Stones for cooking, ihankarayen.
Coal-pan, féma.
Cooking-pot, telékkenit.
Water-pot for making the ablution before prayer, ebēn wá-n-el walla.
Water-bottle (of gourd), ákasīs.
Water-skin, { édid. / tasúferit.
Skin for victuals, anwar.
—— *for sour milk*, tanwart.
—— *for butter*, tarassalúmet.
—— *for luggage*, { ágerik. / tebawent.
Small skin, tamshit.
Purse, bag, ábelbōt.
Bag with a separate bottom, teshélbakás.
Dish, akūs.
Drinking vessel, { takūst. / terazzūt. / árajūt. (*Awel.*)
Copper cup, { tíkeröast. / terért-n-darūr. / temánnas.
Wooden vessel covered with leather for containing butter, teságenit.
Bucket, agē, ája.
Large dish, watering trough, azáwa; *pl.* izáwaten.
Funnel, asíggefi.
Spoon, tasókalt.
Drinking spoon, asílko.
Large stirring spoon, asérwi.
Forked stick for stirring the sour milk, efaránfar.
Pole for suspending the skins of milk, tasískart.
Plaited dish of straw (tebek), tísit.
Basket, faránfo.
Suníye, large basket, tasówanīt.
Large vessel for honey, faránfarō.
Wax candle, tabórit-n-táfetelt.
Leather tent, éhé;* *pl.* ehénnan.
New leather tent, éhé naina.
Leather tent, worn, éhé kit.
Middle pole, temankait; *pl.* temánkayen.
The smaller poles on the two sides, tigíttewēn.
Rope passing over the poles, áharak.
Double cord, téronin-n-áhak.
Forked pole, { afísk. / aserámserám.
Interior of tent, búgu.
Exterior of tent, kekke.
Awéba, teshéhat.
A particular space of the tent called gherára, tágharīt.
Tent of cotton, éhé mellen.
Tent-pole, ágit; *pl.* ígetān.
Village of tents, encampment (rehála), ámazagh; *pl.* imézaghen.
Place of former encampment, tímshagh.
Hurdle { *of cattle*, ásgin. / *of sheep*, áfarak-n-ulli.
Place of pasturage, ámadōl.
House, tárashām; *pl.* tárishmēn.
Court-yard, ammas-n-éhé.
Upper room, tikrórien.
Staircase, { íbtalen-n-sorō. / isíwiwan-n-sorō.
Terrace, afélle-n-tárashāmt.
Ceiling, iwursákka.
Store-room, teshka.†
Water-closet, idér-n-aha.
Wall of court-yard, arálle.
Door, tifálwat; *pl.* ehénnan.
Window, inabágen tárashāmt.
Hut, éhé; *pl.* ehénnan.
Hamlet (ádabay), tádabay.
Town, ágherim; *pl.* íghirmān.
Town wall, ághadōr.
Street (tíjerīt; *pl.* tijeráten), tesharrōt.
Market, éwuit.
Shop (tenda), bugō; *pl.* bugóten.
Mosque, tamizgída.
Nave of mosque, ássaf; *pl.* ássafen.
Tower of mosque, sorō-n-tamizgída.
Place of meeting, réme-n-méden.
Tomb, ásikkē (azikke, *Kabail*).
Place, dihāl (?).
Region, eljihálet.
Angle, { terámmert. / tidínnekt; *pl.* tidínnek.
Cowry, tamgellít; *pl.* tímgel.

* This word is mentioned by E'bn Haúkál in the tenth century, as meaning a Berber encampment. Journ. Asiat., 1842, vol. i., p. 40.
† A station on the road to Aúdaghost was called by this name. El Bekri, p. 157.

يقال له تازتى و تفسيره البيت

Compare Capt. Lyon's Travels, p. 315.—H.B.

Caravan ('akabár; *pl.* 'akwabír), térrekeft (rékeba); *pl.* ikéberān.
Provisions, ázad. (*Arab.*)
Luggage, ílalā.
Merchandise, áshed (?).
Packet, ghadíle.
Calico (shigge), masr.
Figured cotton, talazíggi (*formed from the word* shigge).
Silk, el kharír. (*Arab.*)
Atlas, birribírri.
Sword-cord (el hamíle), el mejdúl. (*Arab.*)
Red cloth, elbūsh.
Cotton, takerókerit.
Bullock's leather, erēd.
Spices, adúwa zéden.
Elghálie, tíltek.
Beads, timarrowáni.
Red beads, sarēr.
Amber, timistúkatēn.
Iron, tazóli.
Sound of iron, temsárakat.
Silver, ázeref.
Gold, úragh.
Copper, darúgh.
Lead, tezáwaten.
Solder (*tezemímet*), ahellūn.
Iron-thread, ítali.
Ivory, *tusk of elephant*, teshálat-n-élu.
Ostrich feathers, tesággadēn-n-énnehe.
Gum, tainúst.
Wax, ékese.
Price, ēm.
Yard, agél (aghel? *arm?*).
Fathom, tíhid. *A measure of four fathoms*, akōs át-hid.
A mouthful, téhak.
A quantity that may be taken by two fingers, takedímmit.
A handful, tagebúzzit.
What may be grasped by an outspread hand, tébart.
What may be grasped by both hands, íbsuten.

THE STORY OF THE PRODIGAL SON IN TEMA'SHIGHT.

(Luke xv., 11.)

Tánfost: A'liad *enne* mákhshat n éhĕri.
Tale: The youth who (was) wasteful of substance.

11. Kalay illen awādem íyen ilarōris, ile essīn ilíaden. 12. Inne aw entukke
Once was a man one having children, having two youths. Said the younger
n dersen y obannis: Ikfāhi *adegger*-eni dare éhĕri *wa* n nek. Yenker tēsan,
of them to his father: Give me my portion (?) of the substance *which* (is) thine. Arose their sire,
yezon gerēsan eherinnis. 13. Har darretādi s eshīlan madróïni, yenker
weighed out between them his substance. Until afterwards in days a few, arose
áliad ennin, yessinte cherinnis ikétenes isōkal yikka ákal íyen ogúgen;
son younger (?) gathered (?) his substance all of it, returned passed (to) land one distant;
yeķīm dars; ekhsheṭ eherinnis ger tídedēn. 14. Darret ákhashaṭ-n-eherinnis,
dwelt in it; wasted his substance among women. After the wasting of his substance,
azūet tetūk egel ghalle dar ákal ídagh: ebhās harret. 15. Enker yikka
a heavy thing bread (?) dearth in land that: failed? to him a thing. He arose passed (to)
hālis íyen, isúfure imannis ghōris dar ágherim ídagh: hak irdĕmás shekărásh
man one, hired himself to him in district that: he took? sent? him (to) field
enis, edānas imměnās enis. 16. Hūn *tŭhs oles* war iksha, asal ālan-n-
of him, he fed for him his camels. But again? he ate not, save leaves of
ehishkan wuidagh tāten imměnās. 17. Enta isíggĕre dar imannis, inne ye
bushes which eat camels. He contemplated in his soul, said to
imannis: Nek, obāni illē 'klan agōteni; crētusé daghsen ila wa
his soul: As for me, my father (is) having servants many; each of them having what
ikshe: hun nek amarádagh enákahē lās; behăhē harret (*or* igafélli khōr ez
he eats: but I now kills me famine; fails (?) to me a thing.
zémen). 18. Amarádagh, tátăra*gh* denkar(agh) geli*gh* *gh*er obānin(i), ahas
Instantly I will seek (that I) arise, I go toward my father, I may
innēgh: Obāni, nek egē*gh* irk harret gērit Mesínak gērit ke. 19. Nek
to him say: My father, I have done evil thing between? our God, between thee. I
war issimmemáhala*gh* damūsa*gh* áliad innek. Amarádagh! ágăhe *gh*as dar
not am worthy I be called son of thee. Now! make me only in

13. *Tidedēn*, women, may seem to mean דודים, "loves," as *deden*, verse 30.
14. *Teqēlet*, is a loaf: *qu. egel*, bread? *Ibha*, deficit; elsewhere, fallit.
17. *Amarādar*, or *amar adagh* of vv. 18, 19, 21, seems to be = *imir enni* of Kab., "that time," or "this time."
19. *Damūsagh* = *ad-amūs-agh*. The root *amus* seems to represent *ism* (name), of Arabic, which is also used as substantive.

ikĕlánnak. 20. Hun inker, óse *as* obānis. Obānis yenhēt har agūde yugíg;
thy servants. But he arose, came to(?) his father. His father saw him until very far;
egas tehanīnet ghas; yúshel sirs ghas; yūdar fel erinnis, *ahās
made for him mercy only; hastened upon him only; fell upon his neck, that to him
i-timullut. 21. Hun innas rōris: Obāni, hun nek eg*ēgh* irk-n-harret
he-may kiss? But said to him his child: My father, but I have done evil of thing
gerit Mesínak ed ke dar tulís. Hun amarádagh nek war issimmáhăla*gh*
between our God and thee in repetition. But now I not am worthy
damūsa*gh* áliad innak: aṭafāhi, udef ijēl ikĕlánnak. 22. Inne tis y
I be called son of thee: take me, (like one of?) thy servants. Said his-sire to
ikĕlannis: *A*hauyet tekatkat tehōsken, selsem-as-tet; tauyem tāthod
his servants: Ho! bring-ye a robe beautiful, ye have clad to him *it;* Ye have brought a ring
tehōsken, tegem-as-tet de*gh* asukkot enis; tejīmas búshĕgan
beautiful, ye-have-made-to-him-*it* on finger of him; ye-have-made-to-him shoes
ihóskatnēn de*gh* ítĕfrannis. 23. *Et* wuayamas áhĕdel edděrín
beautiful on feet of him. Ye have brought for him calf fat
tá*gh*ĕrésămás, tekénfămás adenekshít néllewa*t*. 24. Măshān róri
(that) ye butcher for him, ye roast for him, (that) we eat it (and) be merry. Because my child
yemmūt, tulís ahōne: ábat, nōlis tehănait. Entenet íllewen
was dead, again (is) alive? he was lost, we have repeated a finding. They rejoiced
imanassen. 25. *Ewa* amakár ennis ihe shekărash-n-issen ekánneten,
their soul. *He who* (was) the elder (son) of him fields of them to work them
he made them?
har iggel éhennis, har ennĕhaz éhé n tis, ísle amísli n tesínsan
until he went (to) his tent, until he approached tent of his-sire, he heard a hearing of cymbals?
d aramb de tékhast. 26. Eg*h*āre íyen da*r* ikĕlan, isísten-t, innas:
and timbrels? and dancing? He called one of the servants, asked-him said to him:
Wādagh mamūs? 27. Innas ákĕli: Amadarainek adosen*it* tik;
This what-is-it? Said to him the servant: Thy younger (brother) arrives (to) thy sire;
tik eg*h*erisas áhĕdel idděrín, fel amōye n amōkes enis,
thy sire has-butchered-for him calf fat upon cause (?) of meeting of him,
en tadro enis sel-rafiet. 28. Iggish atkar [atkahh] amakár enis, yunge
of receiving (?) of him in safety. Entered anger elder (brother) of him, he refused(?)
adíggesh éhé n tis. I*g*mat obánnis éhennis, erārit.
he should enter tent of his sire. Came-out his father (from) his tent, entreated (?) him.
29. Isókalas mé*gh*ĕred, inne ye obannis: Enhe, le*gh* aütian agóteni nek
He returned to him harangue, he said to his father: See, I am (?) years many I
these?
*kh*adáma*gh*ak: kălā war ik*h*she a*gh* ulhi n nek: hun kay kalá war tikfāhi 'shel
have served thee: once-not I have wasted heart of thee: but thou once not givest me day
iyen ta*gh*at íyet, sagarrassa*gh*, hana*gh*-teslawit, nek d imidáweni.
one she-goat one I caused to butcher, (that) thou to us cause to rejoice, me and my friends.
30. Hun áliad innek wāda*gh*, awayikhshet éhĕri-n-nek ikétĕnes ger dēden,
But son of thee this, who wasted substance of thee all of it among loves (?),
tézar íkal, te*gh*arassas áhĕdel edděrín. 31. Innas tis:
the afternoon he came, thou hast butchered for him calf fat. Said to him his sire:
Ke tekéme derí sedēs-en(i) harkūk; eherí ni iké'tĕnes eherí-n-nek. 32.
Thou dwellest with me at side of me always; my substance all of it (is) thy substance.
Măshān essímmemĕhél ahas-nigge tarha-n-nis asemusínten fel tamūsne
Because it is worthy (that) to him we make joy of him because from? upon the-name
innīt enta amadaray-innek wa indúrren yamūt tūlís ídar; abat,
of-this-that he thy-younger (brother) the little (one) was dead again lives; was lost,
nenhēt.
we have found him.

* 20. Or, *ahaz itimullut*, he approached *for* the kiss. *Timullut* is a substantive elsewhere.

APPENDIX XIV.

EL BAKA'Y'S LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION.

TRANSLATED BY DR. NICHOLSON.

In a preface in rhymed prose, Ah'med el Bakáy, having enumerated ten generations of his ancestors, addresses his letter to all into whose hands it should fall, of his brethren and friends among the Arabs, the Tawárek, the Fullán, and the Sudán, in the land of El Islám, and especially in the land of A'la Fódíye, the noblest of the sons of 'Abdallah and 'Othmán the Imám, among whom the Imám 'Alí ben Mohammed Bello is distinguished; next, to those in the land of the faithful and humane, his brethren of the people of Bórnu, and especially their excellent Sheikh 'Omár; and, lastly, to all Moslims in the land. He then enters on his subject of recommending to them the Christian traveler in the following terms:

"Our and your guest, 'Abd el Kerím Barth, the English Christian, has visited us from your part, and we honored him suitably, and were not wanting to him in any thing, and befriended him openly and privately, and defended him from nomadic wanderers and settlers, until we restored him to you in safety, just as he came from you in respect. Now there is no fault to find with our present reception of him, nor with your treatment of him in time past; for the guest of the munificent is munificently treated, and injury to the good is forbidden; and it is the nature of the good and pure to be helpful, just as malice is the disposition of the wicked; and kind acts and intentions are acceptable both to men and to God. But you require to be urgently admonished to treat our and your guest with honor, beneficence, and equity. And do not be deluded by those who say, 'Behold, he is a Christian! let no kindness be shown to him! let it be counted acceptable to God to hurt him!' For such sentiments are contrary to the Kurán and the Sunna, and are repudiated by men of intelligence. It is written, 'God does not forbid your showing kindness and equity to those who do not wage war with you on account of your religion, nor expel you from your abodes, for God loves the equitable.'* And God says (in reply to those who say 'we are not bound to deal equitably with the heathen'), 'Nay, with whoever is faithful to his pledges, and fears God, for God loves those that fear him.'† And we have heard from the saints about the dispositions of the prophets, and their inculcation of beneficence to all men. The Prophet used to say, 'Whenever honorable persons come to you, receive them with honor;' and he used to show respect to all that came to him, whether they were Moslims, or Kitábis,‡ or infidels. And he gave injunctions concerning those among them who were on terms of compact, and those who were on terms of tribute; so that he said, 'Whoever kills a companion§ shall not smell the odor of Paradise; and its odor can be perceived at a distance of 500 years' journey.' And his forefather, Abraham, was kind to every body, so that God mentions him in his book with reference to his generous conduct to guests, and extols his mildness in his altercation with the angels sent on account of the unbelievers; for he says, 'He disputed with us about the people of Lot; lo! Abraham is humane.'‖ And an embassy from the Christians of Najrán came to the prophet, and he received them with honor, and did them justice, as it was his disposition and his custom to do; then he made a treaty with them on terms of tribute, and did not molest them or their religion after he had invited them to accept El Islám, and they had received his missives; and he kept faith with them. This, too, was the way he treated the Jews of Medína, before he went to war with them. Thus God says, 'Thou wilt not cease to discover deceivers among them, with few exceptions; but forgive them, and pardon them, for God loves the beneficent.'¶ And they used to salute him by saying, '*Assilám 'alaika!*'** with Kesra of the Sín; but he used to make no other answer but 'And on you!' At last 'Aísha observed it, and reproached them, and cursed them; but he reproved her. So she said, 'Did you not hear what they said?'

* Sur., lx., 9. † Sur., iii., 69. ‡ *i. e.* People of the Book, Jews or Christians.

§ [illegible]. ‖ Sur., xi., 77. ¶ Sur., v., 16.

** The name of some bitter tree. This story is told in Mishkât el Masábih, vol. ii., p. 394; but *assám* (*destruction*) is the word there used.

And he replied, 'But did not you hear how I returned their salutation? Now what I wished them will be granted, but what they wished me will not be granted.' And it was only as respects the enemies of God—persons fighting against God and his prophet, and waging war with the adherents of El Islám for the sake of their religion—that the prophet forbids what he forbade as to this mode of treatment. The injunction with regard to such is what God says: 'O Prophet, persecute the unbelievers and hypocrites, and be severe with them!'* Thus every believer has a special statute. There came to me one day a man of the Fullán, of the Fullán of the West, who pretended to be learned, but who had no learning, who said to me, 'Does not God say, "You will not find any people who believe in God and the last day, loving those who resist God and his prophet,"† (and the rest of that verse), and yet you love this Christian unbeliever?' I replied, 'Do not you, too, obey this other word of God? "God does not forbid you to show kindness and equity to those who have not borne arms against you on account of religion, and have not expelled you from your dwellings, for God loves those that deal justly; God only forbids your being friends with those who bore arms against you for the sake of religion, and who expelled you from your abode, or who aided in expelling you."'‡ Then he held his tongue. So I said to him, 'Speak! Do you think that one of these verses abrogates the other? If so, you lie, and are made a liar. Or do you think that one is contradictory to the other, and that the contradiction is in the mind of God? If so, you are a fool, and are made a fool of, and lead astray and are led astray. Or do you believe part of the book and disbelieve a part? If so, you are one of those of whom it is said, "Do ye believe one part of the book and disbelieve the other?"§ If so, you are an unbeliever crying out against unbelief.' Then he asked me to explain to him. So I said, 'Let it suffice you as to this mystery and difficulty, that your head is sprinkled with gray, but that you are ignorant of the book of your Lord which has been revealed to you, and about the Sunna of your Prophet; for the ordinance about the hostile unbeliever‖ and the believer who is not hostile, is well known in the book and in the Sunna. As for the unbeliever who is not hostile, there is no prohibition to treat him kindly, whereas to deal justly with him is a positive duty. As for the hostile one, nothing is said about his being treated with kindness, therefore kindness to him is not expressly enjoined; but God has only prohibited friendship with him in preference to Moslims, or helping him against Moslims. But kindness and equity toward an unbeliever who is not hostile is manifestly lawful; whereas friendship with a hostile unbeliever is expressly unlawful, and kindness and equity toward him are among doubtful duties; and the unbelievers who are hostile, or hinderers, or contumacious belong to one class, and are subject to one ordinance, and with such, affection—whatever belongs to intimate friendship—is forbidden. This is the law with regard to unbelievers. As for Kitábis, they are under special laws, whether they be hostile, or under covenant of peace, or under tribute. We may marry the Kitábis of any description. Now, if any one asserts that it is not lawful to show kindness to a Kitábi, let him tell me what he would do with a Kitábi wife, seeing that God has commanded us to treat our wives with kindness and beneficence, and the Prophet has enjoined it. Therefore, if this were true with regard to the Kitábi wife of a Moslim, there would be absolutely no difference but that of sex between her and her father and brothers; so that whatever kindness and beneficence are due to his wife, the daughter of his connections by marriage, are undoubtedly due to those connections themselves. And the Emír of Másina the Fulláni spoke to me both ignorantly and inhumanely about this Englishman, and insisted on absurd and frivolous postulates. And he—nay, his doctors, without learning, piety, or religion—adduced as evidence certain verses from the book of God which were revealed about hypocrites, about 'Abdallah ben Obbai E'bn Salúl¶ and his compeers, and they disgraced themselves by the display of their ignorance of the Kurán and Sunna. Nay, they could not adduce a single word out of the Sunna, nor a sentence from the Canon Law,** which is their learning, notwithstanding their ignorance of it! Since they did not find either in the Sunna or Canon Law any thing that agrees with their aims, but only what is merely contrary to them, they had recourse to the Kurán, and they perverted it violently, iniquitously, ignorantly, carelessly,

* Sur., ix., 74. † Sur., lviii., 22. ‡ Sur., lx., 8. § Sur., ii., 79.

‖ محارب. ¶ This is a noted personage in the Kurán. ** الفقه.

derisively, and sportively. But woe unto them for what their hands have written! and woe unto them for the reward they will reap! Among what I said to them was this: If what you aim at were a part of the Mohammedan religion, either theoretically or practically, I would have outrun you in receiving it, and Khalíl ben 'Abdallah and 'Othmán ben Mohammed Bello, the two descendants of Fódíye, would have outrun you; nay, the great Sultan, our lord 'Abd e' Rahmán, the son of your lord, Hishám, and the Khakán of the two lands and seas, the Sultan 'Abd el Mejíd, the son of the Sultan Mahmúd, the son of the Sultan 'Abd el Hamíd, would have anticipated you. As for your postulate,* that you have inherited the duty of doing battle with the infidels and of hating them from the time of our fathers and grandfathers, we are more nearly related to them than you, for you have no ancestry in it, since you have only adopted your present opinions about thirty years ago, and a man only inherits from his father and grandfather. Whose guest is this Christian? And again, in whose alliance and safe-conduct is this Christian? He is the guest and protégé of the Sultan of the Faithful, 'Abd el Mejíd, and of the Imám of the Moslims, our lord 'Abd e' Rahmán. Lo! he inherited the duty of warring with the infidels from his fathers and grandfathers; and he possesses his religion from the earliest of the fathers, from the time of the prophets. But as for the people of Núkkuma,† they have neither religion, nor learning, nor understanding, nor humanity. What then gives them any superiority or pre-eminence over those eminent persons, seeing that they are the tail of mankind, living in the tail of the world, and that, up to this date, the invitation of the Sunna and of indispensable duties‡ has not reached them? But there is no need to dilate on what they say in their perversity, nor on what is said to them in disputation. The main thing is that you should know, O you body of believers, that God has sent us prophets with His book and His ordinances, and has elucidated them and made them plain, and that whoever wishes to add to them in what He has enjoined is accursed and cast out, and whoever diminishes aught therefrom is condemned and punished. Therefore treat the Moslim according to the treatment ordered for him in the book of God and in the Sunna of the Prophet, whether the Moslim be an upright or a careless one; treat the Kitábis as they are to be treated, whether they be hostile, or under compact, or under tribute; and treat the Infidel generally as he is to be treated, whether he be hostile or not hostile: 'For all are His servants; His will is irresistible by them; His ordinance sticks close to them; His knowledge comprehends them.'§ Whoever treats these different classes with any other treatment than what He has appointed errs in his judgment and is wicked. And this Christian is to-day the guest of the Moslims, under their protection, their covenant, and safe-conduct. No Moslim can lawfully hurt him. On the contrary, to injure him is a burning shame. Nay, he has the rights of a guest, for the guest of the munificent is munificently treated; and every believer is munificent, and every hypocrite is sordid. And does that munificence which is not imprinted in the disposition make a believer? The recompense of kindness is by kindness, in imitation of the character of the merciful Lord. God says, 'Is there any recompense of kindness except kindness?'‖ And behold! this man's nation, the English, have done us services which are neither doubted or denied: which are their friendship to our brethren the Moslims, and their sincerity to them, and their cordiality with them, and their helpfulness to our two Sultans, 'Abd e' Rahmán and 'Abd el Mejíd. This is publicly known and acknowledged about the English. It is, therefore, our right and duty to show gratitude for their kindness; and to strengthen whatever covenant and confidence there is between us and them. And I apply this to you, my brethren. Therefore whoever belongs to the jurisdiction of our Tawárek, the people of Karidénne, the kingdom of Alkúttabu ben Kawa ben Imma ben Ig e' Sheikh ben Karidénne, and then whoever is behind them of my companions and friends, Dinnik, the kingdom of my brother, and nephew, and pupil, Músa ben Bodhál ben Katim;¶ then those behind them of our partisans the people of Aïr the Kél-gerés and the Kél-owí; then our darlings, A'la Fódíye, their learned men, the intelligent and humane, who have the ordinances and the right of decision, on them be my salutation and el Islám! the people of the Imám,

* That is, *main principle* on which you base your wish to hurt a Christian; or it means *pretense.*

† That is, the Fúlbe of Másina. About Núkkuma, or Núkuma, see the note, *ante*, p. 708.

‡ الغرض.

§ This passage rhymes in the original, and seems to be quoted from some familiar source, but it is not in the Kurán.

‖ Sur., lv., 60.

¶ See about the Dinnik, p. 724.

the high-minded, the son of Bello, the Imám ben 'Othmán, the perfect. For, lo! my guest is a guest of theirs, who has nothing to fear from them, since they profess obedience to God,* and know that he protects the ordinances. And especially, as their lord, the Imám Mohammed Bello—God favor him!—said to me, and wrote to me with his own hand, that he and his kingdom were at my disposal so long as it was strung on his string;† therefore I have authority, and I admonish you about my and your guest, indeed about whatever Englishman shall come after him, whether he come to me, or pass near you, or abide among you for a time and then return. And what I demand and charge you, the same injunction I lay upon my brethren (though I have not seen them with my eyes, I have seen them by my faith, and I count kindred with them by the ties of religion), the people of Bórnu, especially the Sheikh 'Omár ben Mohammed, the Emír, the Just. Then let not that which is dreaded hinder you.‡ Lo! he is a distinguished man among the Christians.§ However there are between us and them such protectors of El Islám and champions‖ of the peoples (the Christians), that if they break through them to get at us, and attack us, there is no good of life, and no sufficiency in a host. But God is our reliance: surely He outwits every deceiver, betrays every traitor, and makes every unbeliever a liar; for he says in his book, to us and to His Prophet, 'God is your stay, and those of the believers that follow you.'¶ 'If they try to deceive you, then God is your support. It is He that has strengthened you with His help, and with the faithful, and has united their hearts.'** It is then by the religion of God that we are exalted and are victorious. Religion is weak only through its professors.†† The blessing of the Book of God and the blessing of His Prophet be on us and with us. So let not fear seize any Moslim that they should deceive him and cheat him, on the ground that there is rebellion against the cause of God among them, and that the Sunna of His Prophet is violated among them. And whatever there is of slaughter and battle with him, let him suppress it for its day; for the weakest of men in sense, and the mightiest of them in ignorance, is he who rushes to evil when its season has not come, and who is no match for it on the day when it arrives. And as for me, brethren, I have written for the Englishman specially a general safe-conduct, in which I have included every one in my land, and have added thereto your land, in reliance on your religion and your sure conviction, and in dependence on your intelligence and humanity. Do you then write for him as I have written, on the condition of our being subject to our Imám, our Lord 'Abd e' Rahmán, and our Sultan, 'Abd el Mejíd; and be not like the people of Núkkuma, for they are like the deaf and dumb, since they are offensive to me. Lo! I love my guest the Christian. Be careful that he be not hindered in any thing; for the Prophet used to love the Kuraish, in spite of their unbelief in him and their hostility to him. God says, 'There has come to you a Prophet from yourselves; grievous to him is your wickedness; he is anxious about you.'‡‡ And he said to him, 'Thou wilt not direct whomsoever thou lovest.'§§ And he used to love his uncles, and to delight in their conversion to El Islám, especially A'bú Táleb; except that he knew the decrees of God about the community, and was liable to them together with the community. The most ignorant of men is he who is ignorant of the Book of his Lord and the Sunna of His Prophet, so that he licenses for himself what is unlawful, and forbids what is lawful, and draws near to Him with that which removes him to a distance from Him, and keeps aloof from that which brings him near to Him, who fancies that he does well as to his actions while he does evil as to what is enjoined. God is not worshiped by any act (or rite) but what He has ordered, and is not approached by a worshiper that he should remit any thing but what is remitted. Now salutation is what is reiterated to you, and honor is what is wished to you. Farewell."

* ما انتظم فى سلكه.

† ناسبهم بنسب رحمانى.

‡ *I. e.*, be not deterred by fear.

§ الله عين للنصارى.

‖ El Bakáy means the Emperor of Morocco and the Sultan.

¶ Sur., viii., 65.

** Sur., viii., 64.

†† فَإِنَّ ضَعْفَ الدِّينِ مِنْ أَهْلِهِ.

‡‡ Sur., ix., 129.

§§ Sur., xxviii., 56.

APPENDIX XV.

CHIEF TOWNS AND RESIDENCES OF THE INDEPENDENT SONGHAY BETWEEN THE NIGER AND MY ROUTE BY YA'GHA AND LIBTA'KO.

Kúlman, a large place, the name of which has already become known in Europe through the information of other travelers, in consequence of its great importance as a well-inhabited strong town, as also as a frequented market. The chief part of the inhabitants belong to the tribe of the Kóizé, with the chief (koy) Foní, the son of A'rkosú (A'rkosú izze), or, as the Tawárek call him, ag A'rkosú. It may now be laid down in the map with tolerable accuracy, being said to be distant from Tongi (see p. 499) thirty miles to the west.

Téra, the town mentioned already by A'hmed Bábá, said to be even larger than Kúlman, and the very largest of the ksúr of the free Songhay, equaling the city of Timbúktu in size, four days from Tongi S.W., two from Dóre E.N.E. The inhabitants wear their hair in long tresses, and possess a good many horses; they are totally independent.

Darghol, residence of the Songhay princes, the descendants of the A'skíá or Síkkíá, the chief of whom at the present day is Koy Kálmia; the inhabitants very warlike, armed with shield, spear, and sword, like the Tawárek. But the energy of these Songhay is counterpoised and baffled by the disunion which prevails among themselves, the inhabitants of Darghol waging war with those of Téra, who do not acknowledge their supremacy. The position of this important town, I am sorry to say, I am not able to determine even approximately. It is very desirable that a European traveler should explore this whole region.

The most important of the other towns of the Songhay are: Kósa; Tákala, ruled by Hawa, a woman (even in Timbúktu, before the conquest of the town by the Fúlbe, a woman is said to have exercised the chief influence); Dorógun; Kánseka-koira, Bókar-koira (both called after their chiefs); Kúrchi, with the chief Hemma; Tézi; Góroshí; Karta; Kákaru, or Bámbelokoire (called from the chief, Bámbelo; a powerful community, dominating the neighboring towns and villages); Bangúm; Kerégu; Fómbiten, with the chief Hamma Fómbit; Kánfulí; Hammakoire; Syrbi; Larba (the town mentioned in a preceding part of this volume, said to be as large as Say, with which and Támkala it was intimately allied at the time of the rising of the Reformer 'Othmán, and offered the most determined resistance); Sífada, Bargúl; Kasánni; Alikónchi; Garubánda; Kongozekoire; Wozebángo; Sátumen; Wósolo; Badduléji; Barrobónghala; Kalobánda.

APPENDIX XVI.

FRAGMENTS OF A METEOROLOGICAL REGISTER.

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1852.			
Nov.			
25	sunrise.	41	Outside Kúkawa at the village Kaliluwa.
	1.30 P.M.	91	
27	sunrise.	50	
	sunset.	74	
28	sunrise.	52	
	1.15 P.M.	91	
	sunset.	81	
29	sunrise.	64	
	1.30	93	
	sunset.	81	
30	sunrise.	58·5	
Dec.			
1	sunrise.	57·5	
	2.0 P.M.	87	
	sunset.	77	
2	sunrise.	59	
	sunset.	75	
3	sunrise.	52	
	2.0 P.M.	88	Heavy E. gale.
4	sunrise.	51	
	1.0 P.M.	88	
	sunset.	77	
5	sunrise.	47	
	1.30 P.M.	94	
	sunset.	82·3	
6	No obsv'n.		
7	1.30 P.M.	81·2	
	sunset.	70·2	
8	sunrise.	52	Heavy northerly gale.
	sunset.	69·5	
9	sunrise.	48	
	2.0 P.M.	82·5	
	sunset.	75	
10	sunrise.	56	Foggy in the morning.
	sunset.	73·5	
11	sunrise.	54	
	sunset.	75	
12	sunrise.	53	
	sunset.	72·5	
13	1.20 P.M.	84	
14	1.45 P.M.	83	
15	sunrise.	57	
	1.30 P.M.	81	
	sunset.	76	
16	1.30 P.M.	83	
	sunset.	72·30	
17,18	No obsv'n.		
19	1.30 P.M.	81	
	sunset.	73	
20	sunrise.	50	
21	sunrise.	52	Cold N.E. gale; very heavy.
	1.40 P.M.	77	
22	sunrise.	40	Very cold, but no wind.
23			Foggy morning.

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1852.			
Dec.			
24	sunrise.	55	
25	sunrise.	43	
	1.30 P.M.	78	
26	sunset.	72	
27-31	No obsv'n.		Sky all this time cloudy.
1853.			
Jan.			
1	sunset.	73	
2	sunrise.	55	
3-10	No obsv'n.		
11	1.30 P.M.	85	Fine morning.
12	sunrise.	56	Fine morning.
	1.30 P.M.	87·5	
13	sunrise.	54	Strong wind.
	2.0 P.M.	75	
14	sunrise.	54	
	1.30 P.M.	76	
15	sunrise.	51	
	1.30 P.M.	76	
16	sunrise.	55	
17	sunrise.	57	
	1.30 P.M.	77	
18	sunrise.	55	
	1.30 P.M.	77	
19	sunrise.	57	
	2.0 P.M.	80	
	sunset.	71·5	
20	sunrise.	56·5	
21	2.0 P.M	86	
22	sunrise.	56	Cold wind.
	2.0 P.M.	75	
23	sunrise.	47·2	
	1.30 P.M.	75	
24	sunrise.	50·4	
	2.0 P.M.	80·2	
25	sunrise.	50	
	1.45 P.M.	85·7	Fine day.
26	sunrise.	48·5	
	1.45 P.M.	85·2	
27	sunrise.	51·5	
	1.50 P.M.	89·4	
28	sunrise.	59·6	
	1.45 P.M.	89·5	
29,30	No obsv'n.		
31	sunset.	75	
Feb.			
1	sunrise.	59·5	
2 to 24	sunrise.	58–60	
	1.30 P.M.	90	
	sunset.	76	
25			In the evening heat-lightning toward the N.
26			Cloudy, the sun shining forth at times; in the afternoon the whole sky toward the S. over-

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1853.			
Feb.			cast with thick clouds; in the evening cool and fresh as if after a rain. Heat-lightning.
27			Windy.
Mar.			
3	1.15 P.M.	95	
9	1.30 P.M.	96	
10	sunrise.	66	
11	sunset.	85	Cloudy; heavy gale.
12	sunrise.	75	Clear.
	2.0 P.M.	97	
	sunset.	92	The evening and the following night very sultry.
13	sunrise.	72	
	1.30 P.M.	92	The whole day heavy gale.
14	sunrise.	70	
	2.0 P.M.	92	
15	sunrise.	70	Weather clear.
	sunset.	88	
16	sunrise.	72	
	2.0 P.M.	96	
17	sunrise.	72	Fine morning.
	2.0 P.M.	96·5	
	sunset.	91·5	
18	sunrise.	72	Fine morning.
	2.0 P.M.	98·3	
19	sunrise.	75	
	2.0 P.M.	99	
	sunset.	92	
20	sunrise.	72	Very fine morning.
	2.0 P.M.	98·5	
	sunset.	92	
21	sunset.	90	
22	1.15 P.M.	101	
23	sunrise.	74	
	2.0 P.M.	106	
24	1.30 P.M.	103·5	
25	1.15 P.M.	100·5	
26	No obsv'n.		
27	3.0 P.M.	100	
28	3.0 P.M.	103	
29	sunrise.	79·5	
30	sunrise.	81	
	2.15 P.M.	103·5	
	5.30 P.M.		Heavy gale, sky thickly overcast; no rain with us, but heat-lightning.
31	No obsv'n.		
April			
1	8.0 P.M.		Sky thickly overcast; thunderstorm the following night, but no rain.
2			Sky thickly overcast in the morning; a few drops of rain.
3			(Some rain early in the morning.)
1853.			
April			
4	1.30 P.M.	(94)	In the cool hall of a clay house.
		104.5	In shade outside.
	sunset.	80	
5	sunrise.	70	
	1.30 P.M.	(95)	
		105·7	
6	sunrise.	71·3	
7	1.30 P.M.	(95)	
		105·7	
	sunset.	94	
8	sunrise.	77·5	
	sunset.	90	
9	sunrise.	72	
	1.30 P.M.	105·7	
	sunset.	89	
10	sunrise.	68	
	2.0 P.M.	106	
	sunset.	89	
11	sunrise.	70	
	1.30 P.M.	105	
	sunset.	85	
12	sunrise.	64	
	1.30	106	
	2.0 P.M.	108	
13	sunrise.	66	
	2.0 P.M.	109	
	sunset.	90	
14	sunrise.	77	
	2.0 P.M.	107·5	
	2.45	110	
	sunset.	93	
15	sunrise.	77·4	Strong wind.
	2.0 P.M.	108	
	sunset.	95	
16	sunrise.	81	
	2.0 P.M.	110·5	
17	sunrise.	72	
	2.0 P.M.	110·5	
	sunset.	93	
18	sunrise.	77	
	2.0 P.M.	108·5	Sky toward the W. overcast with clouds.
	sunset.	94	
19	sunrise.	80	
	2.0 P.M.	106·5	
	sunset.	93	4.30 P.M. a few drops of rain.
20	sunrise.	79	Sky overcast.
21	2.0 P.M.	103	
	sunset.	98	
22	sunrise.	78	
	2.0 P.M.	102	
	sunset.	95	
23	sunrise.	78	
24	2.0 P.M.	106·5	
	sunset.	93	Cloudy in the afternoon.
25	sunrise.	82	
	2.0 P.M.	106	Sky overcast.
	sunset.	96	
26	sunrise.	81·7	Thunder-clouds from east, only a few drops of rain; heat-lightning.
	2.0 P.M.	106	

Date.	Hour of the Day	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1853.			
April			
26	sunset.	95	
27	sunrise.	82	
	2.0 P.M.	110	
	sunset.	97	
28	2.0 P.M.	110	
	sunset.	98	
29	sunrise.	83	
	sunset.	98·5	
30	sunrise.	85	
	2.0 P.M.	110	In the afternoon a thunder - storm rose from the E. 5.15 P.M. heavy gale and a little rain.
	sunset.	92	
May			
1	sunrise.	82	
	2.0 P.M.	109	During the night heavy wind, but no rain.
	sunset.	97	
2	sunrise.	80	
	2.0 P.M.	106	
	sunset.	98	
3	sunrise.	82	
	2.0 P.M.	109	During the night wind, heat-lightning.
4	sunrise.	82	
	2.0 P.M.	108	In the afternoon sky cloudy; in the evening heat-lightning.
	sunset.	98	
5	sunrise.	81·5	
	2.0 P.M.	105	Sky overcast and cloudy, but no rain.
	sunset.	97	
6	sunrise.	83	
	2.0 P.M.	106	
	sunset.	98	9 o'clock P.M. all on a sudden, a heavy shower, lasting about one hour.
7	sunrise.	77	Air refreshed; windy.
	2.0 P.M.	101	
8	No obsv'n.		No rain.
9	sunrise.	80	
	2.0 P.M.	109	
	sunset.	95	
10	sunrise.	84	
	2.0 P.M.	105	
	sunset.	102	A most oppressive and disagreeable evening.
11	sunrise.	82·5	
	2.0 P.M.	104	
	sunset.	86	About sunset thunder-storm from the N.; good fall of rain lasting about one hour, refreshing the air.
12	sunrise.	76	
	2.0 P.M.	103	

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1853.			
May			
13	sunrise.	99	In the afternoon thunder - storm with very heavy rain.
	sunset.	96·5	
14	sunrise.	75	
15	No obsv'n.		
16	sunrise.	80·5	
	sunset.	93	In the afternoon clouds.
17	sunrise.	79	Clouds toward the S. (Gandó.)
18	No obsv'n.		
19	2.0 P.M.	104	Fine cool morning; in the afternoon thunder - storm, but no rain.
	sunset.	92·3	
20			In the afternoon thunder - storm from the N.; after sunset a slight shower with us, lasting about half an hour.
21	sunrise.	80·5	
22	sunrise.	83·5	
	2.0 P.M.	102	
	sunset.	92	
23	sunrise.	82·5	
	2.0 P.M.	104	
	4.0 P.M.	99	About 4 P.M. thunder - storm from the N. with moderate rain about 5 o'clock.
	5.0 P.M.	79	
24	sunrise.	78	A slight fall in the morning; cloudy.
	2.0 P.M.	95	
	sunset.	88	
25	sunrise.	78·5	
	2.0 P.M.	107	About 4 P.M. thunder-storm in the S.
	sunset.	92	
26	sunrise.	77·5	Early in the morning a few drops of rain.
	2.0 P.M.	96	
	sunset.	89	
27	sunrise.	78	Early in the morning a slight thunder-storm with a little rain; the whole day sky overcast.
	sunset.	84	
28	sunrise.	79	
	sunset.	90·5	
29	sunrise.	80	
	2.0 P.M.	94·4	
	sunset.	82·4	
30	sunrise.	75	Early in the morning a little rain.
	sunset.	89·5	
31	sunrise.	79·5	
	2.0 P.M.	99	At 5 P.M. thunder-storm accompani-

Date.	Hour of the Day	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1853.			
May			ed by heavy rain, lasting till late at night.
June			
1	sunrise.	73·5	
	2.0 P.M.	90	Sky gloomy.
	sunset.	86	
2	sunrise.	76	
	7.0 A.M.	73	Thick clouds gathering. From 7.30 A.M. rain half an hour tolerably heavy, then gentle till 9 o'clock, when the sun shone forth.
	2.0 P.M.	90	
	sunset.	87	
3	sunrise.	77	A thunder-storm in the distance.
	2.0 P.M.	92	
	sunset.	89	
4	sunrise.	73	In the night thunder-storm, with much rain, lasting till late in the morning.
5	sunrise.	78	Thunder-storm gathered from E.;
	7.0 A.M.	73	6.5 A.M. it began raining, the first hour heavy, then gentle till about 9 o'clock. Thunder-storm late in the evening, with a few drops of rain.
6	No obsv'n.		Fine morning.
7			8 A.M. the sun broke through the clouds.
	2.0 P.M.	91	
	sunset.	84·5	
8	sunrise.	75	Very fine morning.
9			About three o'clock in the morning a moderate shower.
10			About midnight from 10th to 11th a little rain accompanied by heat-lightning, but no thunder-storm.
11			In the afternoon thunder-clouds gathering, but the rain went southward.
12			At 4½ o'clock A.M. a thunder-storm gathering from the E., followed by violent rain.
13	No obsv'n.		
14	sunset.	98	
15	sunrise.	87	

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1853.			
June			
16	No obsv'n.		The following night a little rain.
17			The sun broke through the clouds about 8 A.M.
18			Fine morning; in the afternoon thunder-storm from the E. passed by.
19			About 4 o'clock P.M. thunder-storm from the E., but no rain.
20			In the afternoon thunder-storm at some distance.
21			(Say.)—In the afternoon overcast. After sunset a thunder-storm gathered from E.N.E., refreshing the air; much wind but no rain.
22			In the following night thunder-storm, but no rain.
23			The sky clearer.
	1.30 P.M.	100	
24			Sky overcast. 7 A.M. severe thunder-storm gathered, setting in with a violent gale followed by heavy rain lasting about three hours.
	sunset.	84	
25	sunrise.	73·5	Fine morning.
26			Cloudy and stormy.
27			Sky thickly overcast, the clouds proceeding from the N. 6.45 A.M. to 7.25 moderate rain, afterward gentle till 9 o'clock.
28			Sky overcast. About noon a few drops. About 1.30 P.M. heavy rain.
29			Sky thickly overcast in the morning, afterward cleared up.
30			Fine morning, tolerably clear. In the afternoon a thunder-storm in the distance; late in the evening a second one gathered from the E., and reached us after 11 o'clock, with extraordinary force for the first hour,

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1853. June			
			then more gentle, till 2 o'clock A.M.
July 1	No obsv'n.		
2			Sky about noon thickly overcast and atmosphere oppressive; cleared up in the afternoon.
3			Clear.
4	No obsv'n.		
5			Sky overcast. 8.30 A.M. a thunder-storm gathered, accompanied by violent rain till 9.45, afterward lasting with intermission till 12.30.
6			Fine weather.
7	No obvs'n.		
8			In the afternoon a heavy thunder-storm, but no rain.
9			Sky overcast, rainy. 10 A.M. the sun broke through the clouds.
10			4 P.M. a thunder-storm gathered from N. proceeded westward, bringing us only a few drops.
	sunset.	80	
11			In the afternoon a thunder-storm, but only a few drops of rain.
12			No thunder-storm; windy. (Libtàko.)
13			During the following night heavy thunder - storm, but no rain here.
14			About 4 o'clock P.M. thunder-storm toward the S., but not a drop of rain.
15			In the afternoon again thunder-storm without a a drop of rain.
16			Cool.
17			After 2 P.M. thunder-storm in the distance, the whole sky becoming gradually overcast. From 5.15 P.M. moderate rain till 8.30, and afterward a slight fall.
18			Atmosphere refreshed. In the evening moderate rain.
1853. July 19			At 2 P.M. considerable rain, with frequent interruptions, but no thunder-storm.
20			Sky in the morning very cloudy, but no rain.
21			Wind westerly; no rain.
22			At 7.40 A.M. a black thunder-storm gathering from the E., followed by moderate rain lasting till 10 o'clock.
23			Sky mostly overcast. About 5 P.M. thunder-storm toward the N.W., then turned by the E. toward the S. and reached us about 8 P.M. again from the W.; first moderate rain, afterward very heavy, but not accompanied by wind, continuing till 11 o'clock at night.
24			Fine sunny day; no rain.
25			Clear.
26			About 2 A.M. heavy thunder - storm, followed by rain, lasting till 7 o'clock.
27			Late in the evening thunder-storm followed after midnight by moderate rain, at times interrupted.
28			At 6.30 A.M. a heavy thunder-storm gathering from E., followed by heavy rain, lasting till noon. Sky did not clear up till near sunset.
29			Clear.
30			Heavy dew at night, fine morning, scarcely a cloud to be seen. At 9 o'clock P.M. a violent thunder-storm with heavy rain.
31			The sun broke through the clouds about 7 A.M., and the day remained

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1853.			
July			
			fine till 3 o'clock P.M. when the clouds gathered, and at 4 P.M. were followed by a very heavy shower, lasting about ¾ hour with the utmost violence after which it became more moderate, lasting till long after midnight.
Aug.			
1			In the afternoon cloudy, but no rain.
2			Very fine day, but the heat gradually oppressive; clouds gathering in the afternoon. At 9 o'clock P.M. heavy gusts of wind and moderate rain till morning.
3			At 2 P.M. thunder-storm in S.W.; about 9 P.M. violent thunder-storm with heavy rain, lasting about ½ hour, followed by a second rain very slight, but lasting till morning.
4			At 4.40 P.M. a heavy shower lasting till 4.55.
5			Clear.
6			In the evening thunder-storm with heavy rain.
7			No rain.
8			Clear.
9			Sky overcast.
10			7 P.M. a very violent thunder-storm with heavy gusts of wind and much rain.
11			No rain.
12			4 o'clock P.M. a thunder-storm from the E., with rain lasting about ¾ hour, first violent, afterward becoming more moderate.
13			In the afternoon thunder-storm toward the S.
14			7 A.M. dark thunder-clouds gathered from N, bringing a little rain,

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1853.			
Aug.			
			and the electric matter not having been discharged a very sultry day followed.
15			The whole day thunder-storm toward the N. and W.
16			Past midnight a violent thunder-storm gathered, followed by moderate rain, and another fall of rain toward morning.
17			At 4½ o'clock P.M. a little rain.
18	No obsv'n.		
19			In the night thunder-storm but no rain.
20	No obsv'n.		
21			Clear but very warm.
22			After 6 P.M. a heavy thunder-storm from E., with much wind, but moderate rain; the air not much refreshed.
23			Warm sunny day.
24,25	No obsv'n.		
29			A thunder-storm; heat-lightning without rain.
30			At noon a thunder-storm from the east. 12.45 a little rain. The rain clouds went from S. to W., then turned northward; in that direction much rain.
31			Morning cool; in the evening a thunder-storm without rain in our neighborhood.
Sept.			
1			In the evening the sky thickly overcast; thunder-storm gathered only a few drops of rain, heavy gale.
2	No obsv'n.		
3			3 P.M. a thunder-storm as in general, from the E, 3.3 tolerably heavy rain, only three minutes. 4.35 P.M. a second thunder-storm.
4			Heat-lightning in the evening; heavy gale.

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1853.			
Sept.			
5			Heavy westerly gale.
6, 7	No obsv'n.		
8			(Timbúktu.)—In the evening thunder-storm with heavy clouds, but without rain.
9			In the evening heavy thunder-storm from the N.; violent rain from 8 to 8.30 P.M., then less severe till 11.5; afterward heavy gale.
10			In the afternoon a little rain.
11			Sky in the afternoon thickly overcast.
12, 13			Cloudy.
14			2.5 P.M. a little rain; afterward thunder-storm and considerable rain.
15			The clouds driven about by a storm.
16			Greater part cloudy.
17			Tolerably clear.
18			2 P.M. very violent gale, followed by considerable rain.
19			Fine morning.
20			Early in the morning heavy gale with a few drops of rain; air became cooler.
21			Tolerably clear.
22			At 7 o'clock P.M. a thunder-storm with moderate rain.
23			Heavy gale.
24			Clearer.
25			Sunrise not clear; afterward windy.
26			In the evening thunder-storm without rain.
27			Sky not clear. About noon a gale arose.
28			Toward morning a little rain; sky thickly overcast; several times rain, especially in the afternoon; in the evening considerable rain.
29			1.30 P.M. heavy rain, but short. 8 P.M. another fall of rain, moderate, but lasting till 11 o'clock.
30	No obsv'n.		

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1853.			
Oct.			
1	No obsv'n.		
2			In the afternoon thunder-storm passed by toward the W. without bringing rain.
3			3.33 P.M. thunder-storm with heavy rain, lasting more than an hour.
4 to 7			Clear.
8			4 o'clock P.M. thunder-storm toward the N.
9			4 P.M. rain with interruption.
10			Sky not clear.
11, 12			Clear.
13			Overcast; at 4 P.M. a thunder-storm from the N. with heavy gale, but only a few drops of rain.
14			
15			Cloudy in the east.
16			
17			
18			In the afternoon cloudy.
			Night cool; fine morning.
19			Cool night.
20	No obsv'n.		
21			The morning cloudy; N.E. gale.
22			N.E. wind.
23			Clear; gradually N.E. wind arose.
24	No obsv'n.		
25			Very cold night.
26			Clear cold morning.
27			
28 to Nov. 24	No observation.		Tolerably clear.
25	sunrise.	56	
	sunset.	76	
26	sunrise.	56	
27	sunrise.	63	
28	sunrise.	62	
30			Very cold; heavy northerly gale.
			Month of December no rain; sky generally dull in the morning, only occasionally clear.
1854.			
Jan.			
1			Cold.
2	sunrise.	62·2	
	2.0 P.M.	88·5	
3	sunrise.	61	Clear sky.
	1.30 P.M.	87·5	

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1854.			
Jan.			
4	sunrise.	66	Sky overcast; cleared up toward sunset.
5	sunrise.	60	Clear sky; cold.
	sunset.	77·5	
6			Clear sky; cold.
	sunset.	77·5	
7	sunrise.	59·5	
	2.0 P.M.	85	
	sunset.	87	
8	sunrise.	61·5	A fine day. Both these days warmer at sunset than in the afternoon.
	2.0 P.M.	75	
	sunset.	77·5	
9	2.0 P.M.	85	Sky overcast.
10	sunrise.	64	
11	sunrise.	64	
	2.0 P.M.	85	
	sunset.	80	
12	sunrise.	66	
13	sunrise.	55	Very cold day.
14			Not quite so cold.
15			Sky overcast in the morning; about noon clearer, then again overcast; thunder in the distance. Toward evening heat lightning; only a few drops of rain after midnight.
16			Cold wind.
17			No observation.
18			Tolerably cold. Sky somewhat clearer.
19	sunrise.	60	
	sunset.	76	
20			Sky overcast; very cold and cheerless.
	2.0 P.M.	66	2.30 P.M. a few drops of rain.
	sunset.	62	
21	sunrise.	51	
	2.30 P.M.	77	Sky clear.
	sunset.	69	
22	sunrise.	48	Sky clear. (Broke this day in reality my last thermometer.)
23			Clear.
24			Tolerably clear.
25			Fine day. Morning delightful.
26			Morning clear.
27			Forenoon not quite clear.
28			No observation.
29			Cold and windy.
30			Clear and cold.
31			Clear.
Feb.			
1			Not quite clear. In this month very few particular observations, but in general the mornings proved colder than those in January.
Mar.			
3			In the morning clear, then overcast.
4			Clear.
5			Clear morning.
6			Heavy northerly gale the whole day long, carrying much sand.
7			Clear.
8			Clear.
9			Sky not clear.
10			Overcast; the sun scarcely ever came forth. A few drops of rain.
11			Overcast.
12			Windy, not clear. Heavy gale during the night.
13			Cloudy. In the course of the day a very heavy gale arose.
14			Overcast; no wind; evening clear.
15			Clear.
16			Clear in the forenoon, then dull.
17			Overcast.
18			Clear.
19			In the afternoon sky dull.
20			Sky clear in the morning.
21			Sky overcast with clouds, a dropping continued during the whole of the morning. At 8½ in the evening moderate rain. A more regular rain at 11 o'clock, lasting till 1 o'clock. After midnight, followed by a heavy tornado.
22			The dropping continued in the morning. Sky thickly overcast, drops of rain falling now and then.
23			A warm sunny day.
24			Dull sky.
25			The sky the greater part of the day

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1854. Mar.			
			overcast; toward evening a little sunshine. About 11 o'clock at night some dropping.
26			Sky dull; some dropping the whole of the day. About 11 o'clock at night a regular rain began to fall, lasting till about 2 o'clock in the morning.
27			Dull and cool; dropping continued the whole day long, and dark clouds had been collecting about noon; a regular rain set in about 2 o'clock P.M., lasting till 5 o'clock.*
28			Between 1 and 2 o'clock in the morning again a light rain, lasting about an hour. After sunrise the sky became clearer, and at 9 o'clock A.M. the sun burst forth; heavy gale all the day long.
29			Day clear, but windy; not too warm.
30			Sunny, but strong gale blowing.
31			At times sunny, then dull, rather windy.
April 1			Dull; a little dropping in the afternoon.
2			Clearer. About sunset a heavy gale sprang up.
3			A warm day.
4			Fine cool morning, with the usual northerly gale; in the afternoon quiet.
5			Warm day.
6			Morning cool.
7			Fresh wind.
8			Very cool night.
9			Warm day; no wind. About sunset overcast.
10			Night not so cool. About 1 o'clock P.M. heavy gust of wind.

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1854. April			
11			Warm. About 2 o'clock P.M. violent gusts of wind.
12			A warm day.
13	No obsv'n.		
14			About noon a southerly gale.
15-18			No observation.
19			The sun very troublesome.
21			Sky dull; windy.
27			Night very warm. Sky in the morning not clear.
28			Fine morning; day very warm.
30			Very warm day. At 9.30 P.M. a light and short fall of rain followed by a breeze.
May 1			The sky in the evening thickly overcast with clouds.
2			Cloudy; the sun burst forth about 3 o'clock P.M. All this time along the Niger a heavy dew in the evening and during the night.
3			A clear day.
4			A clear day. 3 o'clock P.M. thunder in the distance, toward the S. and S.E. 3.45 a regular rain, lasting 10 min. Round about us thunder and rain, lasting till evening. At 5 o'clock P.M. another light rain and dropping till sunset.
5			Morning tolerably clear. At 3 P.M. clouds gathered in the east; thunder in that direction. Gradually a storm ascended from the south like a battery, breaking forth with a tremendous gust of wind. At 7 o'clock P.M. the thunder clouds returned from the N., whither they had

* All the people assured me that the preceding year the rain-fall about this time of the year had been much more considerable. They generally reckon four rainy days in March and three in April, and call this season the Nisán.

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1854. May			withdrawn, and a most violent shower of rain came down, lasting for an hour, with unabated violence, then more moderate till 9 o'clock P.M. At 1 P.M. temperature constantly between 104° and 108°.
6			Sky still overcast, the sun bursting forth about 8 o'clock A.M. Evening clear.
7			The whole day sky overcast, the atmosphere about sunset very oppressive.
8			Sky dull.
9			Sky still dull; in the afternoon clearer.
10			Day dull and cloudy, evening clear.
11			A hot wind from the desert in the afternoon.
12			Hazy and overcast in the afternoon.
13,14			Clear.
15			Clear in the morning; hot wind from the desert in the afternoon. About 1 P.M. temperature between 105° and 108°.
16			Strong northeasterly wind, called "erife."
22			Very cold morning.
23			Cold morning.
24			(Bamba.) — Sky thickly overcast, a heavy rain toward the S., beyond the Niger. Gradually a heavy gale came up; rainy. Even with us a few drops of rain fell. 9½ o'clock A.M. a heavy shower lasting 15 minutes. The sun broke through the clouds about 3 o'clock P.M.
25			Sky in the morning tolerably clear, since noon overcast with clouds. About 2 P.M. a light rain of short duration. About 3 P.M. another thunder-storm arose, but passed by without rain, only the thunder-claps being heard. 5 o'clock another thunder-storm, with a powerful sand-storm, but no rain.
26			Sky overcast. At 2 o'clock P.M. a light shower followed by a second. On the southern side of the Niger a great deal more rain fell. Later in the afternoon the sky became clearer, but the whole of the evening much heat-lightning toward the N. and N.E.
27			2½ P.M. a heavy thunder-storm rose from the E., but passed by without rain, carrying with it an immense quantity of sand.
28			Warm day; a thunder-storm in A'ribínda.
29			Clear day.
30			Rainy day; in the earlier part of the day twice a little rain. At 3.30 P.M. a very heavy gale arose, but bringing us only sand. Rain in A'ribínda.
June 1			The air became much cooler. Several thunder-storms in the afternoon, the second approaching from the N. at 6 o'clock P.M. followed by a light fall of rain at 6.15, continuing, with a short interruption, till 10 o'clock at night, and cooling the hot sandy soil.
2			Cool and fresh; fine day.
3			Fine warm day.
4			In the morning a thunder-storm to-

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1854.			
June			ward the W.; at 8 o'clock a heavy gale.
5			A clear day, afterward windy. At 5 o'clock P.M. a thunder-storm arose, but without rain near us.
6			Very warm day.
7			Exceedingly warm; in the evening heat-lightning in every direction.
8			2.30 after midnight a thunder-storm rose, followed by light rain, lasting from 3.30 to 8.30 A.M. Then followed a heavy gale.
9, 10			Fine.
12			Cloudy in the afternoon; heat-lightning in the evening.
13			A thunder-storm gathered at 2 o'clock after midnight, accompanied by a heavy gale, but no rain. Sky the whole day hazy.
14			
15			At 3 o'clock in the morning a thunder-storm approached from the N., but only a few drops of rain fell.
16			About 4 o'clock in the morning a thunder-storm gathered, without thunder and lightning, but considerable rain, lasting till 8.30.
17			Fine.
18			About sunset a threatening thunder-storm arose, but passed by without any rain. In the night, however, tolerable rain without much wind.
19			Fine.
20			Clear.
21			About 9 o'clock A.M. the sun broke through the cloudy sky. In the evening heat-lightning; no rain.
22			A little cloudy; very hot; heat-lightning in the evening.
23			Warm.
24			A little cooler.
25			Cloudy; several times a few drops of rain, with thunder toward the W. 3.30 P.M. a heavy thunder-storm approached, passed by toward the N., where much rain fell.
26			About 5 o'clock P.M. a thunder-storm passed over our heads without rain but accompanied by a heavy gale of wind.
27			Clear and fine morning, about noon very warm, in the evening heat-lightning. About 8 o'clock P.M. a thunder-storm without rain; after midnight a second, gathering from the S.W., with a little rain.
28			Fine day; clouds and heat-lightning in the evening.
29			Clear morning; afterward very warm. About 2 P.M. a storm gathered from the E., and brought a light rain of short continuance; returned afterward from the W., and approached with a heavy rain at 4.30 P.M., lasting half an hour.
30			Fine clear morning; no rain.
July 1			About 8 o'clock A.M. a strong gale.
2			Clear.
3			Fine cool morning.
4			About sunset a thunder-storm approached gradually from the E., but without rain.
5			3 P.M. rain, in the beginning lighter, then more considerable, coming

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1854. July			
			from the N. At 5 o'clock another heavy fall of rain, lasting about 20 minutes.
6			Clear.
7			Early in the morning a thunder-storm passed by without any rain.
8			About sunset a thunder-storm from the E., accompanied by a light rain, lasting till late at night.
9			Clear.
10			A fine clear morning.
11			About 10 o'clock P.M. a thunder-storm, which had long been gathering, broke forth with heavy rain, which with less vehemence continued the whole night long, accompanied by a heavy gale.
12			
13			About 10 o'clock thick clouds overcast the sky, but were scattered by a heavy gale. At 2.30 in the morning a heavy rain broke forth, not accompanied by thunder, lasting about 20 minutes.
14			The sky thickly overcast in the morning, in the afternoon clear.
15			About 6 o'clock in the morning a heavy thunder-storm gathered, breaking forth with a heavy rain at 6.30, lasting with equal violence till about 8 o'clock, then gentler till 10.30.
16			The sky beautifully clear in the morning, in the afternoon occasionally overcast with clouds.
17			Clear. At 10 o'clock in the evening a thunder-storm gathered from the S.E., but brought us only moderate rain.
18,19			Clear.
20			5 o'clock in the morning a very black battery of thunder-clouds approached from the S.E., bringing a heavy tornado, but only a few drops of rain.
21			In the night, from 21st to 22d, a moderate rain.
22			Cool morning, great humidity.
23			Clear.
24			In the morning heavy rain-clouds, but no rain. In the afternoon a thunder-storm gathered from the E., but the clouds were scattered.
25			Clear.
26			3.30 P.M. a thunder-storm in the E., beyond the river.
27			Warm day. About 4 o'clock P.M. a heavy thunder-storm gathered from the W., but was scattered; then a second one from the N., with violent rain, lasting from 6.30 till 8 o'clock. After half an hour's respite another thunder-storm broke forth, with heavy wind and rain, the dropping continuing till near morning.
28			The sky overcast, the sun breaking through the clouds at 4 o'clock P.M.
29			
30			At 9.30 P.M. a heavy thunder-storm arose, although it had been clear before, and a violent rain followed.
31			Sky the whole day overcast; cleared up in the afternoon.

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1854.			
Aug.			
1			Clear.
2			Day dark and cloudy, the sun breaking through the clouds about noon. Fine evening.
3			Drops of rain continued to fall the whole morning, the sun breaking through the clouds at 2.30 P.M.
4			8 o'clock A.M. the sky thickly overcast; rainy. Rain set in at 8.45, continued with interruption; at 3.30 P.M. a very heavy shower, lasting half an hour with great violence, afterward more gentle.
5			Day rainy.
6			4.50 P.M. a light rain.
7			Lightning early in the morning, followed at 5.45 by a moderate rain without wind, lasting till 7.10; then single drops of rain. The sun broke through the clouds at noon; a fine afternoon.
8			A fine day; no rain.
9			Sky the whole day overcast; after 3 P.M. threatening thunder - clouds gathered, discharging a violent rain, lasting till 5 o'clock; then more moderate, but setting in with fresh violence at 6, and lasting till 7 o'clock.
10			Dry.
11			Clear in the morning, overcast at noon, and drops of rain. At 3 o'clock heavy thunder-clouds, but without rain.
12			At 3.5 P.M. a thunder-storm, but only moderate rain, lasting half an hour.
13			Clear.
14			The whole day sky overcast, but no rain.
15			A few drops of rain in the morning; during the afternoon sunshine.
16			Sky thickly overcast. The rain commenced at 6.30 A.M., lasting almost the whole of the day, at times light, at others violent.
17			(Gando.) — In the course of the morning the sun broke through the clouds. In the afternoon rain with interruption; after sunset a heavy rain, lasting almost the whole of the night.
18			The rain began toward morning with increased violence; a little rain in the course of the following night.
19			A heavy rain in the morning, lasting half an hour, then dropping till 9 A.M.; afterward the sun broke through the clouds.
20			Tolerably clear in the morning, at times a few drops of rain, a thunder-storm in the afternoon; regular rain from 4 P.M. till 8 P.M.
21			Tolerably clear; from 11.30 A.M. drops of rain till about 2 P.M. Afterward the sun broke through the clouds. The afternoon clear.
22			2 o'clock A.M. a heavy shower lasting till 4.30, then a little rain occasionally. At 3 o'clock P.M. a thunder - storm from N.W. with rain at intervals, more continuous from 4 o'clock P.M. till about sunset.

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1854.			
Aug.			
23			About noon a thunder-storm in the distance; 1.50 P. M. a light rain till 3 o'clock; at 4 P.M. the sun broke through the clouds.
24			Sky cloudy. About 9 o'clock P.M. a few drops of rain, lightning and thunder.
25			Overcast. At 7 o'clock the sun broke forth, fine and genial. One o'clock P.M. a light shower of rain; from 2 to 4 o'clock another light shower.
26			Fine day. At sunset a thunder-storm gathered; at 8 o'clock P.M. a light rain; then repeatedly in the course of the night.
27			Rain in the morning till 7 o'clock A.M. Just after sunset a thunder-storm, with moderate rain; then at 9 o'clock a second one excessively violent, lasting about an hour and a half.
28			6.45 A.M. a light thunder - storm, with moderate rain, lasting till 8 o'clock, then the weather tolerably clear. At midnight a violent shower.
29			Day tolerably clear.
30			2 P.M. heavy rain.
Sept.			
1			In the evening violent thunder-storm, but without any rain.
2			In the night heavy rain lasting almost till morning.
3			Dry.
4			At 4.30 P.M. heavy storm, little rain.
5			Clear. In the afternoon and evening a thunder-storm, with much heat-

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1854.			
Sept.			
			lightning, but only a few drops of rain.
6			At 11 o'clock P.M. a heavy thunder-storm with heavy rain, but only of short duration.
7			Dry.
8			In the latter part of the night, toward morning, heavy rain; then after a little interruption another shower till 8.30 A.M.
9			At sunset a thunder-storm from the S. passed by toward the W., bringing us but little rain.
10			Weather clear. At 10 P.M. thunder-storm with but little rain.
11			Cloudy. About 9 o'clock P.M. a heavy shower.
12			In the evening heat-lightning in the S.W.; no rain.
13			At 7 o'clock P.M. rain of long continuance.
14			In the evening thunder-storm, but no rain.
15			No rain.
16			In the evening heat-lightning; no rain.
17			Thunder-storm, but no rain, in the evening.
18			Very warm day; in the evening again dry.
19			No rain.
20			Very fine morning.
21			In the afternoon heavy thunder-clouds passed by with a few drops of rain.
22			About 7 o'clock A.M. a little dropping; afterward the dark clouds were scattered. About 9 o'clock P.M. a thunder-storm gathered; only a few drops of rain.
23,24			Dry.
25			Heat - lightning in the evening.
26			Heat - lightning in the evening.
27			In the evening clou-

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1854.			
Sept.			
			dy; heat-lightning. After 9 o'clock a thunder-storm gathered with a heavy gale, but little rain about 10 o'clock.
28			Heat-lightning in the evening.
29			Dry.
Oct.			
1–4	No obsv'n.		No rain.
5			At 10 o'clock P.M. a heavy gale, followed by a tolerable fall of rain, lasting till 3 o'clock.
6–8			No rain.
9			(Moríki.) — In the night from the 8th to 9th, heavy fall of dew, like rain.
10-30			No observation.
1855.			
Jan. to April 15	No observation.		
April			
15	12.30 P.M.	103	(Kúkawa.) — Rain-clouds.
16			Repeated thunder. A few drops of rain.
17	2.0 P.M.	103	
18			Not clear.
19	2.0 P.M.	107	
20-24	No obsv'n.		
25	2.15 P.M.	108	Warm day, with southerly wind.
26	2.0 P.M.	112·5	
27	2.0 P.M.	113	
28	No obsv'n.		
29	sunrise.	82	
	2.0 P.M.	113	
30	2.0 P.M.	112·5	
May			
1–3	No obsv'n.		
4			In the evening heat-lightning toward the S. and S.E.
7	2.0 P.M.	106	
10			3.30 P.M. a tempest, with a sand-storm, a few drops of rain, more toward the N.E. A heavy gale. After sunset a heavy thunder-storm, but without rain.
11			In the night a thunder-storm, with much lightning, and a heavy gale.

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1855.			
May			
15			A hot day. Heat-lightning in the evening.
16			2.30 P.M. a thunder-storm from N., passing to the W. Thunder and lightning, but no rain.
17			Heat-lightning in the evening.
18			From 4 o'clock till 7 o'clock A.M. a light rain with interruption, accompanied by a strong gale.
19			Early in the morning a light rain.
June			
5			At noon a thunder-storm gathering; 12.30 P.M. a light rain; 4 P.M. another light rain.
6	2.0 P.M.	104	
7	2.00 P.M.	109	
9	2.30 P.M.	108	
10	No obsv'n.		
11	2.15 P.M.	108	
12	2.30 P.M.	110	
13	1.45 P.M.	107·5	(Kalàla, near Bilma.)—A little after midnight a heavy gale arose; 1.45 P.M. a little rain.
14	No obsv'n.		
15	2.30 P.M.	110	
16	2.0 P.M.	112	
17	sunrise.	73	
	sunset.	83	
18	sunrise.	69	
	2.0 P.M.	109	
19	sunrise.	76·5	
20	sunrise.	79	
	2.0 P.M.	109	
21	2.30 P.M.	111·5	
24	2.30 P.M.	109	
25	2.30 P.M.	109	
	sunset.	101·5	
26	sunrise.	86	
27			Warm day.
	2.30 P.M.	114	Heavy gale in the night.
29			Very heavy sand-storm early in the morning.
	2.0 P.M.	109	A heavy gale.
30	sunrise.	81	
July			
2	sunrise.	68	
5	sunrise.	68	
22	1.0 P.M.	111	
24	2.0 P.M.	112	
27	2.30 P.M.	108	

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